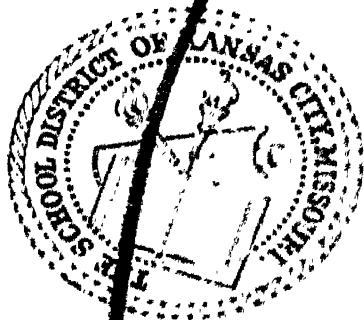


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PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND
IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,
A.D. 1583.

PART I.

[The Editors alone, and not the Committee of the NEW SHAKSPERE
SOCIETY, are responsible for the opinions express'd in the Society's
publications.]



1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Procession of Q. Elizabeth (in a litter borne by 6 Knights) to the Ma

1. Thomas, 1st Lord Howard of Walden. 2. The Lord High Admiral, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, with velvet land. 5. Henry Brooke, 6th Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, with Sword of State. 6. Roger Maudsley. 10. ? Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford; or the bridegroom's brother Thomas. 11. Lord Herbert, Elizabeth. 12. Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford. 13. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell. 14. Lady Russell, mother of the Bride. (Virtue's print, and G. Scharf in *Archaeol. Journal*, xxiii. 131. The original painting is Lord Il-



8 9 10 11 12 13 14

riage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, at Blackfriars, June 16, 1600.

3. George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, with white wand. 4. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. 5. Lord Herbert of Cardiff. 6. Edward, 4th Earl of Worcester, father of the bridegroom. 9. Queen Elizabeth. 10. ? Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford; or the bridegroom's brother Thomas. 11. Lord Herbert, Elizabeth. 12. Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford. 13. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell. 14. Lady Russell, mother of the Bride. (The replica of Mr. Digby, Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, differs in the Queen's right hand and the Bride's feet).

PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND
IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,
A.D. 1583.

PART I.

(COLLATED WITH OTHER EDITIONS IN 1583, 1585, AND 1595.)

WITH EXTRACTS FROM STUBBES'S *LIFE OF HIS WIFE*, 1591,
AND HIS *PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE*, 1592 (1610),
AND BP. BABINGTON ON THE *TEN COMMANDMENTS*, 1588;
ALSO
THE FOURTH BOOK OF THOMAS KIRCHMAIER'S (or NAOGEORGUS'S)
REGNUM PAPISMI, or *POPISH KINGDOME*, (ENGLISHT BY BARNABE GOOGE, 1570,)
ON POPULAR AND POPISH SUPERSTITIONS IN 1553.

EDITED BY
FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

PUBLISHT FOR
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TO

Professor Kobalefsky,

THE ENLIGHTEND STUDENT OF ENGLISH SOCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMRNT,

PRESSOR OF LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MOSCOW,

ONE OF THE

GENEROUS NATION WHO GAVE THEIR BLOOD AND TREASURE TO FREE BULGARIA,

AND WHO WOULD HAVE

FREED MORE FOLK, HAD NOT SELFISH ENGLISH SHOPMEN STOPT THEM,

T H I S B O O K

OF AN ENGLISHMAN WHO BELIEVD IN GOD, AND CAR'D FOR CHRISTIANS MORE THAN TURKS,

Es Dedicated

BY ITS EDITOR.



Cut at the back of the Colophon of the 2nd
(Aug. 1, 1583) and 3rd (1584) editions of
the *Anatomie*. See p. 60*, note 2.

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¹ The chapters are not numberd in the 1st edition, and sometimes not divided, as in chap. vii, on Covetousness, p. 114.

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¹ "Since leathern Adam, till this youngest hour," 1596. *Edward III*, II. ii. 12.

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¹ Cp. Harrison's oken men, &c., Pt. I. p. viii, 337-8.

² See the Exeter Regulations about Alehouses in Mr. A. S. Hamilton's *Quarter Sessions*.

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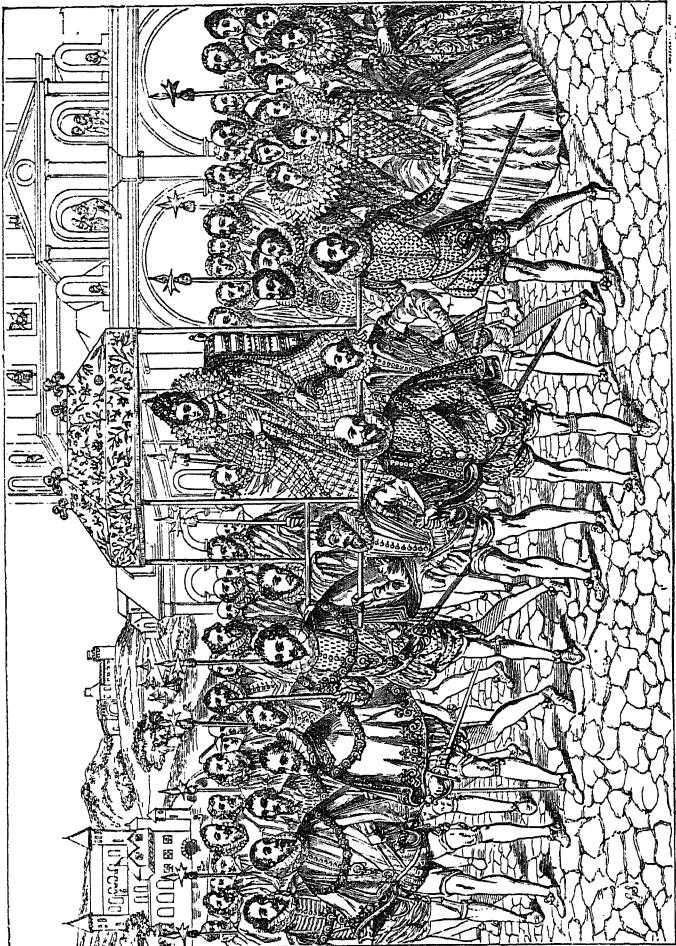
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2. The Lord High Admiral, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, with velvet scull cap.
3. George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, with white wands.
4. Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland.
5. Henry Brooke, 6th Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, with Sword of State.
6. Edward, 4th Earl of Worcester, father of the bridegroom.
7. Lord Herbert of Cardiff.
8. Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford; or the bridegroom's brother Thomas.
9. Queen Elizabeth.
10. ? Edward Russell, Lady Russell, mother of the Bride.
11. Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford.
12. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell.
13. G. Schart, in *Arctoal. Fournat.*, xxii. 137. The original painting (by Marc Gerard) is in Lord Ilchester's, Mr. Digby's copy, at Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire.
14. Mr. Digby's copy, at Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, puts the Queen's right hand under her dress, and hides the bride's feet.)



Spinster's Ruff and bare neck; Farthingale (or Crinoline). Miss Anne Russell
[formerly supposed to be Lady Hunsdon]; from Virtue's print. See
the Heliogravure, above. *Planché*, i. 187.



Ruff Wings, &c. Queen Elizabeth. *Planché*, i. 246, 435.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND : STUBBES.



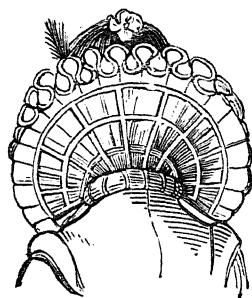
Time of James I. The Earl (Carr) and Countess of Somerset (Lady Essex). *Planché*, ii. 230.
Later fashion of marrid women baring the neck.



Mask, from a print by P. de Jode; time of James I. *Planché*, i. 366.



Q. Elizabeth : early Portrait, with 'Mary-Queen-of-Scots'-cap.' *Planché*, i. 79.



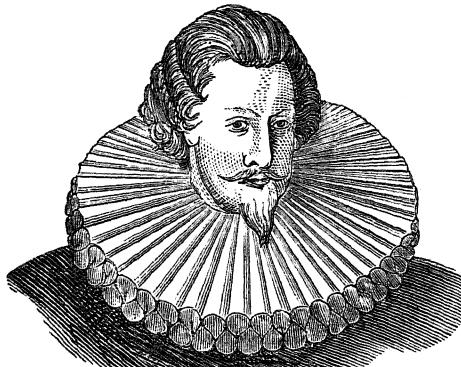
Ruff 'underpopped with Supportasse.
Stubbes, p. 70, foot. *Planché*, i. 443.



Wheel Farthingale (or Crinoline). Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I. *Planché*, i. 187.
Later Fashion of married Women baring the Neck.



Cap. Earl of Oxford, 1578.
Planché, i. 77.



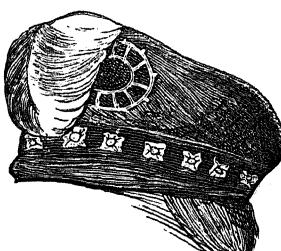
Ruff. Sir William Russell, 1590. *Planché*, i. 436.



Ruff, pointed Doublet, and Netherstocks
(*Stubbes*, p. 57) ; time of Elizabeth, from
portrait of Sir William Russell.
Planché, i. 172.



Hat, with Lady's glove in it (gauntlet shown). George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. *Planché*, i. 256.



Cap. Sir Christopher Hatton ; time
of Elizabeth. *Planché*, i. 77.

Memorandum:

ON BALLAD-BROADSIDE ILLUSTRATIONS OF COSTUME AND MANNERS.

BY THE
REV. J. W. EBSWORTH.

THE history of the woodcuts illustrating the common street-ballads has never yet been systematically undertaken. Mr. William Chappell, our very highest authority on all matters connected with old songs and ballads, their words, music, and publication, has avowedly left the subject of their woodcuts to other students and specialists. It is of sufficient importance to be assigned to one volunteer, who has already made considerable progress in tracing the source from which many of the woodcuts had descended to the hawkers; and his future gift to the Ballad-Society members may prove the interest attached to the search, and the value of several discoveries. Meanwhile here are some Ballad-Society woodcuts chiefly from the Roxburghe and the Bagford Collections, as reproduced under the editorship of Messrs. Wm. Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth. A few words from the latter may accompany the present selection of woodcuts, without borrowing from the *Planché* descriptions.

All the street-ballad cuts, of early, middle, or recent times, fall easily into one of two groups. 1. Those which were engraved expressly for some one particular ballad. 2. Those which had originally belonged to a higher class printed-book, and, after having served the purpose of attracting attention and sale to it, became lessened in value, often mutilated of parts, worm-eaten, and cracked, and in such condition fell into the hands of those literary rag-pickers, the professional publishers of street-ballads for hawkers. There is seldom any practical difficulty found by an expert determining to which of these two classes every woodcut belongs, when it is encountered on a broadside. In general the first class, of ballad-cuts proper, are of much coarser execution, more clumsy in design, and later in costume than the book-illustrations. Of these latter a large number were no doubt the work of French and German artists. A few of these here given belong to known books, still extant, and there are many others in the Roxburghe, Bagford, Wood, and Rawlinson collections which are veritable relics of small quarto volumes of pleasantry, which must always be interesting to students of old literature. Thus the cut marked (A)

18* Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations.

belonged to Robert Greene's "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," published in 1592. (B) is a mutilated and spoilt illustration from the title-page of Will Kemp's "Nine-Days Wonder," 1600; the figures separated and absurdly misplaced (after each had been elsewhere used singly, and the original intention forgotten): with the bells on Kemp's legs shorn away to disguise their morris-dancer significance. These bells are better seen in the terribly-reduced copy (C) of the morris-dancer receiving his prize-cup and a "modest quencher," that "cheers," if it does no more. The gambling Bordello-scene (D) is an Elizabethan picture of fast-life, that had originally belonged to a small pamphlet. (E) is a very slovenly and inaccurate copy (Planché's) from the wood-cut adorning the title-page of "A Faire Quarrell: written by Thomas Midleton and William Rowley," 1622. This edition is in the present writer's possession, but there was an earlier edition issued in 1617. The cut may have been used before that date, as evidently the two shields on the ground, with armorial-bearings emblazoned, mark some special duel.

The single figure (F) represents Gabriel Harvey, as caricatured offensively by Thomas Nash (as though Harvey had anticipated Alderman Atkins of Civil-War date, in forgetting his manners; even as Hogarth misrepresented Felix when he "trembled"). It is from "Haue with you to Saffron Waldon," 1596, and become a favourite adornment among ballad-prints. There is clever satire embodied in (G), showing how drink develops the latent *animalism* of human beings. The original cut, before it descended to the ballad printer Rich. Harper, was on the title-page of Thomas Heywood's "Philocothonista; or, the Drunkard opened, dissected, and anatomised," 1635. At the Bodleian Library, when engaged on the Bagford-Ballad editing, the present writer found the Maypole-dance (H); with its primitive perspective of street-architecture resembling our modern workmen's cottages, and the clear indication of a prize-wreath for the Queen of the May, with the protecting stumps around the May-pole, and the Tabourer with his pipe, calling the flat-capped 'Prentice-boys and the blithe damsels to a dancing-bout. It is apparently of Charles the First's time, and, to the best of our belief, was never copied before, being used as an extra-illustration of the Ballad-Society's Bagford-Ballads.

The Tavern scene (I), with the "Drawer" waiting, was a favourite illustration of Martin Parker's convivial ballads, three of which it adorns. John Wade's publisher often selected (K), with its cavaliers regaling themselves over the Virginian weed:—

Much meate doth gluttony produce,
And makes a man a Swine;
But hee's a temperate-man indeed,
That with a leafe can dine.

Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations. 19*

He needes no napkin for his hande
His fingers for to wipe ;
He hath his kitchin in a box,
His Roast-meate in a pipe. (1641.)

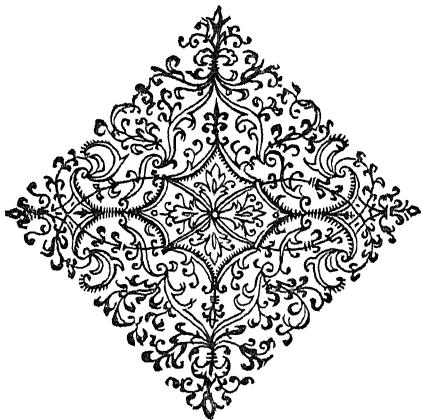
The patient fisherman (L), we believe, appeared in some little precursor of Isaak Walton's "Compleat Angler," and long before his date of 1653. (M) and (N) probably belonged to one story-book, and showed the progress of a love-affair, the garden-scene being a later incident in the tale. To us it seems to be of James the First's time. Most of the other cuts were intended from the first as ballad-illustrations. The Tinker (O) was always a popular, amatory, and reckless character; to whom many old ballads were devoted, and he was always triumphant. The number of representations of Queen Elizabeth (P, Q, and R,) testify to the fondness with which the people regarded "Good Queen Bess," both before and after the Crown had passed to the Stuart family. We have an impression that the picture of a Queen with a veil depending from her head (S) represented "Bloody Mary." It is of rare occurrence, in comparison with those of her more popular sister, Elizabeth. The obtrusively-indelicate exposure of the bosom (T) was a court-fashion of James the First's time, to whose date the woodcut belongs. In Coryat's "Crudities," 1611, both the frontispiece and the illustration of his meeting the Venetian Courtezan shew how this fashion prevailed among the frail sisterhood in other lands. Fuller's "Profane State," an early edition, has a portrait of Joan of Naples, with exactly similar display; probably in that individual case it was a wanton calumny, but it was intended to blacken her character. Many upright people love to believe the worst about women who are fascinating. In an extant portrait of the beautiful and wicked Countess of Somerset, Carr's wife, there is an equal obtrusion of her charms, that ought to be kept secret. See the Bagford Ballads, p. 124, for what Dante writes on the immodesty of the Florentine women: "O dolce frate," etc., *Purgatorio*, canto xxiii. See also "Bagnall's Ballad," beginning, "A Ballet, a Ballet," in *Musarum Deliciae*, 1656. An insufficiency of drapery to cover one part of the body seems generally to have accompanied some superabundance at another; as shown in the hoop-extended robes, with shoulder-lappets, and wire-spread starched-Ruff under the ears (U), in another Court-Lady of James the First: perhaps his Queen Anne, or the Lady Arabella. Even thus, bare shoulders and scanty under-garments are now found in conjunction with long trailing skirts. Going down to dinner, like Goldsmith's Traveller, ladies "drag at each remove a lengthening chain." The feather-fans appear in many of the cuts; and examples meet us (X¹ to X⁴) of the same design being often copied; sometimes by rival publishers, but oftener to suit other-sized spaces, or admit of several

20*Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations.

ballads being worked off simultaneously, before stereotyping was understood. The Shepherdess with a crook (Y) affords a specimen of the fantastically Pastoral; her actual costume (compare Y²) being whimsical enough to embody the ideal desired. The dashing Cavalier (Z) with three-plumed hat and fair depending Love-locks, often tied with knots of ribbon, belongs to the reign of Charles the First, and adorns ballads of the date 1639. Until shortly after that time the popular representation of a lover was always as an armed horseman :

“ I could not love thee, dear, so much
Loved I not honour more.”

J. W. EBSWORTH.





Roxburghe Ballad Cuts (Ballad Society). T. Bare Breasts ; Wheel Farthingale (or Crinoline).
S. Queen Mary. P. Queen Elizabeth. Round Farthingale.



X¹



R



Ruffs, Fans, Chains, Farthingales or Hoops. X². Unmarrid Woman, bare-breasted.



X²

22*

V



Q



V²



Feathers, Ruffs, Fans, Farthingales or Hoops. V. Probably Queen Anne, of Denmark, with wired Ruff.
Q. Queen Elizabeth.



Women's Feathers, Wired Ruffs, Wheel Farthingales. Men's Bumbasted Breeches,
Hat-bands, Feathers, &c. t. Elizabeth or James I.



(? Time of James I.)



Women's Ruffs, Farthingales, &c. 4. Men's fringed Boot-tops, &c





D. Gambling in a Brothel. Time of Elizabeth.



E. Bombasted Breeches, time of Elizabeth. *Planché*, i. 57. (Slovenly copy from the title-page of Middleton and Rowley's *Faire Quarrell*, 1617.)



A



C



B

Roxburghe Ballad Cuts. A: from R. Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtier, 1592.

B is the famous Clown Kemp's Dance to Norwich 1600, alterd from the title-page of his
Nine-Days' Wonder: the Drummer ought to go before Kemp.

C. Morris-dancer, with bells below his knee, going to take a drink.

Z



F



F. Gabriel Harvey, from T. Nashe's *Hauue with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596. The rest probably of the time of James I.



Fishing with an angle (? Dutch). Probably time of James I.



The Jovial Tinker. See Memorandum.



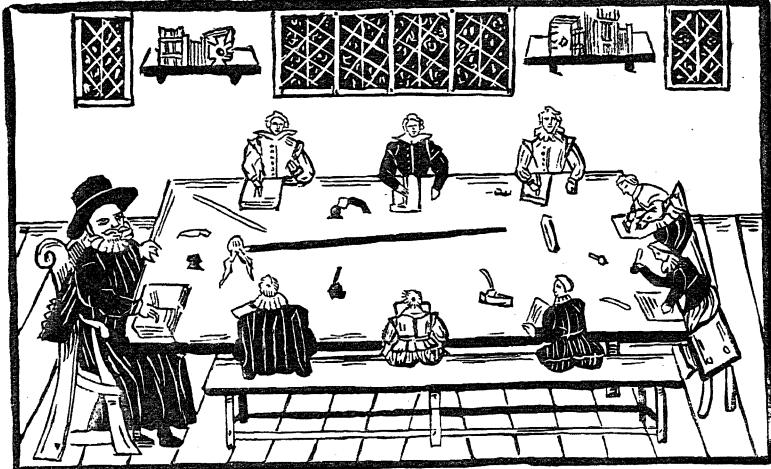
G. Drunkards, from the Title-page of T. Heywood's *Philocothonista*, 1635.



K. Pipes and Ale : final time of Q. Elizabeth or early of James I.
SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND : STUBBES.

d

31*



[Probably a Professor or Lecturer at College, with his Students. Note the Dress, Benches, Chair, Bookshelves. J. W. E.]



A Judicial Complaint : with plaintiff on his knees supplicating for redress, and the defendant standing, but losing courage while being admonished. Their inferior size is an indication of being of lowlier station. J. W. E.



I. Tavern-scene. Drawer attending at a revel.



H. May-pole Dance: time of Charles I. See Memorandum.

F O R E W O R D S .¹

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|--|--|
| § 1. <i>The Anatomie: its 1st and 2nd Parts</i> , p. 35* | § 6. <i>His 11 known, and 8 extant Works</i> , p. 55* |
| § 2. <i>T. Nashe's chaff and abuse of Stubbes</i> , p. 36* | § 7. <i>His Character</i> , p. 69* |
| § 3. <i>Did Stubbes write against real Sins or fancid ones?</i> p. 44* | § 8. <i>Miscellaneous</i> : p. 71*
<i>Queen Elizabeth's Procession in 1600, Kirchmaier's Popish Superstitions in 1553, the present Edition, &c.</i> |
| § 4. <i>Was he a mere Railer, or did his indignation against Vice and Folly spring from an earnest Heart?</i> p. 49* | APPENDIX: Extracts from Bp. Babington more or less justifying Stubbes , p. 75* |
| § 5. <i>Stubbes, his Wife, and her Family</i> , p. 50* | |

§ 1. As Harrison's *Description of England* is the best work on the general condition of our country during Shakspere's early time, so is Stubbes's *Anatomie* the worthfullest for the special departments of Dress—and its extravagances in men and women,—of Amusements and the excesses they ran into, of the Follies and Naughtinesses of the day. No one can pretend to know Shakspere's England without Stubbes's help, and therefore the *Anatomie* has taken an early place in our Society's Sixth Series, whose purpose is to put before our Members the best pictures attainable of our great poet's time. The First Part only of the book is generally known. The reputation which its slash and life have won for it, has (I have long thought) unfairly darkend the merits of the Second Part, in which Stubbes shows up briefly the Abuses and Corruptions in all classes of Society, Temporality and Spirituality, and describes, one after the other, the

¹ Prof. Nichol, of Glasgow, calls this good word a barbarism ! How happy for us, that a little cherub sits up aloft in the Northern wilds to look after the civilization of us Southerners !

36* § 1. *Contents of the Anatomie*, Part II. § 2. *T. Nashe.*

Country	Landlords
Queen	Tailors
Her Council	Starchers
Shires	Tanners
Judges (delays in law)	Shoemakers
Prisoners, their hard case	Brokers (F. 4, bk.)
Laws	Hospitality, or relief for the poor.
Universities	Beggars
Schoolmasters	Husbandmen
Merchants	Ingratiers or Forestallers
Drapers	Chandlers
Clothiers	Barbers
Goldsmiths	Surgeons and Physicians
Vintners	Astronomers and Astrologers
Butchers	Prognosticators and Almanac-
Grasiers	Makers.
Parks	
Sheepmasters	

The list of subjects will show those who have had a taste of Stubbes in this First Part of his *Anatomie* how valuable the Second Part must be; and tho' the spice of it is not equal to that of the First Part, I mean to print it, as well for its own worth as to complete the work. But as the First Part was evidently written as a complete book, the Second Part being only calld out by the unwonted success of the First, I have put separate Forewords, Notes, and Index to the First Part, so as to keep it distinct from the Second; and I have not quoted in the Notes, any of the many illustrative passages that are in Part II., where, as the reader has seen, some of the Part-I-subjects are dealt with again.

§ 2. The general view of Stubbes is, that he was a mere bitter narrow-sould Puritan, who saw only the dark side of everything,—evil in innocence, sin in mirth, the devil in dancing, and hell in Shakspere's art. In his own time this opinion prevaild. He was held up to contempt as one of the Mar-Prelate zealots and hypocrites by the sharp-tongued Thomas Nashe, who in 1590 plagiarized Stul bes's title, and kept his own *Anatomie of Absurditie* into sale by following in Stubbes's wake, and yet had in 1589 cut him (and his fellows) up in the style following:—

§ 2. *T. Nashe on Stubbes's Dice-playing and Widow.* 37*

(1) NASHE ON STUBBES, in his *Almond for a Parrat*,¹ 1589.

"If they will needes ouerthrowe mee,
let them goe in hand with the
exploite, &c.

[on sign. C. 4.]

" **H**olla, holla, brother Martin, you are to hasty: what, Winter is no time to make warres in; you were best stay til summer, & then both our braines wilbe in a better temperature, but I thinke ere that time your witte wilbe welny worn thredbare, and your banquerout inuention, cleane out at the elbowes; then are we well holpen vp with a witnesse, if the aged champion of Warwicke, doe not lay in his shoulders, and support discipline ready to lie in the dust, with some or other demonstration. I can tell you, *Phil. Stu.* is a tall man also for that purpose. What, his Anatomy of Abuses for all that, will serue very fitly for an Antipast, before one of *Egertons*² Sermons: I would see the best of your *Trauerxes*³ write such a treatise as he hath done, against short heeld pantoffles. But one thing it is great pitty of him, that being such a good fellow as hee is, hee shoulde speake against dice, so as he doth: neuerthelesse ther is some hope of him, for as I heard not long since, a brother of his, meting him by chance (as theeuues meete at the gallows) after many Christian questions of the well-fare of his persecuted brethren, and sistern, askt him when they should haue a game at tables together, "by the grace of God, the next Sabbath," quoth *Phil.*, "and then if it shal so seeme good to his prouidence, haue at you for ames ase and the dise." I forgette to tell you what a stirre he keepes against dumbe ministers, and neuer writes nor talkes of them, but he calleth them minstrels, when his mastershippe in his minority, plaide the Reader in Cheshire, for fve marke a yeare and a canuas dublet, couenanted besides, that in consideration of that stipend, he make cleane the patrons bootes every time he came to towne. What neede more words to proue him a protestant? did not he behauie himselfe like a true Christian, when he went a wooing for his friend *Clarke*? I warrant you, he saide not 'God sauе you, or God speed you,' with 'good euen, or good morrow,' as our prophane woers are wont, but stopt close to her, with 'peace bee with you,' very demurely, and then told her a long tale, that in-so-much as widowhoode was an vncleane lyfe, and subiect to many temptations, shee

¹ This tract has been attributed also to John Lyly, the author of *Euphues*; but it's surely more like Nashe, and ought to be his.

² The 'zealous Puritan and Preacher at the Black Fryers in London,' Stephen Egerton, author of a *Lecture on Gen. xii.*, &c. Lon. 1589, 8vo. *Catechizing*, 1594, 8vo, &c. Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* (1691), i. 754.

³ The famous Puritan, Walter Travers, author of 'An Answere to a suppli- catorie Epistle of G. T. for the pretended Catholiques,' 1583, &c. Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* (i. 1691), 741; Cooper, *Ath. Camb.*

38* § 2. *T. Nashe about Stubbes tempting a Widow.*

might doe well to reconcile her selfe to the Church of God, in the holy ordinance of matrimony. Manye wordes past to this purpose ; but I ¹wotte well the conclusion was this, that since she had hitherto conuerst with none but vnregenerate persons, and was vterly carelesse of the communion of Saints, she would let him, that was a man of God, put a newe spirite into her by carnall copulation, and so engrafte her into the fellowshippe of the faithfull ; to which, that shee might more willingly agree, hee offered her a spicke and spanne new Geneua Bible, that his attendant Italian had brought with him to make vp the bargaine. But for all the Scripture he could alledge, it should not bee ; *Phil. Stu.* was no meate for her tooth. God wote, he could not get a penyworth of leachery on such a pawne as his Bible was ; the man behinde the painted cloth mard all ; and so, O griefe, a good Sabaoths day work was lost. Stand to it *Mar-martin Iunior*, and thou art good inough for ten thousand of them ; tickle me my *Phil.* a little more in the flanke, and make him winche like a resty iade, whereto a dreaming diuine of Cambridge, in a certain priuate Sermon of his, compared the wicked. Saist thou me so, good heart ? then haue at you Maister Compositor, with the construction of *Sunt oculos clari qui cernis sydera tanquam*. If you be remembred, you were once put to your trumpes about it in Wolfes² Printing-house, when as you would needes haue *clari* the infinitiue moode of a verbe passiue ; which determined, you went forwards afier this order : *Sunt* there are, *oculos eies, qui* the which, *cernis* thou doest see, *clari* to be cleare, *tanquam sydera* as the Stars : Excellent well done of an old Maister of Arte ! yet why may not hee by authority challenge to himselfe, for this one piece of worke, the degrees hee neuer tooke?³ Learning is a iewel, my maisters ; make much of it ; and *Phil. Stu.* a Gentleman, euery haire of his head ; whom although you doe not regard according as he deserues, yet I warrant you, *Martin* makes more account of him then so, who hath substituted him long since (if the truth were well boulted out) amongst the number of those priuy Martinists which he threatens to place in⁴ euery parish. I am more then halfe weary of trotting too and fro in this cursed common wealth, where sinfull simplicitee pufte vppe with pride of singularity, seekes to peruerte the name and methode of

¹ Sign. D. i.

² Reginald Wolfe, the Queen's Printer, and planner of *Holinshed's Chronicle*. See Harrison, I. p. iv, and Stow, p. 65* n. below.

³ This phrase I take to be the ground of Antony Wood's (or his correspond-ent's) paragraph below, p. 53* n. Stubbes didn't take a degree ; therefore he was at a University. No trace existed of him at Oxford ; therefore he was at Cambridge, and left before he took his degree. Then, because there was a Justinian Stubbs, M.A., at Glo'ster Hall, Oxford, in 1589 (? enterd there in 1583), therefore Phillip Stubbes, after his 7 years' ramble about England, 1576-83, settled at Oxford for a time, at Glo'ster Hall.

⁴ Sign. D. i, back.

§ 2. *T. Nashe's Attack on Stubbes and his Anatomie.* 39*

magistracy. But as the moste of their arguments, are drawn from our graue fathers infirmities, so all their outrageous endeours haue their offspring from affected vainglory.

(“An Almond for a Parrat / Or Cutbert Curry-knaues / *Almes.* / Fit for the knaue Martin, and the / rest of the impudent Beggars, that / can not be content to stay their stomackes / with a Benefice, but they will needes / breake their fastes with / our Bishops./ *Rimarum sum plenus.* / Therefore beware (gentle Reader) you / catch not the hicket with laughing./ [Ornament.] Imprinted at a Place, not farre from / a Place, by the Assignes of Signior Some-body, and / are to be sold at his shoppe in Trouble-knaue / Street, at the signe of the / Standish.” [1589].)

(2) NASHE ON STUBBES, in his *Anatomie of Absurditie*, 1590
(sign. B. ii.).

“I leaue these [Girls and their praisers] in their follie, and hasten to other mens furie, who make the Presse the dunghill whether they carry all the muck of their mellancholike imaginations, pretending forsooth to anatomize abuses; and stubbe vp sin by the rootes, when as there waste paper beeing wel viewed, seemes fraught with nought els saue dogge daies effects, who, wresting places of Scripture against pride, whoredome, couetousnesse, gluttonie, and drunkennesse, extend their inuictiues so farre against the abuse, that almost the things remaines not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse. Speaking of pride, as though they were afraid somebody should cut too large peniworthes out of their cloth: of couetousness, as though in them that Prouerbe had beene verified, *Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes*: of gluttonie, as though their liuing did lye vpon another mans trencher: of drunkennesse, as though they had beene brought vppe all the dayes of their life with bread and water: and finally of whoredome, as though they had beene Eunuches from theyr¹ cradle, or blind from the howre of their conception. But as the Stage player is nere the happier, because hee represents oft times the persons of mightie men, as of Kings & Emperours, so I account such men neuuer the holier, because they place praise in painting foorth other mens imperfections.

These men resemble Trees, which are wont eftsoones to die, if they be fruitfull beyond their wont; euen so they to die in vertue, if they once ouershoote themselues too much wyth inueighing against vice; to be brainesicke in workes if they be too fruitfull in words. And euen as the Vultures slay nothing themselues, but pray vpon *that* which of other is slayne, so these men inueigh against no new vice, which heere to fore by the censures of the learned hath not beene sharply condemned, but teare that, peecemeale wise, which long since by ancient wryters was wounded to the death, so that out

¹ Sign. B. ii. back.

40* § 2. *T. Nashe's Attack on Stubbes & fellow-Puritans.*

of there forepassed pains, ariseth their Pamphlets, out of their volumes, theyr inuictives. Good God, that those that neuer tasted of any thing sauе the excremente of Artes, whose threddbare knowledge being bought at the second hand, is spotted, blemished, and defaced, through translators rigorous rude dealing, shoulde preferre their sluttered sutes, before other mens glittering gorgious array, should offer them water out of a muddie pit, who haue continually recourse to the Fountaine, or dregs to drink, who haue wine to sell. *At scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciatur alter.* Thy knowledge bootes thee not a button, except another knowes that thou hast this knowledge. Anacharsis was wont to say, that the Athenians vsed money to no other ende but to tell it; euen so these men make no other vse of learning, but to shewe it. But as the Panther smelleth sweetelie but onely to brute beastes, which shee draweth vnto her to theyr destruction, not to men in like maner, so these men seeme learned to none but to Idiots, whom with a coloured shew of zeale, they allure vnto them to their illusion, and not to the learned in like sort. I knowe not howe it delighteth them to put theyr Oare in [an] other mans boate, and their foote in another mans boote, to incurre that prouerbial checke, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, or that oratoricall taunt, *Quam quisque norit artem, in ea se exercitat*: with the Elephant to wade and wallowe in the shallow water, when they woulde sooner sincke then swym in the deepe Riuier, to be conuersant in those Authors which they cannot vnderstande, but by the translatour their Interpreter, to vaunte reading when the sum of their diuinitie consists in twopennie Catichismes; and yet their ignoraunt zeale wyll presumptuously presse into the Presse, enquiring most curioslie into euery corner of the Common wealth, correcting that sinne in others, wherwith they are corrupted themselues. To prescribe rules of life, belongeth not to the ruder sorte; to condemne those callings which are approoued by publique authoritie, argueth a proude contempt of the Magistrates superiority. Protogenes knew Apelles by one lyne, neuer otherwise seene, and you may knowe these mens spirit by theyr speeche, their minds by their meddling, their folly by their phrase. View their workes, and know their vanitie; see the Bookes bearing their name, and smile in thy sleeve at their shame. A small ship in a shallow Riuier, seemes a huge thing, but in the sea a very little vessel; euen so each trifling Pamphlet to the simpler sorte, a most substantiall subiect, whereof the wiser lightly account, and the learned laughing contemne. Therefore more earnestly I agrauate their faulte, because their crime is crept into credit, and their dooinges deemed deuotion, when as purposelie to some mans despight, they bring into act their cholericke motions.

A common practise it is now adaias, which breedes our common calamitie, that the cloake of zeale, shoulde be vnto an hypocrite in steed of a coate of Maile, a pretence of puritie, a pentisse for iniquitie,

¹ Sign. B. iii.

§ 2. T. Nashe's *Attack on Stubbes and the Puritans.* 41*

a glose of godlines, a couert for all naughtines. When men shall publique make profession of a more inward calling, and shall waxe cold in the workes of charitie, and feruent in malice, liberall in nothing but in lauishe backbyting, holding hospitalitie for an eschewed heresie, and the performance of good workes for Papistrie, may wee not then haue recourse to that caueat of Christ in the Gospell, *Cauete ab¹ hipocritis.* It is not the writhing of the face, the heauing vppe of the eyes to heauen, that shall keepe these men from hauing their portion in hell. Might they be saued by their booke, they haue the Bible alwaies in their bosome, and so had the Pharisies the Lawe embroidered in their garments. Might the name of the Church inseaffe them in the kingdome of Christ, they will include it onely in their couenticles, and bounde it euen in Barnes, which many times they make their meeting place, and will shameleslie face men out, that they are the Church militant heere vpon earth, when as they rather seeme a company of Malecontents, vnworthy to breath on the earth. Might the boast of the spirit pind to their sleeues, make them elect before all other, they will make men beleue, they doe nothing whereto the spirit dooth not perswade them : and what Heretiques were there euer that did not arrogate as much to themselues? These they be that publiquely pretende a more regenerate holines, beeing in their priuate Chambers the expresse imitation of Howligasse.² It is too tedious to the Reader to attend the circumstaunce of their seuerall shyfes, the lothsomnesse of their guilefull wiles, the tract path of theyr treacherie: you know them without my discourse, and can describe their hypocrisie, though I be not the Notarie of their iniquitie, Seeing their workes, shun their waies."

(The Anatomie of / Absurditie : / Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender / imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short / description of the seuerall practises of youth, and / sundry follies of our licentious / times. / No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembred / especially of those, who liue more licentiously, or addic-/ted to a more nyce stoycall austertie. / Compiled by T. Nashe. / *Ita diligendi sunt homines, ut eorum non / diligamus errores.* / At London, / Printed by I. Charlewood for Tho-/mas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop / in Lumberd Street, vnder the signe of /the Popes heade. / *Anno. Dom. 1590. /*)

Gabriel Harvey, in his *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, against Thomas Nashe, thus (pp. 183-4) answers the latter's attack on Stubbes :—

"It is the destiny of our language, to be pestered with a rable-

¹ Sign. B. iii. back.

² A supposd rough practical joker and dirty doer. Wm. Copland printed (in 1548-60) 3 editions of the book recording his doings. For a list of its contents, see my *Captain Cox*, Ballad Soc., p. xlxi-1.

42* § 2. *Gabriel Harvey's Defence and Praise of Stubbes.*

ment of botchers in Print: but what a shamefull shame it is for him [T. Nashe], that maketh an Idoll of his owne penne, and raiseth-vpp an huge expectation of paper-miracles, (as if Hermes Trismegist were newly risen from the dead, and personally mounted vpon Danters presse¹), to emprooue himself as ranke a bungler in his mightiest worke of Supererogation, as the starest Patch-pannell of them all, or the grossest hammer-drudge in a country. He disdaineth Thomas Delone,² *Philip Stubbs*, Robert Armin, and the common Pamfletters of London, euen the painfullest Chroniclers tooe; because they stand in his way, hinder his scribbling traffique, obscure his resplendishing Fame, or haue not chronicled him in their Catalogues of the renowned modern Autors, as he meritoriously meriteth, and may peraduenture be remembred hereafter. But may not Thomas Delone, *Philip Stubbs*, Robert Armin, and the rest of those misused persons, more disdainfully disdaine him; because he is so much vayner, so little learneder, so nothing eleganter, than they; and they so much honester, so little obscurer, so nothing contemptibler, than he? Surely, Thomas, it were pollicy, to boast lesse with Thomas Delone, or to atchieue more with Thomas More. If Vaunting, or craking may make thee singular, thy Wit superexcellent, thy Learning omnisufficient, thy memory infinite, thy dexterity incomprehensible, thy force horrible, thy other giftes more then admirable; but . . . ”

In the same tract (*Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, pp. 190-1), Gabriel Harvey further praisd Stubbes³ for his siled and workman-like style:—

“Our late writers are, as they are: and albeit they will not suffer me to ballance them with the honorable Autors of the Romanes, Grecians and Hebrues, yet I will craue no pardon of the highest, to do the simplest no wrong. In Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe; in Heywood, Tusser, and Gowge⁴; in Gascoigne, Churehyarde, and Floide⁵; in Ritch, Whetstone, and Munday; in Stanyhurst, Fraunce,

¹ From which came in 1597 the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*. J. Dunster also enterd a *Titus Andronicus* in 1593.

² See the long list of Deloney's ballads, tracts, and books, in Hazlitt. Tho' Deloney might have been calld a pamphleteer, Robert Armin, the actor and play-writer, couldn't.

³ I assume that he means Phillip Stubbes, and not John Stubbe of the *Gaping Gulf*, 1579 (p. 53* and 54* below). The Chroniclers who are coupled with Stubbes above, are praisd here by name, Grafton, Holinshed, Stowe; and certainly Harvey would admire all the hard inkhorn words in the early editions of the *Anatomicie*.

⁴ See a bit of Googe's work in the Naogeorgius Appendix, p. 323 below.

⁵ Lodowick Lloyd, of *The Pilgrimage of Princes*, &c., was so calld, says Mr. Hazlitt. See the list of his works in Lowndes.

§ 2. Nashe's *Widow-chaff of Stubbes* not to be believd. 43*

and Watson ; in Kiffin¹, Warner, and Daniell ; in an hundred such vulgar writers, many things are commendable, diuers things notable, some things excellent. For a polished and garnished stile, few go beyonde Cartwright, and the chiefest of his Confuters, furnished writers : and how few may wage comparison with Reinolds, *Stubbes*, Mulcaster, Norton, Lambert, and the Lord Henry Howarde ? whose seuerall writings, the siluer file of the workeman recommendeth to the plausible interteinment of the daintiest censure.²" .

Now I don't want, with Harvey, to call the slashing Tom Nashe "the sonne of a mule, a rawe Grammarien, a brabbling Sophister, a counterfaict cranke, a stale rakehell, a piperly rymer, a stump-worne railer, a dodkin autor" (*ib.* p. 61) ; or to say that his books are all like his *Strange Newes* (1592, against Harvey) : "Railing, railing, railing : bragging, bragging, bragging : and nothing else, but fowle railing vpon railing, and wayne bragging vpon bragging, as rudely, grossely, odiously, filthily, beastly, as euer shamed Print" (*ib.* p. 64), but I do not believe his story about Stubbes and the widow. Nashe reminds me of a little drunken scribbler I once knew, who, when a man offended him, always said 'the fellow 's a drunken clown.' Nash and his loose-living likes, who sneerd at Stubbes and his mates as eunuchs, did, I believe, invent or get hold of any joking tale—like that of the Bible that wasn't a high enough cushion for a willing sister and an endeavouring brother, because the Apocrypha wasn't in it³ (*Percy Fol., L. & H. Songs*, p. 35),—and stick it on to any Puritan they wanted to chaff. So that it raisd a laugh was all they cared for, and when it had done this, they were satisfied. Nashe's story goes too far. Even if Stubbes had been an Angelo, and the widow an Isabella, the bribe wouldn't have been a Bible. So I reject the

¹ Maurice Kyffin, of the *Blessedness of Brytaine*, 1587, &c.: see Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 322-3.

² See the praises of other authors, &c , before and after, p. 190-2 : Southwell, Scot (*Discovery of Witchcraft*), Whitgift, Drant, Dr. Still, &c. On p. 60-1, he calls Nashe "a May-Lord of Primerose-hill, that hath all humours in his liuerie, & can put conscience in a Vices coate." I don't take up space by quoting the chief works of the authors nam'd in the text above, as they are either well known or can be easily found in bibliographical lists.

³ See too in *Dodsley*, ix. 61-2, the jest about the Puritan lass who yielded only to prevent her lover breaking his oath, as he'd sworn to succeed. The point of the Apocrypha joke was that the Puritans calld the Apocrypha a lot of Popish fables, and refusd to acknowledge it as part of the Bible.

44* § 3. *Was Elizabethan Dress outrageously absurd?*

widow tale. Nashe, however, is more to be regarded, and is nearer hitting the nail on the head, when he complains of Stubbes extending his “inuetiues so farre against the abuse, that almost the thing remaines not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse.”

§ 3. But the question is, 1. whether Stubbes was writing against real abuses or not, and 2. whether he wrote from real earnestness, or only hypocrisy. If the excesses he denounces were real, and if his zeal against them was righteous, we shall not judge him harshly because he went a little too far in the words he used, or the sharpness of the curb he'd have liked to put on offenders.

On the first point he deals with, Men's and Women's Dress, I ask whether one single writer of the time can be produc'd, who treats the matter, and is satisfied with his contemporaries' practice? I've never seen or heard of one. But on the contrary, every man whose book you open,—from the catholic Shakspere, who surely liked his cakes and ale, to the sensible cheery Harrison, the odd, and liker of oddities, Tom Coryat,—every single writer condemns the foolery, extravagance and evil of the outrageous garments around him. The Queen and her Council did so (see the fine volume of her Proclamations in the Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., *an.* 1, 4, 8 (p. 94-6), 16 (p. 155-7), 19 (p. 171-3), 30 (p. 253-7), 39 (p. 343-6, A.D. 1597).¹ And we, by our practice, do it too.

Why also did Stubbes condemn these follies? Not only because he saw with Shakspere that men bore manors on their backs, and sacrifict their inheritances to gratify their stupid pride; not only because he knew, with Harrison, that for this, England's oaks were felled, her country hospitality stopt; but because the follies led to the neglect of the poor—the humble folk that ben Christ's friends, as Chaucer says—who were left to die in the streets like dogs, the dung that rotted, to grow the flowers that adornd the Court

Take the next vices with which Stubbes deals, Whoredom and Adultery, Gluttony and Drunkenness; and on the first pair, contrast Shakspere's Spring Song on the Cuckoo at the end of *Love's*

¹ See *An.* 42, for suppression of Ale-houses, and due observance of Fish-days; and *an.* 43 for prohibiting the carrying of dags (big pistols: *Harrison*, i. 283).

§ 3. *Did Stubbes condemn Whoredom too strongly?* 45*

Labours Lost with Wordsworth's, and judge whether Stubbes had cause to write as he did, or not, and whether we haven't cause to be grateful that he and his fellows did write thus, and set their faces as a flint against the idle wits that treated the soiling of women's purity as a joke, and the debauching of girls as an honourable token of manliness. Thank God, it requires an effort of the imagination to turn from our own state of society—faultful tho' it be—and conceive one in which the so welcome note of the herald of spring, the recaller of youth's 'golden time,' could suggest the idea of cuckoldry to any husband. No longer is it true in England, that

" When Daisies pied, and Violets blew,
 And Cuckow-buds of yellow hew,
 And Ladie-smockes all siluer white,
 Do paint the Medowes with delight,
 The Cuckow then on euerie tree
 Mockes married men ; for thus sings he,
 Cuckow !
 Cuckow, Cuckow ! O worde of feare,
 Vnpleasing to a married eare."

L. L. Lost, V. 904-12, Folio I. p. 144, col. 2.

And we have to thank mainly the Puritan party that this old evil is not ours still.

As to the Drunkenness, that is still the great curse of our land. And ask any one who's been among working men, and seen what a drinker's home and wife and children are like, seen the blessed change that teetotalism makes in all ; ask any one who knows what went on in the upper and middle classes as late as my own father's day, my own youth,—the daily debasing of men to worse than brutes ;—ask any one who knows but a little of Elizabethan books ; ask Shakspere, thro' Hamlet or Cassio, whether Stubbes has said one word too stern against that "devil drunkenness" (*Oth.* II. iii. 297), which was in his day, as it is in ours, the blight of our native land.

As to the evils next complain'd of, the enclosure of Commons without due regard to the rights of the poor, the cheating dealers, &c.—what is our Commons-Preservation Society, what are our Co-operative Societies and Stores, but declarations that Stubbes was in the right; that landlords' greed needs check by law, the weakness

46* § 3. *Stubbes's abuse of Cheating, etc., justified.*

of the poor needs help ; and that the Dealer, standing between the workman and the buyer, to make out of both the most he can for himself, without regard to the welfare of either, is a being who has to be turnd into the agent of worker or buyer, or if possible both, bound to act honestly, and put down all adulteration, extravagant profit, and tricks of trade. As to the evil of letting usurers get the ownership of mortgagees' lands because the money was not paid on the day fixt for its return, our Courts of Equity and our Laws have long since settled that Stubbes was right, and have secured the mortgagee his equity of redemption, and prevented the mortgagor from taking more than his principal and interest. So also our laws have, by later Insolvency and Bankruptcy Acts, declar'd Stubbes right in his denouncing of the old iniquitous power of creditors to keep moneyless debtors in prison just as long as they lik'd, let their heels rot from their buttocks, as Stubbes says, in the foul prisons of the day, and then make dice of their bones.

Swearing has so long ceast to be "good form," that Stubbes's condemnation of it will be acquiest in by all, tho' they may not want swearers now branded with a hot iron, or believe in judgments on em.¹

We now come to Stubbes's wholesale abuse of the Amusements of his time ; and it is for this that many folk condemn him, that I allow he was "sumwhat too sour," and went beyond the bounds which he had laid down for himself in his Preface. But let the reader recognize how very much there was in the pastimes of the day that deservd the strongest blame, and in how many cases posterity has justified Stubbes's censures. Note first, that the main reason for Stubbes's fierceness was, that all the games and devilry that he complains of so bitterly, were carried on more vigourously on Sunday than any other day. This is the point the whole matter

¹ Years ago I chanced to ask a regular contributor to the *Saturday*—a very high wrangler of my time at Cambridge—what had made the *S. Review* such a success. He said, "Mainly Cook's (the editor's) power of swearing. He swears at everybody so fiercely, from the printer's devil to his best leader-writer or sub-editor, that he makes us all do exactly as he tells us. I never heard such oaths." The like procedure seems to produce contrary effects at the Horse Guards.

§ 3. *Stubbes on Sabbath-breaking. Fairs, etc., now.* 47*

turns on.¹ Stubbes lookt on the Day as specially holy to his Lord, to be spent “in hearing the woord of God truely preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil ; in receiuing the sacraments, rightly administred ; in vsing publique and priuate prayer ; in thanks-giving to God for all his benefits ; in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations ; *in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes* ; and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man” (p. 140) ; and instead of this, he saw all the vagabonds and drabs of the country playing the devil’s delight all day long, and all night too. No wonder that he rose in wrath, and curst the whole crew. And who—even among us Sunday League and Sunday-Society-men, goers by train and boat—now wants to have bears baited, or theatres open², on Sundays ; fairs held then, and markets ; the *cancan* danced,³ or drunken jollifications going on in Church or Churchyard? Who would let sister, daughter, or maid, be out with a mixt company of men and girls in the woods all night (p. 149)? Depend on it, there *were* abuses of the grossest kind in the rough games of Stubbes’s and Shakspere’s day, abuses even justifying the call that they should in public be put down for a time altogether. We know how many of them have been rightly given up since ; and if we care, we may know that there are two sides to great gatherings for amusement now. Two of the occasions on which this has been brought home to me were these. The first time I was saying to a faithful-working curate-friend in a country town in Hampshire, how pleasant all lookt at the fair that morning. “Yes,” he answerd, “I suppose one oughtn’t to grudge the people their gathering ; but our annual crop of bastards ’ll be sown to-night. We had twelve last year, and eleven the year before ; and many of the girls get ruind for life.” The second time, chatting to an easy-going acquaintance about

¹ So in his denouncing of the Church-Ales, p. 150—2, one great grievance is that the Churches lie “like swyn-coates (pig-styes), their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall downe, the roof all bare . . . the booke of God rent, ragged and all betorn, couered in dust,” p. 151.

² With *Pink Dominoes* (as describd to me) playd, or even the innocent *Venus and Adonis* acted, with next Sunday’s *Referee* notice that Miss Phoebe Don’s legs were “monuments of managerial perspicacity and plumpness.”

³ See p. 146. Note too Chaucer on the dangers of Dances, &c., *Cant. T.* C. 65-6.

48* § 3. *Stubbes right in abusing Bearbaiting, etc.*

our races on Runnymede, at Egham, and saying that I'd seen no harm going on to justify the outcry against them by some folk, he answerd: "Ah, your people just drive down to the course, and go away when the races are over. But if you want to know when the harm's done, and what it is, come with me to the booths the nights before and after, and then take a turn about the grass, and see what's going on there. I'm not one of the strait-laced lot; but knowing what I do, I don't wonder at people trying to stop the whole affair." Folk who like races and fairs and fun in general, either shut their eyes to the evils attending them, or say it's human nature, and there's no such great harm in it after all; but other men and women exist in the world, who can't take sin and the causes of it like this; they're just forced by their souls to fight against it, and its sources, with word and deed, with all their might; and if they do speak a little too sharply, or hit a little too hard, the self-indulgent do-nothings had at least better keep from abusing or sneering at them.

The justness of Stubbes's argument against hunting, on p. 182, is acknowledgd by our modern hunts paying for the damage they do to farmers' fences and crops; and his plea that 'For pleasure sake only, no man ought to abuse any of the creatures of God,' cannot be answerd, as every one 'll confess who's seen, at the end of his first day's hunt, the tears and distress look of the stag he's followd, or the last tries of the fox to save his life.¹

In Stubbes's condemnation of cockfighting, gambling, bear-baiting, we all admit that he was right; and on the whole, tho' he would have put me as an inveterate Sabbath-breaker², dancer, and honourer of Shakspere, into one of the hottest corners of his 'Material Hell,' I do not hesitate to ask his readers to believe that the

¹ The only defence is a shirk, and 'You're another!' "You *can* do without meat if you like; at any rate, you'd be better with little of it, and that of the simplest kind. But, solely for your pleasure, to tickle your palate, you have lots of animals needlessly killed; while we hunting men, for our health and refreshment, as well as our pleasure, only give a stag a good sweating, and kill a stinking fox now and then. Who are *you* to find fault with *us*?" (Mr. E. A. Freeman's articles on hunting and Mr. A. Trollope's answer, a few years back, I haven't seen.)

² And a backslider from the faith of Stubbes, for one Sunday, after a Sab-batarian parson's sermon, my father's Sunday newspaper, the *Windsor Express*, to his great disgust disappear'd till Monday morning.

§ 4. *Stubbes didn't rail only, but car'd for the Poor.* 49*

Abuses he denounc't were real and not fancid ones, cancers in the body of the commonweal, and that his words in denouncing them were not, in most cases, one whit too strong. We pass then to

§ 4. *Was Stubbes a mere railer?* In my early days in London, when one of a body of workers full of Christian-Socialist plans of social reform, helping in district-visiting, ragged schools, working-men's associations, &c., came out some *Latter-Day-Pamphlets*, by a certain prophet of the time, which seemd to me to do nothing but swear generally all round. Everything was wrong, everybody—except the writer—was a fool, niggers should eternally be slaves, and there was no hope for the world except in the coming of some beneficent hog-herd with a tremendous whip to drive the universal swine along the road they ought to go.¹ One night a well-known naval novelist, a disciple of this faith, was at a friend's house, holding forth with his usual fervour, and I ventured to suggest that he should *do* something to try and cure some of the evils he seemd to feel so keenly. I askt him to teach in our ragged school in Little Ormond Yard. On which he took his pipe out of his mouth, took a sip at his —th glass of toddy, and said, 'My dear Sir, I'll see you and your ragged school damnd first! The world 's going to the devil its own way. Let it go !'

Now Phillip Stubbes wouldn't have given a like answer—if I judge him aright—had John Stubbe, or any such man, askt him to lend a hand to any good work near Lincoln's Inn in his day. He'd have gone and done his best at it, tho' he'd no doubt have insisted on dosing the workees with texts and sermons. On his Sundays, he didn't want only to sing psalms and pray ; he'd also collect money for the poor, and do good works (p. 140). He wasn't angry with the rich for their gay clothes and vain show only, but because these led to 'cold charitie to the poore' :

"Do they think that it is lawfull for them to haue millions of sundry sortes of apparell lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Iesus Christe die at their doores for wante of clothing?"

¹ If I do injustice to this book, which was a cruel blow to me after the noble *Life of Cromwell*, the *Sartor*, &c., I am sorry. I never opend it after the Parts were bound. But, had that whip then come to my hands, the prophetic back would have been the first laid open by it.

50* § 4. *Stubbes's care for the Poor, etc.* § 5. *His life.*

—p. 59. “And so [the poore diseased] being caried foorth, either in carts or otherwyse, and thrown in the streats, there they end their dayes most miserably. Truely, Brother, if I had not seen it, I would scarsly haue thought that the like Turkish cruelty had beene vsed in all the World.”—p. 60.

Again and again Stubbes comes back to this, pp. 105, 116, 183, &c. He cares for God’s dumb creatures too¹ (pp. 178, 182). And tho’ we can’t class him with Orlando, who “wil chide no breather in the world but my selfe, against whom I know most fault” (*As You Like It*, III. ii. 297-8), we can honestly refuse to couple him with Jaques, or any of those who merely want to “raile against our mistris the worlde,” and “must have liberty Withall, as large a Charter as the winde, To blow on whom [they] please” (*ib.* II. vii. 47-9).

§ 5. *Stubbes and his Family.* Where he came from, when he was born,² where he was taught, and when he died, we don’t

¹ He would, were he living now, certainly join the *Fellowship of Animals’ Friends* that our Vice-Presidents Mr. and Mrs. Cowper-Temple have just founded. And he’d have curst the putting back Christians under Turkish rule in 1878 as heartily as I did; ‘English interests’ doing the Devil’s work.

² I suppose he was born about 1555,—the year that Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford (Oct. 16) in bloody Mary’s reign. If Stubbes’s 7-years’ travel about England by or before 1583, is to be taken literally, he probably did not start till he was his own master, and 21. I suppose that he didn’t die till in or after 1610, when an enlарd edition of his *Pathway* was publisht, with 15 new prayers added, perhaps for the first time. That he was a well-read and learned man is plain from his books.

Here’s a suggestion from *The Saturday Review* (Sept. 25, 1869, p. 421, col. 2) as to Stubbes’s Christian name: “Why were there so many Philips in those days?—Philip, Earl of Arundel, to whom this book (Stubbes’s *Anatomie*) is dedicated; Philip, Earl of Pembroke, to whom the Shakespeare folio is inscribed; Philip Sidney and Philip Massinger, who could write books for themselves. Why but because Philip was the name of the ‘father of our Kings to be,’ and was the favourite godpapa with the rank-worshipping mammas of the period. And if the word Philip had been called out at a bearbaiting in the sixteenth century, there would have been as many responses to it as there are nowadays when H’albert is shouted for at a Foresters’ Fête at the Crystal Palace.”

Now, though I can’t pretend to measure the infinite funkeyism of the Victorian or Elizabethan English mother and man, yet I must observe that Philip Massinger was baptizd on Nov. 23, 1583, only five years before the Armada, and Sir Philip Sidney born on Nov. 29, 1554, four years before Elizabeth came to the throne (1558); and if the ‘mammas of the period’ kept up their fancy for the Popish Philip of Spain during all the changes of feeling in this time, the fact will surprise any one who has studied the period with the least care. How Stubbes must have hated his name if he thought he got it from the pet son of the scarlet whore!

§ 5. *Stubbes's Marriage, Wife, and Boy.* 51*

know.¹ His Marriage-license we have, the Certificates of his son's birth, and his wife's death; his own account of his 4½ years marrid life (below, p. 197-203, 208), and the few words he says of his travels about England, in his *Anatomie*, 1583 (p. 22, below), and *Motive to Good Workes*, 1593, p. 68*, 69*, below. Colonel Chester kindly sends me the Marriage License, from the Bishop of London:

"1586, Sep. 6, *Philip Stubbes*, Gentleman, of St. Mary at Hill,² London, and Katherine Emmes, spinster, of the same parish, daughter of William Emmes, late of St. Dunstan in the West, London, Cordwainer,³ deceased—To marry at any church or chapel in the diocese of London."

Mr. Henry Stubbs of Danby, Ballyshannon, sends me the following extracts from the Parish-Registers of Burton-on-Trent, as all that the latter yield:—

"1590. John Stubs⁴ filius Philippi baptized the 17 November
1590. Catherine Stubs buried the 14 day of December."⁵

¹ I say this notwithstanding the passage from Nashe quoted above, p. 37*, and the extract (evidently bas'd on it) from Ant. Wood that follows, p. 53*, note. But Nash's bit about the Cheshire readership may have some ground.

² Dr. Howard, who has searcht the Registers of St. Mary at Hill, reports that there are no Stubbes entries in them.—J. L. C.

³ Of course you understand that Katherine Emmes's father was something more than a mere "shoemaker," as we now understand the term. His will styles him "Citizen and Cordwainer," i. e. a freeman of London, and member of the Cordwainers' Company. Stubbs in his tract intimates that William Emmes had held high office in his company, which elevates him to the level of the superior tradesmen of the old city.—J. L. C.

⁴ 70 years after, a John Stubs, with George Fox and Benjamin Furly, publisht "A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural: *You* to *Many*, and *Thou* to *One*: Singular, *One*, *Thou*; Plural, *Many*, *You*. Wherein is shewed forth by Grammar, or Scripture Examples, how several Nations and People have made a distinction between Singular and Plural, &c. London, Printed for Robert Wilson, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Black-Spread-Eagle and Wind-mil in Martins le Grand, 1660. folio." Hazlitt. *Collection and Notes*, p. 166, col. 2.

⁵ This is the day of her death, according to Phillip Stubbes. Possibly her fever led to her quick burial, but it looks odd. It was the Vicar, the Rev. C. F. Thornewill, that extracted the above entries in the Burton Registers for Mr. Henry Stubbes, who says, "the Vicar in his letter to me remarked that there was a + against the entry of Baptism of John Stubs, which he did not observe against any other entry; 'and likewise that the entry of Burial had evidently been made at a later date than that of the Burial itself, as it is in different ink from the rest, and is obviously put between the lines, having been forgotten or otherwise omitted at the time.'"

52* § 5. *Stubbes's Life. His Mother-in-law, Mrs. EMMES.*

All the facts, then, that we know about Philip Stubbes at present are, that he was a Gentleman—either by birth, profession, or both ;—a writer, from 1581 to 1610 (?), of pamphlets and books strongly on the Puritan side, well-read in his Bible and holy books ; that before 1583 he had spent “seuen winters and more, trauailing from place to place, euen all the Land ouer indifferently” (p. 21, below) about England ; that he marrid in the autumn of 1586, a sweet, gentle, pious girl of from 14 to 15, with whom he led a happy peaceful life for nearly 4½ years, expounding texts to her to his heart’s content—a blissful contrast to Milton’s first experiment ;—that he lost her on Dec. 14, 1590, from a 6-weeks’ fever caught after she had thoroughly recoverd from bearing ‘a goodly man childe’—baptizd John, on Nov^r 17 ;—that he was in ‘lodging by Cheapside, 8 of November, 1593 ;’ and that he probably livd till after the new edition of his *Perfect Pathway to Felicitie* was publisht, with 15 new Prayers, in 1610. Col. Chester writes : “I have again gone carefully over all the Stubbs’ wills in Somerset House from 1550 to 1630, and can find nothing of his parentage. His own will is certainly not here, if he left one, and no letters of administration to his estate were ever taken out.”

Stubbes’s mother-in-law, Mrs. Emmes, is describd by him as “a Dutch woman, both discrete and wise, of singular good grace and modestie . . . both religious and verie zealous” (p. 197), and yet she must have been a very Wife of Bath in the matter of husbands, ‘one down, t’other come on.’ Probably after her third husband’s death, she in 1586 “bestowed her [daughter Katherine by her second husband, William Emmes,] in marriage to one maister Stubbes”—our Phillip—p. 197, below, and Col. Chester kindly sends me the following account of her :—

“The mother of Catherine Stubbes (*née* Emmes) was also named Catherine, and she was first the wife of one Reginald Melchior (or Melcher), whose will, as of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, dated 22 Sept. 1563, she proved 12 Nov. following. Melchior directed his body to be buried in St. Martin’s Church-yard. He merely left small sums to his apprentice and his maid, and the residue of his possessions equally to his wife Catherine and his son Melchior.

“The widow did not grieve long, for on the 8th of November

1563, four days before she proved her husband Melchior's will, a license was granted by the Bishop of London for her marriage with William Emmes, then of St. Sepulchre's, London. They subsequently lived in Fleet Street, St. Dunstan-in-the-West."

"The will of William Emmes, Citizen and Cordwainer of London, is dated 26 Nov. 1583. He bequeathed considerable property in houses, &c. to his wife Catharine, and his children, William, John, *Catherine* [Stubbes's wife], Anne, Susan, and Alice, all under age. The widow Catharine Emmes proved the will 14 Jan. 1583/4.

"Four days later, viz. 18 Jan 1583/4, the Bishop of London granted another license for her to marry Richard Tompkins, of St Mary at Hill, London. She outlived her third husband, for, on the 24th of April, 1591, letters of administration to her estate, as a widow, were granted to her daughter Alice, who was then wife of (blank) Dumper."

(Of course the natural temptation has been yielded to,¹ to make

1 By Antony Wood (or his informant)—whose account of Stubbes (not in his 1st ed.) is printed in inverted commas in Bliss's ed. of the *Ath. Oxon.* i. 645, and is as follows:—"Philip Stubbs or Stubbes, was born of genteel parents, but where, one of his descendants of both his names who is a vintner in London, [Philip Stubbs, a vintner, living in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft in London (*note*)] knows not, nor can he positively affirm whether he received his education in either of the universities or not. Be it known therefore, that he was mostly educated in Cambridge, but having a restless and hot head, left that university, rambled thro' several parts of the nation, and settled for a time in Oxon, particularly, as I conceive, in Gloucester-hall, where a brother or near kinsman called Justinian Stubbs, M[aister] of A[rts] and a civilian, studied, by which name and titles I find him there in the beginning of 1589. This Ph. Stubbs was a most rigid Calvinist, a bitter enemy to popery, and a great corrector of the vices and abuses of his time; and tho' not in sacred orders yet the books he wrote related to divinity and morality, as the titles of them following partly shew." He then gives the titles of (b) the *Two Judgments*, 1581; (c) *View of Vanity* 1582; (e) *Rosary* 1583; (d) *Anatomy* 1583,* noting 'divers corrections in and additions to it'; (g) *Theatre of the Pope's Monarchy* 1584. oct.; (j) *Perfect Path to Felicity* 1592; (k) *Motive to Good Works* 1593; (?) "Praise and Commendation of Women. Printed in oct. This I have not seen,† and therefore I cannot give you a larger title." (i) "Christial glass for Christian Women. Lond. 1626." He then speaks of Stubbes's wife, and says, "Near of kin, if not brother, or father to this Philip, was Joh. Stubs of Lincolns-inn, gent. a most rigid puritan, author of *A Discovery of a gaping Gulp for England*. Printed 1579, oct."

* "Ded to Phil. E. of Arundel; black letter, double pages 125. Printed by Ric. Jones. At the back of the last page is a wooden cut of a man in a gown, round bonnet, stooping, and holding a pair of gloves in his left hand. The book penes Mr. Lort of Trin. coll. Cambr., who in May 1772, gave 7s. 6d. for it at Mr. Joseph Hart's auction of books." Cole.

† Nor has any one else that I can hear of.

54* § 5. John Stubbe of the Gaping Gulfe, 1579.

Philip Stubbes, "near of kin, if not father or brother" of the noble Puritan, John Stubbe¹, (or Stubbes,) who in 1579 (not 1581) wrote against the proposd marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Popish Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother—"The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf whereunto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banes, by letting her Majestie see the sin and punishment thereof"; and who had his right hand chopt off with a butcher's knife and mallet² for his sensible

¹ See the interesting memoir of him in Cooper's *Ath. Cant.* ii. 111-12.

² See Camden's *Annales englisht*, 1625, Bk. III. p. 14-16. His account is the best: "Her Maiestie likewise burned with choller that there was a booke published in print, inueighing sharply against the marriage, as fearing the alteration of Religion, which was intituled '*A gaping gulfe to swallow vp England by a French marriage.*' In this Pamphlet the Priuy Councillors which fauoured the Match were taxed of ingratitude to their Prince and Countrey: the Queene, as not understanding well her selfe, by the way of flattery is tauntingly touched: the Duke d'Anjou and his country of France in contumelious tearmes shamefully reviled: the marriage condemned, for the diuersitie of Religions, by poisonous words and passages of Scripture, miserably wrested, would seem to proue that the Daughter of God, being to match with the sonne of Antichrist, it must needs bee the ruine of the Church, and pernicious to the State; neither would Queene Elizabeth bee perswaded that the Author of this booke had any other purpose, but to bring her into hatred with her subiects, and to open a gap to some prodigious innovation. . . .

"Since that, shee begunne to bee the more displeased with Puritans then shee had been before-time, perswading her selfe that such a thing had not passed without their pruitie: and within a few dayes after, Iohn Stubbes of Lincolnes Inne, a zealous professor of Religion, the Author of this Ralatue Pamphlet (whose Sister, Thomas Cartwright the Arch-Puritan had married), William Page the disperser of the copies, and Singleton the Printer, were apprehended; against whom sentence was giuen, that their right hands should be cut off, by a law in the time of Philip and Marie against the Authors of Seditious Writings, and those that disperse them. Some lawyers storming hereat, said the judgement was erroneous, and fetcht from a false obseruation of the time wherein the Statute was made, that it was onely temporarie, and that (Queene Marie dying) it dyed with her. Of the which Lawyers, one Dalton, for his clamorous speeches was committed to prison, and Monson, a Judge of the Common-pleas, was sharply rebuked, and his place taken from him. . . .

"Not long after, [Nov. 3, 1579,* not 1581, as Stowe says, *Annales*, 1605, p. 1168], vpon a Stage set vp in the Market-place at Westminster, Stubbes and Page had their right hands cut off by the blow of a Butchers knife, with a Mallet strucke through their wrests. The Printer had his Pardon. I can remember that, standing

* See "His Wordes upon the Scaffold when he lost his Haund on Tewsdaie, 3 November, 1579." In *Nugae Antiquae*.—Cooper.

§ 6. *Stubbes's Works in the Stationers' Registers.* 55*

and manly tract. But Mr. Henry Stubbes of Danby, Ballyshannon, has a copy of the wills of the righthandless John Stubbs and his father, John Stubbe of Buxton, Norfolk, and in neither of them is there any mention of Philip Stubbes.)

§ 6. *Stubbes's Works.* Of these, eleven have survivd to our day in title,¹ and eight in copies. Of the eleven only six, and of the eight only five, were enterd on the Stationers' Registers, if I can trust my search through the second volume of the (alas !) indexless *Transcript* of Mr. Arber. They are :—

1582-3. An. Eliz. XXV^{to}. primo die Martij

Richard Jones. Licensed vnto him vnder thandes of the Bishop of LONDON and both the wardens. *The Anatome of abuses.* by PHILLIPE STUBBES vj^d
Transcript, ii. 421.

1583. An. Eliz. XXV^{to}. Tertio Die Augusti.

John Charlewood. Receaued of him for his licence to ymprint *The Rosarie of christian Prayers* vj^d /
Transcript, ii. 426.

by *John Stubbes*, so soone as his right hand was off, put off his hat with his left, and cryed aloud, *God save the Queene*. The people round about him stood mute, whether stricken with feare at the first sight of this strange kind of punishment, or for commiseration of the man whom they reputed honest, or out of a secret inward repining they had at this marriage, which they suspected would be dangerous to Religion." Sir Walter Scott and Macaulay have word-painted the scene.

The 8vo mentiond by Antony Wood, *The Praise and Commendation of Women*, is not reckond in the ii, as I doubt the author of *The Anatome*, Part I, which scarified women so, ever having written a 'Praise' of Women in general, tho he did praise his own dead wife. Moreover, we've no record of the *Praise* book being seen by any one ; and none of the long list of books on Women in Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, and *Collections and Notes* suits Wood's title except 'to ye Praye of Good women,' ye xxijth chapter of ye Proverbis, licenst to John Alde in 1568 (*Arber's Transcript*, i. 378), which is too early for Stubbes. 'The Praise and Dispraise of Women' in 1579 won't of course do.

I don't think—as Mr. Reardon did, Old Sh. Soc. *Papers*, iii. 15 ; and Mr. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.*, ii. 399—that Gabriel Harvey necessarily meant to include Stubbes in "the common Pamfletters of London" (p. 42*, l. 9 above), or we might suppose that many of Stubbes's works have been lost. There is no "other" before Harvey's "common," as there ought to be if Mr. Reardon's and Mr. Collier's view were right ; and against it, is also Harvey's after praise of Stubbes for his filed lines (p. 43* above). Harvey meant to distinguish Stubbes from the "common Pamfletters," not confuse him with em.

56* § 6. Stubbess *Works in the Stationers' Registers.*

1583. 25 Eliz. Septimo Die Nouembris/
William wright. Licenced vnto him vnder the wardens handes *The
second parte of Thanotomye of Abuses*¹. . . . vj^d
Transcript, ii. 428.

1591. An. Eliz. 33^o. xv^{to} Junij
Richard Jones./ Entr'd for his copie vnder the handes of the Bishop of
LONDON and the wardens / *A Christall glasse for
christian women / Conteyninge an excellent discourse of
the godly life and christian death of mistres KATHERINE
STUBBES*² &c vj^d/
Transcript, ii. 585.

1593. An. Eliz. 35^o. xiiij^{to}. die Octobris/
Thomas Man./ Entr'd for his Copie vnder the handes of the Bisshopp
of LONDON and Master warden Cawood. a booke
entituled, *A motiue to good woorkes or rather to true
christianitye &c* vj^d
Transcript, ii. 638.

[Assignment.] 1594. An. 36 Eliz. vltimo Maij
James Robertes Entr'd for his copies by order of Court Certens Copies
whiche were John Charlewoodes / *Salvo Jure Cuius-
cunque* xii^s iiiij^d C
The Rosary of Christian Praiers
Transcript, ii. 651.

a. But Stubbess had begun printing as early at least as 1581, when
(or earlier) he issued a broadside, with a woodcut, "A fearefull and

¹ "9 Augusti [1596].
Thomas Creede Entr'd for his Copie in full Court holden this Day. These ffyve
Copies whiche were assigned from William wright to Thomas
Scarlet, and from Thomas Scarlet to the said Thomas Crede
ij^s vj^d
. . . Item the second parte of *the Anatome of abuses* called *the
Displaye of Corruptions.*" *Transcript*, iii. 68.

master Whyte
warden Entr'd for his Copyes these thinges followinge, viz. *Catheryne
Stubes*, vj^d (with *The scole of vertue*, vj^d; *Twenty Orders of
Calettes and Drabes*, vj^d . . . *The ffyve and Twentye orders of
knaues*, vj^d) *Transcript*, iii. 187.

Edward White's estate in 'Katherine Stubes' was assignd to Master Pauier
and John Wright on Dec. 13, 1620 (*Trans. iv. 44*), and Pavier's share was, after
his death, assignd by his widow to Edward Brewster and Robert Birde (*Trans-
script*, iv. 164-5).

terrible Example of Gods iuste iudgement executed vpon a lewde Fellow, who vsually accustomed to sweare by Gods Blood: which may be a Cauenat to all the World that they blaspheme not the name of their God by Swearing. [Colophon] Finis. Philip Stubbes. Imprinted at London for W. Wright, and are to be Sold at his shop in the Poultrey.¹ Reprinted by Mr. J. P. Collier in his “*Broadside Black-letter Ballads, printed in the 16th & 17th Centuries*, chiefly in the possession of J. Payne Collier,” 4°, 1868, p. 42—7. This is a ballad of 102 lines (25 verses, and a tag) of 7-measure or 14-syllable couplets, describd by Stubbes at p. 135 below, as telling the awful end of “a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire, in Ailgna, (whose tragicall discourse I my self penned about two yearees agoe, referring you to the said booke for the further declara-tion thereof) who was alwaies a filthie swearer: his common othe was by Gods bloud.”

The story being given at p. 135 below, I quote only a few verses of the ballad from its second edition in the Lambeth Library (sign. B. i. and B. ii.), to show the dogrel it is written in:—

“There is a towne in Lincolneshire, which Bothbie hath to name,
Just three miles distant from Grantam, a towne of auncient fame.

(4)

Wherein there dwels a Gentleman, the truthe for to decyde, 13
Who Frauncis Penell called is, this may not be denied.
It pleased God this Gentleman, into his house did hyre
A Seruingman t'atende him on, borne in Worstershire. 16

(5)

Which sayd youngman inclyned was, vnto a thing not good,
As for to sweare by Christ his flesh, and by his precious blood. 18

* * * * *

(12)

He had no sooner spoke these wordes, which I haue shewed to you,
But that a-pace his heart blood did, foorth of his boody flowe; 46
For why, out of his fingers endes, his blood did streame full faste;
So did it foorth at his toes endes, which made them all agaste. 48

* * * * *

¹ Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*, p. 410, col. 1, from which, and Hazlitt's *Handbook*, most of the after titles, &c., are given.

58* § 6. *Stubbes's Second godly Ballad, in 1581.*

(14)

Thus died he, commmitting his soule to the furies fell,
Which doo possesse th' infernall gulfe and Laberinth of hell. 53
Than was his body straight interde, although (in trueth) forlorne,
For whome it had beene better farre, if he had not beene borne." 56
(Old) *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, iv. 77-9, 1849.

b. Stubbes's second known publication contains his first ballad, with a second like one in 114 long lines, couplets—probably first issued as a broadside too—and prose forewords and hindwords, the latter calld "An admonition to the Christian Readers, inferred vpon the two straunge Stratagems before passed." The whole forms a 4to pamphlet of ten leaves (A & B in fours, C in 2), of which there is a copy in the Lambeth Library, and a reprint by Mr. James Purcell Reardon in the *Papers* of the Old Shakespeare Society, iv. 73-88. The title is:—

"Two wunderfull and / rare Examples. / Of the vndeffered and present / approaching iudgement of the Lord our God : the / one vpon a wicked and pernicious blasphe-/mer of the name of God, and seruaunt / to one Maister Frauncis Pennell, / Gentleman, dwelling at Booth-/bie, in Lincolnshire, three / myles from Grantham./ The other vpon a vvoman, named / Ioane Bowser, dwelling at Donnington, in Lei-/cestershire, to whome the Deuill verie / straungely appeared, as in the dis-/course following, you may / reade. In Iune last. 1581. / VWritten by Phillip Stubbes. / Imprinted at London for/ VVilliam VVright, and are to be solde at / his shoppe in the Poultrie: the middle / shoppe in the rowe, adioyning to / Saint Mildreds Church./"

The story of the second ballad is told in the prose forewords, sign. A, iij, (p. 75-6, Sh. Soc.): how in Donnington, Leicestershire, there

"dwelled a poore man named Iohn Twell, who deceased, owing unto one Oswald Bowcer the summe of fife shilling, which the sayde Oswalde did forgiue the sayde man before named, as he lay vpon his death bedde; but the sayde Oswaldes wife, called Ioane, would in no wise forgiue the sayde Twell as long (she sayde) as she had day to liue. Wherupon, not long after, the Deuill appeared vnto her in the forme of the sayd Twell, deceased, expressing all the lyneamentes of the body of the dead man . . . this euill spirit vttered unto her these speeches, and sayd he had brought her mony from Iohn Twell deceased, and willed her incontinent to disburse the sayd money vnto her husband for his paines. Which she, with

§ 6. *Stubbes on Donnington, in his 2nd Ballad.* 59*

as couetous a desire, receyued, saying, 'God thanke you.' She had no sooner named God, but the money consumed away from betweene her handes, as it were a vapour or smoake, tyll it was all consumed: wherwith the Deuill, giuing her a most fearefull and sore stroke, vanished out of her sight.

"Wherewith her whole body, became as blacke as pitche, replenished all ouer with a most filthy scurfe and other thinges, which was so odious, as heere my pen for modesties sake leaueth to wright . . . her body was most straungely benummed, and her eyes closed vp from the benefite of the light." Thus remayning a certaine space, she confessed the hardnesse of her heart, and with great patience thanked God for his iudgementes bestowed on her. Wherevpon, to be breefe, it pleased God, seeing her repentaunce, to reuoke his Justice, and to restore her vnto her former health, where she remayned, praysing the name of God for his great mercies bestowed upon her."

At the end of this ballad, Stubbes calls on Donnington to repent, and talks of the love he bears the town, as if he knew it well and had some connection with it.¹ And as his objection to dancing and piping, which he shows in his *Anatomie*, comes out too, I quote a few lines from sign. B. iiiij. back, and C. i. :—

"Therefore, thou Towne of Donington, I read thee to repent 83

* * * * *

God hath thee warned now by this, and that in frendly sorte, 87
To leauue thy whoredome and thy pride, and all thy filthy sporte.

(23)

Abandon, then, out of thy streates, all mirthe and minstrelsie ;
No Pipers, nor no Dauncers vile, in thee let extant be, 90
Remember thou thy lately plague, of blayne, of Botche, and Bile
[boil],

Whereby thy God did scourge thee sore, least synne should thee defile.

(24)

O Donington, fall not againe vnto thy vomite old ;
In filthy, scurrike, bawdie talke, doo not thy selfe vphold ; 94
Ne yet with vaine and bloody othes, doo not thy selfe imbrew, (p. 86)
For than the Lord will throwe thee downe amid the Deuils crew 96

* * * * *

¹ The Rev. John G. Bourn, the Vicar of Castle Donnington near Derby has kindly searcht his Registers for 1550—1600, and finds no Stubbes or Bowcer entry, but one of John Twell (who may have been Stubbes's man), marrid 5 May 1567; John Twell baptizd 18 June 1583; John Twell son of John Twell, baptizd 1589, died (?) 25 March.

60* § 6. *Stubbes's View of Vanitie; and Anatomie*, Pt. I.

And now, O gentle Donington, be mindefull yet of me 103
Who haue with paines contriued this same, for louue I beare to
thee.

(27)

Requite me not with wrath againe: that were disloyaltie,
But see that thou accept hereof, as best beseemeth thee;
And as a pledge of my good will, let this be vnto thee,
Desiring God, that I thy state, in health and wealth may see."

c. Of Stubbes's third publication, no copy is known. It was "A View of Vanitie, and Allarum to England or Retraut from Sinne, in English Verse by Phil. Stubs. London, by T. Purfoot. 1582. 8vo."

d. His fourth was the famous *Anatomie of Abuses*, enterd in the Stationers' Registers on the 1st of March, and printed on the 1st of May, 1583, 125 leaves, small 8vo,¹ here reprinted. The success of the book was so great that a second edition was "Printed at London, by Richard Jones. 16. August 1583. [Colophon] Perused, auctorised, and allowed, accordyng to the order appoincted in the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions. At London Printed by Richard Jones dwellyng at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne, neere vnto Holborne Bridge. 1583." small 8vo, 133 leaves, black letter. (*Collation*: ¶, 4 leaves: B—R in eights, R 8 occupied by the colophon and device²). Copies are in the Grenville Library in the British Museum (collated for the present edition), in the Bodleian (Malone 526), and at Bridgewater House. In 1584, a third edition³ of the book was issued, "now newly reuised and recognized, and augmented the third time by the same Author [Quotations].

¹ There are 3 copies of it in the Bodleian,—Crynes 833, Tanner 120, 8°. S. 269. Art. Mr. F. Ouvry has the copies of the 1st and 2nd editions describd by Mr. Collier in his *Bibl. Cat.* ii.

² The woodcut on the last page is that of a man in a round cap and long gown, stooping, his arms both stretching to the left, with a glove in his left hand; whereas the woodcut at the end of the 1st edition is of a lady seated, and looking over her right shoulder, with a flower in her hand.

³ Formerly treated by Mr. Collier, and Mr. Hazlitt after him (and me after them), as 2 editions, the 3rd and 4th. Mr. C. (*Bibl. Cat.* ii. 393) states that "the fourth edition, also dated 1584, is without any specification of the month. We have examined all anterior impressions of the book and their dates, so that we are in a condition to speak positively on the subject." But can one trust him?

§ 6. *Stubbes's 4th Book, the Anatomie*, Part I. 61*

and Printed at London, by Richard Jones 12 October, 1584, 8° black letter¹"; this has A—R 4 in eights, says Mr. Hazlitt, the colophon on R 4 repeating the date of the year, but not the month. In 1585 the fourth edition came out, and was still call'd the third²: "now newly reuised recognized and augmented the third time by the same Author. . . 1585." (A copy is in the British Museum, and has been collated for the present edition.) Then came a stay for ten years, when the fifth edition (call'd the fourth) was publisht, "Now, the fourth time, newly corrected and inlarged by the same Author. . . Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the Rose and Crowne, next aboue S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595." 4to, 76 leaves. Of this edition two copies are in the Bodleian (Malone 527, and Tanner 120) and have been collated for the present book. Mr. Huth also has a copy.

Tho Mr. J. P. Collier has in his reprint of the *Anatomie*, A. 1583 (Introduction), and his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 402, tried to kill Stubbes in 1593 of the plague then raging in London, it is absolutely certain that he revis'd his *Anatomie* for the edition of 1595,³ and its title-page of that year leaves no doubt that he was not dead when it was issued. Also, if his *Perfect Pathway* of 1610 is not a reprint of an earlier edition, its fresh 15 Prayers were added by Stubbes alive then. The changes made in the *Anatomie* after its first publication were mainly⁴ these:—

i. he left out of the 2nd and all after editions, his *Preface to the Reader*, in which he had said that he didn't want to put down all amusements, but only the abuses in them, and had allowd that some kind of Plays, dancing in private, and gaming that wasn't

¹ "A perfect copy in the original vellum wrapper has been recently discovered," Mr. Hazlitt tells me (Aug. 8, 1879), and is in the possession of Mr. A. Wallis, 88, Friar Gate, Derby, Editor of the *Derby Mercury*. Mr. Pyne has the imperfect copy mention'd in Mr. Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*.

² The late Mr. Turnbull reprinted this, with a short Introduction.

³ See notes, p. iii, viii, ix, 50, 52, 53, &c., &c.

⁴ In F he left out his Latin verses, p. xiv, A. D.'s commendatory poem, p. xvii, and his own verses on 'The Avthor and his Booke,' p. xix-xx, below; in B, &c., he put in a poem by "C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations," p. xv-xvi, below.

62* § 6. *Changes in the 2nd and 6th eds. of the Anatomie.*

gambling, were innocent. He evidently wrote, and perhaps printed, this Preface before he wrote all his book, and then saw that it was more or less inconsistent with the book itself, which denounst Plays, &c., so fiercely, and call'd out loudly for their abolition.

2. he put in the story at p. 71—3 of the Devil setting the Antwerp woman's ruff, and wringing her neck for it; the bit in p. 79 note, about Looking-glasses being the Devil's bellows; the 2½ pages, p. 87—9, on the bad way in which women spend their days and meet their paramours in Gardens in the suburbs; the bit on p. 99 against allowing whoredom for a fine; the stories in 111—13 of the Devil burning up the 7 Swabian drunkards, and on 113—14 of the awful end of the 2 Dutch drunkards; the new chapter, of 7 pages in our text, on *Create Swearyng in Ailgna*, p. 129—136, and the instance of the English Jew who fell into a privy on his Sabbath, and died there rather than ‘break or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth,’ p. 139. Some fresh sidenotes were added in B 1583, E 1585, and F 1595 (or the uncollated edition of 1584): see p. 41, 53, 62, 63, 81, 82, 83, 87, 103, 111—14, 122, 130—6, &c.; and some fresh chapter-headings. The worth of the *Anatomie* is too well known to need any dwelling-on by me, and so are the strength and raciness of Stubbes's words—the ruffs that go flip-flap in the wind, and lie on men's shoulders like the dish-clout of a slut (p. 51), the women who are ‘puppits or maumets of rags and cloutes compact together’ (p. 75), the boys who care for nothing, so that they have ‘their pretie pussie to huggle withall’ (p. 97), the usurer, ‘thou Deuill, for I dare not call thee a man’ (p. 127), the dancers, ‘what kissing and bussing, what smouching and slabbering one another’ (p. 155), the minstrels who pipe up a dance to the devil (p. 172), the football players, when two charge one, ‘to hit him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering deuiees’ (p. 184), the ‘vgglesome monsters and Deuills’ (p. 188), &c., &c.

Another change that Stubbes made in his 1595 edition (our F) was of his earlier inkhorn terms into simpler ones. Here are a few instances taken at random:—

A. tractation

F. discourse .

27 | A. preparaunce

F. great preparation

72

§ 6. Changes of inkhorn words used in the 1583 ed. A. 63*

A. momentaine	115	A. introite	154
F. momentary		F. entrance	
A. acuate 128	128	A. instinction [on-pricking] 157	
F. whette		F. instinct	
A. implicate	129	A. preter time	157
F. entangled		F. former ages	
A. denegers of (the faithe)	134	A. quauemire or splash 159, 168	
F. reprobates concerning		F. quagmire or puddle	
A. abdicate (themselves)	134	A. obtused	161
F. abandon		F. dulled	
A. evacuate	136	A. babish	161
F. haue discended		F. wanton	
A. God his (left at 189)	142	A. distinkted	165
F. Gods		F. distinct ¹	
A. exordium	145, 154	A. victimats and holocaustes 168	
F. original		F. and oblations	
A. proclue	146	A. Hethenicall	168, 177
F. prone		F. Heathnish	
A. allections	146, 155	A. auditorie	169
F. enticements		F. hearers	
A. instinction	148	A. fucate	174
F. instinct		F. counterfeit	
A. exterior action	152	A. promulgat	176
F. outward show		F. published	
A. templaries & oratories	152	A. vendicate . . commend-	
F. temples and churches		ations	177
A. saturitie	153	F. challenge . . rewards	
F. fulnesse		A. adnull	178
A. determinat	153	F. annull	
F. prefixed		A. prostrated	181
A. circumvalled	153, 162	F. humbled	
F. compassed about		A. preiudicing	182
A. concions	154	F. annoying	
F. preachings		A. consummate	183, 191
		F. ended	

But he has left *amarulent*, 147; *alatrate*, 149; *conculcate*, 183, &c.; and in one case he has turned the simpler *trinkets* of A, 82, to *supellectiles* in E and F: probably more of like kind occur. In F, too, Stubbes gave up his absurd way in A of spelling certain

¹ ‘Distinkted’ is left in F. 156.

64* § 6. *Stubbes's Rosarie, Anatomie II, against Papists.*

proper names backwards : *Ailgna*, for Anglia, England ; *Eprautna* (71), for Antwerp ; *Lewedirb* (100), for Bridewell ; *Munidnol* (59), for Londinum, London ; *Ainatirb* (21), for Britannia ; *Ratsurb* (100), for Brustar ; *Enlocnilshire* (135), for Lincolnshire ; *Notelgnoc* for Congleton (136), &c. *Erichssehcshire* for Cheshire (135) he had given up in E (1585) or before.

e. Stubbes's fifth book was "The Rosarie of Christian Praiers and Meditations for diuers Purposes, and at diuers Times, as well of the day as of the Night, by Phill. Stubbes. Lond. by Iohn Charlewood, 1583, 18mo." It was enterd in the Stationers' Register on Aug. 3, 1583, and assignd to James Roberts on May 31, 1594, but no copy is now known.

f. Stubbes's sixth book was the "The / Second part / of the Anatomie of / Abuses, conteining The display / of Corruptions, with a perfect de-/scription of such imperfections, blemi-/shes, and abuses, as now reigning in eue-/rie degree, require reformation for feare / of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon/ the people and countrie, without / speedie repentance and con/uerision vnto God : made/ dialogwise by Phil-/ip Stubbes. / Except your righteousnes exceed London, Printed by Ro[ger] W[ard] for William Wright,/ and are to be sold at his shop ioining / to S. Mildreds Church in the/ Poultre, being the mid-/dle shop in the rowe." [1583]. A—P in eights: a little 8vo of 5½ inches high by 3⅓ths broad, 2 copies at Lambeth, 1 in the Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., 1 in the Bodleian, &c. As I've already given the list of this book's subjects (p. 36*), and mean to print it for the Society, I need say no more about it now. It was enterd in the Stationers' Registers in Nov. 7, 1583.

In the 1583 edition of Foxe's *Martyrs* ('Ecclesiastical History Actes and Monumentes,' &c.), the following eight lines of Stubbes's, on the Papist Bloodsuckers or Leeches, appeard at the end of the commendatory Poems, sign. ¶ iiiij. They are not in the edition of 1570, but are repeated in that of 1596:—

"In sanguisugas Papistas,
Philippus Stubbes.

Q Vi sacrum Christi satagit conuellere verbum,
Vulnificum contrà calcitrat hic stimulum,

§ 6. *Stubbes's Popes Monarchie, & Parry's Treason.* 65*

Florida quæ nimio compresse est pondere palma,
Fortius exurgit viribus aucta suis.
Auricomansque crocus quo calcatur magis, exit
Hoc magis, excrescit, floret, eoquæ magis.
Sic Εναγγελιον quantumvis turba papalis
Conspuat, exurat, crescit, vbiq[ue] tamen.
Finis."

g. Of the seventh book: "The Theatre of the Popes Monarchie. by Phil. Stubbes. Lond. for Henry Carre. 1584. 8vo," no copy is known.

h. His eighth, a 4to tract of 4 leaves, is represented by copies in the Lambeth and Huth Libraries, and was reprinted (with a few changes) by Mr. Reardon in the Old Shakespeare Society's *Papers*, iii. 17—21:

"The / Intended Trea-/son, of Doctor Parrie:/ and his Com-
plices, A-/gainst the Queenes moste / Excellent Maiestie./ With a
Letter sent from the Pope / to the same effect./ Imprinted at
London / for Henry Car, / and are to be sold / in Paules Church-
yard at the Signe / of the Blazing Starre. /" (1585.)

This little tract must have been written between Febr. 25, 1585, when Stubbes says that Parry "was conuained from the Tower of London to Westminster Hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case prouided," and March 2, when he was hangd.¹ The object of the tract was to state Parry's crime, to print the Pope's letter to him—"written by the Cardinall of Como"—encouraging him to his crime, and granting him plenary indulgence and remission of all his sins, and to make Englishmen hate the Pope and papists:—

"One Doctor Parrie, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, being (though beyond his deserts) very deer vnto her maiestie, and wel liked of, was by her grace sent ouer Seas in very waightie affaires, which he wel atchiuing, returned home, and no doubt was bountefully rewarded of her grace for his seruice and paines sustained: within a while after, this Doctor Parrie, vnwoorthy the name of a doctor or of a Christian, conspired the death of her maiestie, hauing

¹ And, as Stowe says in his *Annales* (1605), p. 1180, "The 2. day of Marche [1584—5] Willian Parry was drawne from the Tower through the city of London to Westminster, and there in the palace court, hanged, bowelled, and quartered for high treason, as may appeare by a booke extant, intituled 'A true and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons practised by W. Parry' &c. & I have set downe the same booke in the continuance of Reine Woolfe's Chronicle" [call'd by us, Holinshed's, ed. 1587, vol. ii. p. 1382—95].

66* § 6. *Stubbes's Parry's Treason, & Life of his Wife.*

receiued his fees of the Pope (as it should seem) for the same. For the accomplishing of which moste hainous fact, he, with another, determined to kill her maiestie, sometimes with a Dag,¹ sometimes with a Poynado or dagger, sometime with one thing, and sometimes with an other. Wel, this platforme being laid, and he hauing promised the Pope to performe the thing, one of his conspirators, through the goodnes of God, disclosed the same; which doon, both he and the said archtraitor Parrie were both apprehended and committed, and vpon the 25 of Februarie the said Parrie was conuaigned from the Tower of London to Westminster hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case prouided sign. A. ij. (p. 18). . . .

"What good subiect, now, knowing the Pope and papists to be the instruments of all mischeef, of blood and of treason, wil not abhor and detest the one & y^e other? (A. iij. back, p. 20). . . . take this for a Maxime, that all papists are traitors in their harts, how soever otherwise they beare the world in hand (p. 20) . . . blood, treason, rebellion, insurrections, commotions, mutenies, murther, and the like, are the badges and cognizance of them, and of that wicked generation; and let vs look for it, they wil be prickes vnto our eyes, whips unto our backs, and kniues to cut our throts withall, if time would serue them, which I pray God neuer doo" (sign. A. iiiij.—p. 21).

i. Stubbes's ninth book was his *Life of his Wife, or Christal Glasse for Christian Women*, 1591, enterd on the Stationers' Registers on June 15, 1591. Mr. Henry Pyne has been kind enough to lend me his unique copy of the first edition.² From it the part in which Stubbes describes his wife and her relation to him, is printed below, p. 195—208, the doctrinal part being left out. That Stubbes lov'd his young wife, and did his duty by her, is clear. The picture of the stern grave husband and the sweet girl-wife looking up to him, never contraryng him, but gently persuading, liistening to his exposition of Holy Writ, is surely one grateful to the mind, notwithstanding its dark background of hard religionism.

j. Stubbes's tenth book is also in part reprinted below, p. 209.

"A perfect Pathway / to Felicitie,/ Conteining godly / Meditations, and prai-/ers, fit for all times, and / necessarie to be prac-/tized of all good / Christians./ Imprinted at Lon-/don by Richard Yardly / for Humfrey Lownes" / 1592./. My copy, believd to be

¹ Pistole: F. A Pistoll; a great (horsemans) Dag . . Pistolet; m. A Pistolet; a Dag, or little Pistoll—1611. Cotgrave.

² The 2nd edition, 1592, is in the Huth Collection. The tract was printed as late as 1658. Of that edition I have a copy.

§ 6. *Stubbes's Pathway, and Motive to good Workes.* 67*

unique, is imperfect. It is a little squarish book, much cut down, of 3 $\frac{9}{16}$ in. high, by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ broad, every page having a printed border. Collation: ¶ in 8, and A to P in 8s; no doubt the last three leaves, and perhaps ¶ 1 too, were blank. The Contents of it are printed below, p. 210 and p. 212, the titles of the missing Prayers being given from the only other edition known to me, that of 1610, the only known copy of which the late Mr. Henry Huth, with his never-failing friendship, lent me. This 1610 edition has 15 more Prayers than that of 1592—their titles are given at the foot of p. 212,—and I suppose that Stubbes livd till 1610 to write them. The 20 pages of Prayers, &c., reprinted below, are from the 1610 edition, as the 1592 one did not turn up till after my pages were cast. I chose those Prayers which interested me most—not forgetting that on p. 220-1 below, which mentions ‘those fleas and gnats’ that in bed did bite the skin of Stubbes, as their fellows must have done that of Shakspere. These Prayers convincit me that their writer was a pure-minded earnest man, not only a bitter railer. Taking them with the other works, I cannot but feel a real respect for Stubbes: and all who wish to understand him should read them.

k. Of the eleventh and last known work of Stubbes, only one copy seems to have been lately extant, and that belongd to Mr. J. P. Collier, but has (he says) been stolen from him. He thus describes it in his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 400-1:—

“A Motive to good Workes. Or rather, to true Christianitie indeede. Wherein by the waie is shewed, how farre wee are behinde, not onely our forefathers in good workes, but also many other creatures in the endes of our creation: with the difference betwixt the pretended good workes of the Antichristian Papist, and the good workes of the Christian Protestant.—By Phillip Stubbes, Gentleman.—Matthew. 5. verse 16. Let your light so shine, &c.—London, Printed for Thomas Man, dwelling in Pater Noster rowe, at the signe of the Talbot. 1593. 8vo. 114 leaves.

“In quoting the sacred text, which the author chose as the motto of his book, it is singular that he, or his printer, should have left out so important a word as ‘good’ before ‘workes.’

“This is the only copy of the book that we ever met with: Lowndes originally mentioned it, and the short title is given in the new edition, p. 2539; but in both it is erroneously dated 1592: it is entirely prose.

68* § 6. *Stubbes's 11th booh*, A Motive to good Workes.

"Stubbes, in his dedication, tells Cuthbert Buckle, Lord Mayor of London for the year, that 'he took his gelding about the Annunciation of S. Mary last past,' and made a journey, which lasted about three months, into various parts of the kingdom, partly for pleasure, and partly to avoid the infection of the then raging plague. As he subscribes it 'from my lodging by Cheapside, 8 of November, 1593' we may conclude that by that date the virulence of the disorder had considerably abated. He complains that he every where found the country fertile and beautiful, but the people utterly unworthy of it —a deplorable deficiency of good workes, and a lamentable decay of hospitals, almshouses, churches, schools, &c. His object in writing his book is therefore evident, and in a brief address 'to the courteous Reader' he apologises for the unadorned plainness of his style:—'I have not desired to be curious, neither to affect fied phrases, culled or picked sentences, nor yet loftie, haughtie or farre fetched epithetes.'

"Considering the purpose for which the author travelled, we might reasonably expect some minute and interesting details of what he saw in the country nearly three centuries ago; but we have little beyond general invective and pious lamentation over the prevailing vices, until we arrive at p. 184, where remarks are made upon the facility with which a license was obtained for a worthless or immoral book, while permission to publish a religious or meritorious work was long delayed. As this is a point which he had touched upon in his '*Anatomy of Abuses* [p. 185, below]' we transcribe only a few sentences: he says—

'I cannot a lyttle mervayle that our grave and reverend Bishops, and other inferiour magistrates and officers, to whom the oversight and charge of such things are committed, will either license (which I trust they do not, for I wyll hope better of them) or in anie sorte tollerate such railing libels and slanderous pamphlets as have beeene of late published in print, one man against another, to the great dishonour of God, corruption of good manners, breach of charitie, and in a worde to the just offence and scandal of all good Christians. And truly, to speake my conscience freely, I thinkne there cannot a greater mischiefe be suffered in a common wealth, than for one man to write against another, and to publish it in print to the viewe of the world.'

"In this passage we can scarcely fail to observe an allusion to the very personal controversy about this date so vigorously carried on, through the medium of the press, between Nash and Harvey. The Martin-marprelate feud was also then at its height, and Stubbes, as a zealous Puritan, sincerely sympathised with his pen-persecuted brethren.² He proceeds:—

¹ 25 March, 1593.

² And had a direct personal feeling about it besides: see Nashe's attacks on him, p. 37*—41* above. But it is surely to Stubbes's credit that (so far as we know) he didn't, like Gatriel Harvey, answer Nashe's personal railing by personal railing, as he could easily have done, but protested against the practice. It's a height of virtue which I have not yet reacht.

§ 6. *Stubbes's Motive*, 1593. § 7. *His Character*. 69*

'I wis, the noble science of printing was not given us to that end, being indeede one of the chiefest blessings that God hath given to the sons of men heere uppon earth. For is not this the next¹ way to broach rancor, hatred, malice, emulacion, envie and the like amongst men? Nay, is not this the next¹ way to make bloudshed and murther, to rayse up mutenies, insurrections, commotions and rebellions in a Christian commonwealth? and therefore I would wish both the bookees and the authors of them to be utterly suppressed for ever, the one by fire, and the other by the halter or gallows, if nothing else will serve. But what should I say? I cannot but lament the corruption of our time, for (alas) now adays it is growen to be a hard matter to get a good booke licensed without staying, peradventure, a quarter of a yeare for it; yea, sometimes two or three yeares before he can have it allowed, and in the end happily rejected too; so that that which many a good man hath studyed sore for, and traveyled long in, perchance all the dayes of his life, shall be buried in silence, and smothered up in forgetfulness, and never see the light; whilst in the meane tyme other bookees, full of all filthines, scurrilitie, baudry, dissolutenes, cosonage, conyatching and the lyke (which all call for vengeance from heaven) are either quickely licensed, or at least easily tollerate, without all denyall or contradiction whatsoever.'

"At all events Stubbes had not much reason to complain of delay: he collected his materials in the summer of 1593, wrote his book on his return in November, and published it, duly registered [Oct. 14] and licensed, before the end of the year.

"He is especially vehement on the neglected and ruinous state of the churches in the country and does not spare the Roman Catholics and Jesuits for their many attempts on the Queen's life, enumerating Parry (about whom he had himself written), Somerville, Arden, Throckmorton and Babington as among the principal offenders."²

§ 7. *Stubbes's Character*. On Sunday, July 17, 1575, and the Tuesday after, the Coventry folk, led by the great Captain Cox, playd before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth, their Hock-Tuesday Play, of how the English men and women drove out the Danes, A.D. 1012. They had been wont to act the play yearly in their city, but it had been "of late laid dooun, they knu no cauz why, unless it wear by the zeal of certain theyr Preacherz: *men very commendabl for their behauour and learning, & sweet in their sermons, but sumwhat too sour in preaching awey their pastime.*"³ Now something of this kind may, I think, fairly be said of Stubbes. Tho his

¹ *next* is the contraction of 'nighest,' as *hext* of 'highest.'

² On p. 402, Mr. Collier, besides trying to take a dozen or more years off Stubbes's life by making him die of the plague in 1593, thinks "It is rather singular that in the [*Motive to Good Workes*, 1593] Stubs says nothing of the death of his wife which had occurred on the 14th December preceding," or 1592. But 1590 was the year of Katherine Stubbes's death: see p. 195 below.

³ *Captain Cox* or Laneham's Letter, p. 27 of my edition for the Ballad Society. Who'll give us £35, to issue it for the New Shakspere Society?

Anatomie can't be calld a 'sweet' book, yet his purpose in writing it was a righteous one :—

" Wherefore I will assay to doe them good (if I can) in discouering their abuses, and laying open their inormities, that they, seeing the greeuousnes of their maladies, and daunger of theyr diseases, may in time seeke to the true Phisition and expert Chirurgion of their soules, Christ Jesus, of whome onelie commeth all health and grace, and so eternally be saued." p. 26 below.

And tho' he cut out in after editions, the moderate and sensible *Preface to the Reader*,¹ p. x—xiii below, which he wrote to his first edition, yet there stands his declaration of his meaning in the book, that it was the abuse, not the use, of amusements that he condemnd : "take away the abuses, the thinges in themselues are not euill ; being vsed as instruments to Godlynes, not made as spurres vnto vice. There is nothing so good but it may be abused ; yet, because of the abuses, I am not so strict that I wold have the things themselues remooued, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because it is abused, vtterly to be taken away." p. xii ; see too p. x.

And granting that Stubbes went beyond this limit in the body of his book, yet one knows that the evils he was denouncing were real sores in the common weal, and one sees how easily he, believing that the Day of Doom was close at hand (p. 187), would be led to speak, maybe too sharply, of the ridiculous petty vanities and fooleries that were going on daily and hourly around him. There *was* something better for English men and women to do in Shakspere's days than dress themselves like 'a dog in a doublet,' and paint themselves like harlots ; and if Stubbes while calling on

¹ I attach no value whatever to Mr. Collier's suggestion that Stubbes withdrew his Preface on account of the issue of 'a public order . . . forbidding the profanation of Sunday by the representation of plays and interludes.' Why should this make him withdraw his moderate Preface, and yet make him maintain his fierce attack on Sunday plays in the after part of his book ? And I suppose that the following paragraph is due to that imagination of Mr. Collier's which gave us his versions of the Alleyn letters (*Audelay and Harman*, E. E. T. S. xxv), Blackfriars petitions, &c : "We can readily believe that, *considering the offence it had given at Court and elsewhere*, he [Stubbes] was glad also to omit what he had said, in the first instance, on the subject of indecency and extravagance in dress." *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 394. The denouncings are made fiercer, if anything, in the 2nd edition ; the Preface is withdrawn only because it weaken'd the attack in the text.

§ 8. Queen Elizabeth's Procession in 1600. 71*

them to do this better thing, also calld them idiots, and all the hard names he could lay his tongue to, let us hold that he was right in his main purpose, if he errd somewhat in his way of carrying it out.

And if we read his meditations and prayers, and give him credit—as we surely may—for trying to do and be, from dawn till sleep came upon him, what he askt others to pray to do and be, in their daily life, I do not think we shall deny to Philip Stubbes a pure spirit, an earnest soul, a longing to be one with God, and fit himself and the world around him for the habitation of the Holy One, in whom he with his whole heart believd.

§. 8 *Miscellaneous.* a. *The illustrations.* As Stubbes writes so much about the dress of his period, I thought our members—the foreign and colonial ones especially—would like to have some authentic reproductions of trustworthy specimens of that dress: hence our héliogravure (by M. Dujardin) of Virtue's large engraving of Queen Elizabeth's Herbert Procession in 1600, from Lord Ilchester's picture, and the other cuts from Planché's late work on Costume. For the Ballad cuts that follow the above, I cannot claim equal authority; but as they could be had for the price of the casts of them, they were added, and Mr Ebsworth has been so kind as to write an interesting *Memorandum* on them.

The cause of Elizabeth's Procession was her going to the marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell. A short notice of the event is given, says Mr. G. Scharf (*Archæol. Journal*, xxiii, 231), in the *Sidney Papers*, ii, 203:—

“Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, June 23, 1600:—

“This day se'night her Majesty was at Blackfriars to grace the marriage of Lord Harbert and his wife. The bride met the Queen at the water-side, where my Lord Cobham had prouided a lectica,¹ made like a litter, whereon she was carried to my Lady Russell's by six knights. Her Majesty dined there, and at night went through Dr. Puddins (Sir Wm. Paddy's house) who gave the Queen a fanne to my Lord Cobham's, where she supped . . . Her Majesty upon Tuesday came backe againe to the court.”

p. 137: “It may be observed, with reference to the costume of the Queen, that the wide-spreading, radiating ruff, open in front so as to show the neck, appears to be a peculiarity of the Queens latest

¹ *Littera*, a horselytter, *Lectica*. 1591. R. Perciuale. Spanish Dict.

72* § 8. *Q. Elizabeth's Procession. Stubbes Extracts.*

years. The open neck was more particularly reserved for unmarried ladies. It does not appear either in pictures or on coins of this reign bearing dates earlier than 1601.¹ Most of the portraits of the Queen, on the coinage especially, exhibit her wearing a small ruff, carried completely round and supported by a high stiff band or collar belonging to the dress, such as was worn during the reign of her predecessor. In this picture, however, a second minor ruff also appears, passing immediately under the chin, and corresponds exactly with a small frill in Lord Salisbury's curious portrait, exhibiting the robe embroidered with eyes and ears. No. 267 of the Kensington Portrait Exhibition."

"All the noblemen's cloaks are black satin, and of the short Spanish cut. All legs are remarkably thin. The shoes are uniformly white, with ties of the same colour on the instep. All the courtiers, with the exception of the Earl of Cumberland, wear full-spreading lace-ruffs." *Scharf*, p. 143. The bride is in white.

As to the house in the background, the antiquary whose loss we all so lament, Mr. J. G. Nichols, said (*Arch. Journal*, xxiii, 302) that he

" . . . did not attribute much reality to the landscape in the background, except that it *may* give a general idea of the detached buildings then existing in the fields and gardens on the Surrey side of the river. He regarded the grand house immediately behind the figures as the mansion of Lord Cobham, in which the Queen was entertained, notwithstanding that the procession is represented as already passing it by. This house, after the attainder of Lord Cobham in 1603, passed to Lord Hunsdon, and then acquired the name of Hunsdon House,—whence the confusion with the Queen's visit to Hunsdon House in Hertfordshire. . . . Inquiry being made where the house stood, Mr. Nichols replied that he believed very near the site of the famous Blackfriars Theatre (shown in the map by Playhouse Yard), in which Shakspeare was a partner: subsequently occupied by the Kings Printing-office, and now by that of the *Times* newspaper in Printing-house Square."

b. *The Extracts from Stubbes's other works* are added to enable the reader to judge Stubbes's character better than the *Anatomie* alone allows them to do, and for the picture of his girl wife,—a bride at between 14 and 15, dead between 18 and 19,—and their marrid life. Her doctrinal belief I have left out.

The Extracts from Bp. Babington are given, to show how a grave Churchman in high place in Elizabeth's reign spoke of the social

¹ But in 1598, when Hentzner saw Elizabeth at Greenwich, "Her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it, till they marry." *Harrison*, I. lxxvi.

§ 8. Naogeorgus's *Popular Superstitions*. This Book. 73*

ills of which Stubbes complains, so that the reader may judge, from them and the other extracts in the Notes, how little or how much Stubbes exaggerates. That I could have three- or four-folded the testimony borne by these extracts, and those in the Notes, every student of the literature of the time knows.

c. The Fourth Book of Kirchmaier's (or Naogeorgus's) *Regnum Papismi*, as englisch by Barnabe Googe in 1570, is reprinted here, because it deals with many of the superstitious customs against which Stubbes writes, and also because I believe many of our members must have often desird with me, to see the whole of the Book in which the passages occur that have so often informd and interested them in *Brand (Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, ed. Hazlitt). This fourth Book of Kirchmaier's easily lifts out of *The Popish Kingdome*, the rest of which, tho' it abuses the Papists, isn't lighted by nearly so much of the church- and folk-lore that make the fourth Book of such worth to us now.

d. The present Edition of the *Anatomie* (Part I) is the second reprint of Stubbes's first edition of May 1, 1583, Mr. J. Payne Collier's reprint in 1869 (with a few mistakes) being the first. As above noted, p. 61, note 2, the late Mr. W. D. Turnbull¹ re-edited in 1836, Stubbes's fourth edition of 1585, wrongly calld the third. That the worth of the book deservd more reprints, is clear; but as Harrison's *Description of England* was never reprinted separately,² till our Society did part of it in 1877-8, we cannot wonder at the fewness of the *Anatomie's* reprints.

Stubbes having so added to and changd this first edition, I thought it would be more interesting to print the text in its first state, and show all the changes in it, rather than to reprint the last edition of 1595, and note the earlier states of that. The only difficulty was, how to deal with the chapter on Swearing, and the other long additions of the second edition: I decided to put them in the text, between brackets, and with notes saying that they were insertions. Of no copy of the edition of 1584 (then considerd two

¹ See Canon Simmons's note on him in *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, Early English Text Society, 1879, p. lxvi.

² Sir Hy. Ellis of course included it in his reprint of *Holinshed*.

74* *Thanks to Helpers. Asking for Notes.*

editions, p. 60* above, note 3) could I hear, and so I couldn't get it collated. For the copying and collations of the text I have to thank our helpers, Mr. George Parker and Miss Smith; for a great part of the Index, Mr. Sidney J. Herrtage and Mr. H. K. Deighton; for some aid in the Notes, Mr. W. G. Stone; for their details of Stubbes's family, Col. Chester and Mr. Henry Stubbes; for leave to have the englisch *Naogeorgus* out of the Cambridge University Library, Mr. Bradshaw, our great Chaucerian; for his Memorandum on the wood-cuts, Mr. Ebsworth—king, with Mr. Chappell, over Ballad-land;—for tidings of editions, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt; and for information about their paintings of Q. Elizabeth's Procession, Lord Ilchester and Mr. Digby.

For any further tidings about Stubbes or his lost books, I shall be greatly obliged, for use in my edition of *The Anatomie*, Part II.

3 St. George's Sq., N.W., July 20, 1879.

p. 52*. Mr. Henry Stubbes says: "I have had the Eltham Registers examined, and they contain a great number of Stubbs entries of the branch from which I am descended, from 1584 to 1650, and among them some Philips, but none whom I can identify as the Author."

p. 66*. *Life of Wife*.—Besides the witness that its many editions afford to the wide-spreadness of Stubbes's 'Life of his Wife,' we have other testimony in plays, &c., as for instance, in William Cartwright's *The Ordinary*, probably written in 1634, printed in 1651, Vicar Catchmey says—

"I shall live to see thee
Stand in a playhouse door with thy long box,
Thy half-crown library, and cry small books :
'Buy a good godly sermon, gentlemen,'—
'A judgment shown upon a host of drunkards' :
'A pill to purge out popery' :
'The life and death of Katherine Stubbs,'"

in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xii. 272. And, as the note there says, 'Richard Brome, in his play of *The Antipodes*, act iii, sc. 2. [acted 1638, printed 1640] mentions this book in the following manner:—

"A booke of the godly *life and death*
Of Mistress Katherine Stubs, which I have turn'd
Into sweet meetre, for the vertuous youth,
To woe an ancient lady widow with."

* Again, Bishop Corbet, in his *Iter Boreale*, [? 1647] says—

"—And in some barn have cited many an author,
Kate Stubbs, Anne Ascue, or the Ladies daughter."

APPENDIX TO FOREWORDS.

EXTRACTS FROM BP. BABINGTON ON THE *TEN COMMANDMENTS*, A.D. 1588.

Dress, p. 75*	Idleness in Youth, p. 86*
Charms, Gaming, and Cursing, p. 78*	Idle Festing and Scoffing, p. 87*
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Parents' Neglect of Children, p. 82*	Dicing : its evils (<i>Chaucer on</i>), p. 89*
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Children's Neglect of Parents, p. 82*	Covetousness. Lawyers. Unfit Parsons, p. 92*
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Dancing : its Evils, p. 83*	
Wanton Looks and Books, p. 84*	
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Bp. Babington on Dress.

p. 11. "Apparell againe is another of the raging desires of *Apparell*. many. Euen a worlde it is to see howe all, as dead, doe tast no sinne in it, but spend, and spare not, what possible may be gotten to bestowe on it; yet what beginning had it? Was it not then inuented, when man had sinned, grieuouslie offended his God, and cast himselfe away both bodie and soule? Seeing them in our integritie it was not vsed, but after sinne, bestowed on man to hide his shame withall, what may it euer beate into vs, but our rebellion against the Lorde, our sinne and cursed disobedience? Howe should the sight of it and vse of it humble vs, and not puffe vs vp,¹ seeing it plainly telleth vs, we are not as we were

¹ *Dress, advantages of.*—"Fastidious Brisk. Why, assure you, signior, rich apparel has strange virtues : it makes him that hath it without means, esteemed for an excellent wit : he that enjoys it with means, puts the world in remembrance of his means : it helps the deformities of nature, and gives lustre to her beauties ; makes continual holiday where it shines ; sets the wits of ladies at work, that otherwise would be idle ; furnisheth your two-shilling ordinary ; takes possession of your stage at your new play ; and enricheth your oars, as scorning to go with your scull." 1598-1601. B. Jonson. *Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii. Works, i. 94. See too

"*Macilente.* I was admiring mine own outside here,
To think what privilege and palm it bears
Here in the court ! Be a man ne'er so vile,
In wit, in judgment, manners, or what else ;
If he can purchase but a silken cover,
He shall not only pass, but pass regarded :
Whereas, let him be poor and meanly clad,

when no apparell was worne, and yet no shame thereby? Were it not monstrous pride, if a redeemed prisoner conditionally, that he should euer weare an halter, should waxe proude of his halter? Mans apparell is the badge of a sinner, yea of a condemned and cursed sinner, & therefore the pride of it and delight in it, no doubt very monstrous before the Lorde, and hatefull. If euery silken sute and gorgeous gowne in Englannde shrowded vnder it a sau'd soule, and a sanctified bodie in the sight of God, O, happie then England of all the nations vnder heauenz. But if vnder such garded garments, may, and doeth lodge a body and soule abhorred of the Lorde, that in the day of wrath shall finde no fauour: then is it not apparell, that ought to be sought after, but in the day of iudgement how we may be sau'd."

p. 308. "As for filthines, foolish talking, iesting, and such like, they are thinges vncomearie for a Christian. Againe, vnchast bookees and wanton writynges, who knoweth not howe they tickle to vncleannes? and therfore both they and the reading of them forbidden in this lawe. Sixty, too much showe in apparel, painting, tricking and trimming of our selues aboue conueniencie: it is a daungerous allurer of lust, and therefore forbidden.

Que. I could wish yet a litle larger speach of apparell, because I see it is one of the wormes that wasteth at this day the common wealth, that decaiyeth hous-keeping, that maketh strait the hande of the master to his seruant, and the Lord to his tenant,¹ and a thing, to

Though ne'er so richly parted *, you shall have
 A fellow that knows nothing but his beef,
 Or how to rince his clammy guts in beer,
 Will take him by the shoulders or the throat,
 And kick him down the stairs. Such is the state
 Of virtue in bad clothes!"

ib. p. 108, col. 1.

¹ Thomas Lupton gives us the grasping landlord's remorse in hell, in—"A Dreme of the Devil and Dives, most terrible and fearefull to the seruaunts of Satan, but right comfortable and acceptable to the chyldren of God &c.—Imprinted at London by John Chailewood for Henrie Car." (B. L. 8vo. 60 leaves, 1584. A copy at Lambeth.)

"Then, said Dives, wo woorth these rackete rentes, and unreasonable fines that shall purchase such a kingdome! I would to God I might chaunge my estate of that kingdome with the most vilest and basest cottage on the earth. When they came hyther, they will crie out and say, Wo woorth the time that ever we rackett our tenants, or tooke such fines to impoverishe them! wo woorth the tyme that ever wee were so greedie of money, and wo woorth the tyme that ever we consumed the same in gluttonous and excessive fare, in proude and sumptuous apparell, in playing of Dice, Cardes, or other games, and other worldly vanities! Wo woorth the tyme that we made our Sonnes ritch by making Tenaunts poore! But cursed be the time that we have made our Sonnes Lordes and Gentlemen on the earth, with the everlasting damnation of our owne bodies and soules in Hell! That proverbe may be truelie verified in us, which is *Happie is that childe whose Father goeth to the Devill.* This will be theyr song when they come hither, but then they shall be without remedy, as I am." Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 498.

* Endowd with parts or talents, learned, &c.

conclude, that the deere children of God cannot ouercome themselues in.”¹

¹ *Apparel: (a) Women imitating men's dress: (b) Men's absurd Dress.* Andrew Boorde's *Cut of the naked Englishman*, p. 249, below.

“For as man is Gods ape, striuing to make artificiall flowers, birdes, &c. like to the natural: So for the same reason are women, Mens *Shee Apes*, for they will not bee behind them the brethd of a Taylors yard (which is nothing to speake of) in anie new-fangled vpstart fashion. If men get vp French standing collers, women will haue the French standing collar too: if Dublets with little thick skirts, (so short that none are able to sit vpon them), womens foreparts are thick skirted too: by surfetting vpon which kinde of phantasticall *Apishnesse*, in a short time they fall into the disease of pride: Pride is infectious, and breedes prodigalitie: Prodigalitie, after it has runne a little, closes vp and festers, and then turnes to *Beggrie*. Wittie was that Painter therefore, that when hee had limned, one of euery Nation in their proper attyres, and beeing at his wittes endes howe to drawe an *Englishman*, At the last (to giue him a quippe for his follie in apparell) drewe him starke naked, with Sheeres in his hand, and cloth on his arme, because none could cut out his fashions but himselfe (see p. 249, below).

“For an English-mans suite is like a traitors bodie that hath beene hanged, drawne, and quartered, and is set vp in seuerall places: his Codpeece is in *Denmarke*, the collor of his Duble[t], and the belly in *France*: the wing and narrowe sleeve in *Italy*; the short waste hangs ouer a *Dutch Botchers* stall in *Vtrich*: his huge floppes [slops] speaks *Spanish*: *Polonia* giues him the Boates: the blocke for his heade alters faster than the Feltmaker can fitte him, and thereupon we are called in scorne *Blockheads*. And thus we that mocke euerie Nation, for keeping one fashion, yet steale patches from euerie one of them, to peece out our pride, are now laughing-stocks to them, because their cut so scuruly becomes vs.”

1606. T. Decker. *Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London* (Arber, 1879), p. 36—7.

Women. Tight waists. — “I haue seene some swallow gravell, ashes, coales, dust, tallow, candles, and for the nonce, labour and toyle themselves to spoile their stomacke, only to get a pale-bleake colour. To become slender in wast, and to have a straight spagnolized body, what pinching, what girding, what cingling, will they not indure; Yea sometimes with yron-plates, with whale-bones and other such trash, that their very skin, and quicke flesh is eaten in and consumed to the bones: Whereby they sometimes worke their owne death.”

1603. J. Florio. Montaigne's Essays (ed. 1632), p. 133. [in French, 1580.]

The following sketch of a fop with a toothpick in his mouth and a flower in his ear (compare the picture in the Natl. Portrait Gallery) is from—“*Laugh and lie downe: or The worldes Folly*.” (Printed at London for Jeffrey Chorlton, and are to be sold at his shop, at the great North dore of saint Paules.) 1605. 4to. B. L.

“The next was a nimble witted and glib-toung'd fellow, who, having in his youth spent his wits in the Arte of love, was now become the jest of wit; for his looks weare so demure, his words so in print, his graces so in order, and his conceites so in tune, that he was—yea, iwis, so was he, and that he was such a gentleman for a Jester, that the Lady Folly could never be better fitted for her entertainement of all straungers. The picktooth in the mouth, the flower in the

Charms, Gaming, and Cursing.

p. 158-9. "For sorcerie and witchcraft, charming and coniuring, am I able to say I haue as earnestlie abhorred them as I ought, and euerie way so absteyned from them as I shoulde? Nay hath not rather ease *Charming.* beene sought in paine of mee by these meanes, or at least wished if I coulde haue gotten them? . . . Let it be wel weied of anie Cristian heart that feareth God indeede, and carefullie seeketh the credite of his name, howe often vreuerentlie in sporting *Gaming.* and playing, in shooting & bowling, in dising & carding, we vse his name, howe the phrase of scripture wil rowle out of our *Scripture* *phrase.* mouthes in iesting and light conferences, howe fearfully we vse *Banning.* him in cursing & banning our bretheren, and surely he shall see no smal guilt touching this commandement in euerie one of vs."

Here is Babington's contrast of the way in which the Papists punish breaches of God's laws—swearing, &c.—and of their own :—

p. 119. "Who so breaketh these, an Heretike hee is, a runneaway from the Church: cite him and summon him, excommunicate him and imprison him, burne him and hang him, yea, away with such a one, for *Reade the L.* *Cobham's last* he is not worthie to liue upon the earth. But if he blasphemeth the name of the Lord by horrible swearing, if he *in the begin-* offendeth most grieuously in pride, in wrath, in gluttonie, and *ning of it.* couetousnesse, if he be a drunken alestake, a ticktack tauerner, keepe a whore or two in his owne house, and moe abroade at bord with other men, with a number such like greeuous offences, what doe they? Either he is not punished at all, & most commonly so, or if he be, it is a little penance of their owne inuenting, by belly or purse, or to say a certaine of prayers, to visit such an image in pilgrimage, &c."

Sabbath-breaking: the Spending of Sunday.

p. 189-191. "If the sanctification of this day consist greatly in labouring to knowe the Lorde by the preaching of his worde, howe shall they safely passe the curse of God for the breache hereof, who with benummed soules, parched, paddled, senselesse, and euery way most hardened hearts, either lie and sleepe on the one side idle, or tossing the alepot with their neighbours, suffer this day to passe without any instruction, and like dumbe dogges hold their peace, no way discharging the dutie of a true minister, and one that tendereth the glory of God, his owne, & his peoples soules? . . . Againe, if to sanctifie the Sabaoth, be to consecrate it to holy vses, such as haue beene named, is it possible for vs to escape the reuenginge hande of the eternall God, if he, content in mercie with one day in the 7. we denie him that also, and dedicate it

eare, the brush upon the beard, the kisse of the hand, the stoupe of the head, the leere of the eye, and what not that was unneedfull, but he had so perfecte at his fingers endes, that every she was 'my faire Ladye,' and scarce a Knight but was 'Noble Sir': the tobacco pipe was at hand, when Trinidad was not forgotten, and then a tale of a roasted horse to make an asse laugh for lacke of witte: why, all thinges so well agreeede togither, that at this square table of people, or table of square people, this man (made by rule) could not be spared for a great somme." *Collier's Bibl. Cat.* i. p. 452-3.

*Appx. Bearbaiting on Sundays, attacht & defended. 79**

to drunckenes, to feasting and surfetting, &c. Nowe in y^e name of the God of heauen, and of Iesus Christ his son, who shall come to iudge the quick & the dead at the latter day, I require it of al that euer shall reade these words, that, as they wil answer me before the face of God & all his Aungels at the sounde of the last trump, they better wey [Spending] whether carding, dising, & tabling, bowling, & cocking, stage *Sunday*] plaiers and summer games, whether gadding to this ale or *that*,¹ to this bearbaiting² & that bulbaiting, with a number such, be exercises commanded of God for the sabaoth day or no. O hart al frosen & void of

¹ See *Harrison*, Part I, p. 32: he speaks of Ales, &c., as lessend in number.

² *The sweet and comfortable recreation of Beare-bayting.*

In Haslewood's account "of the London Theatres; No. IX, The Bear Garden," in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1816, vol. 86, Part I, p. 205,* he says that "The Author of a tract in manuscript in the Museum,† written about this period [1606], having censured the players for the indirect attacks made by them upon the Nobility, under borrowed names of foreign Dukes and feigned persons, defends this diversion as needful for the common people, and that it should be exhibited upon festivals. 'I cannot (he says) see howe that sweet and comfortable recreation of beare-bayting (beinge, to our rude and inferiour vulgar, that which Circensis Venatio was among the Romans) maye welbe forborne, seeinge like will to like, as it is in the black proverbe, and therfore conclude that our active spiritts and fine pregnant witts, with pleasant and ingenious playes would be intertayned, and the scumme of the people (evene vpon the festivall daies) to the Bancke-side drayned . . . To retorne, where exception is taken to bear-bayting on festivall daies, I saye, vpon those, hell is broake loose, and it is good pollicye to drawe all the devylls (if it be possible) into one place, to keepe them from being easely tempted (for *pares cum paribus facillime congregantur, penè dixisse copulantur*, for one devill easely tempteth another,) and vnlawfull attemptinge ells where. *Bestiis indulgendum est infime plebi*; the poore slaves have bene helde in harde to labour att the working daies, and would be gladd to have a little recreation on the holye dayes, which our commiserant Lord ordyned in part (as I conceive) for the reste of them, and all brutes in generall, whome the insatiable covetousnes of man wold contynually, without intermission, be hurrying in traveile and laboure, and partly for solace and refection to the droylinge servant. Nowe becaswe the rude multitude dothe not knowe well howe to vse libertye (and some they muste and will have), therefore, that they themselves may devise none madder, whereof mischief maye aryse to the weale publique of the popplar citties, let them vse *the sweete pastime of beare-bayteinge*, and other suche publique exercises (thoughe on the festivall dayes), a God's name, that we may knowe what they doe, and wheare to fynd them if neede be. And [in] generall, all manner of pastimes are to be permitted att customary tymes to a peaceable people for there solace and comfort, as his Majestie in those moste judicious and admirable preceptes and direccions to the Prince‡ hathe verye choisely noated and prescribed."

* Mr. W. G. Stone gives me the reference.

† I can't identify the MS by the Class Catalogue, nor can the keeper of the MSS. tell me which it is. We've tried a few likely ones.

‡ *James I's Book of Sports.*

80* *Appx. Bp. Babington against Sabbath-Breaking.*

the feeling of the mercie of thy God, *that hauing every day in 6. euery hour in euery day, & euery minute in every hour, so tasted of the sweet grace of thy God in Christ, as that without it thou hadst perished euery minute, yet canst not tel howe possibly to passe ouer one day to his praise, vnesse one halfe of it be spent in carding & bowling.* Awake, awake, in Jesus Christ admonished, awake ! & seeing al the weeke long, y^e Lord of heauen doth defend & feede thee, comfort & blesse thee, & is contented but in one day especially to be regarded, vow with thy self in request of strength to keepe it, that to the Lord y^t one day shall be consecrated of thee, & obserued according to his will."

p. 199-205. "Haue we spent the Sabaoth in godly conference & meditation, powring out thanks from a feeling soule for y^e Lords goodnes euer to vs, & namely the weeke passed ? Haue we visited or thought vpon the sick, sore, diseased, imprisoned, banished, or any way suffring for a good cause, & to our power comforted them? Haue we studied how either to procure or continue or increase amongst our selues, or our neighbours, the meanes of saluation, as y^e preaching of the word, & such like? O beloued, we haue not, we haue not, we know it & must needs confesse it, if there be any trueth in vs. Too much haue we neglected all these ; yea, euen diuorse of them, it is greatly to bee feared, haue little or neuer at all troubled our heads : but for their contraries, in most ful measure we haue wallowed in them, and with greedinesse euer accomplished them. Where is the minister whose negligence hath not made his people to pollute the Sabaoth ? Where is the people whose consciences awaked may not iustly condemne them for ungodly gadding [Churchales, on this day to Churchales, to weddings, to drinkings, to ban- stage plays, kets, to fairs, & markets, to stage plaies, to bearebaytings, & bearbaitings.] summer games,¹ and such like? Where is that master that hath had a

¹ *Dancing and Minstrelsy on Sundays.*—See Mr. Collier's account, in *Bibl. Cat.* i. 489-492, of Thomas Lovell's 'Dialogue between Custom and Veritie, concerning the use and abuse of Dauncing and Minstrelsie, 1581, a book written to prevent the desecration of the Sabbath by' "heathenish dauncing and vain minstrelsie." Custom defends these practises ; Verity condemns them, especially 'the horrible immorality of kissing at the end of a dance, as we know was then usual (*Henry VIII*, Act I, sc. 4)."

While men with maides in wanton
daunce unseemly oft doo turn,
Their harts blinde Cupid oft doth cause
with Venus games to burn

If that his mate doo seem to like the
game that he would have,
He trips her toe, and clicks her cheek,
to show what he doth crave.

For Thomas Deloney's advice in 1607 how to woo and win a wench, see Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 215.

Arthur Golding, the great engisher of classical books in Shakspere's day, also complains of the Sabbath-breaking that went on. In his little book on the earthquake * probably alluded to by Shakspere, through the Nurse's mouth, in *Romeo and Juliet*, he says :—

* "A discourse upon the Earthquake that hapned through this Realme of Englande, and other places of Christendom, the sixt of April. 1580. betweene the hours of five and six in the Evening. Written by Arthur Golding, Gentleman.—At London, Imprinted by Henry Binneman, dwelling in Thamis streate nere Baynards castle," small 8vo. B. L.

conscience to restraine his seruants from this impietie, or the seruant againe that hath either brideled himselfe for ye Lords cause, or else wel accepted his master or mistres restraint being made vnto him, and which hath not rather burst out into vngodly & disobedient speeches, murmurring *that* because he hath wrought all the weeke, therfore he should haue libertie to do what he list on ye Sabaoth, not considering *that* this commandement bindeth not only ye master himselfe to honor God on this day, but to see to his family so much as he can, *that* they also do it. Nay I would to God y^e masters in many places were not ringleaders to their owne & al other mens people, to prophane this Sabaoth of the Lord, and that euen such maisters as in respect of their calling, office and credite in the countrey, should farre otherwise doe. When doeth a gentleman (to name no higher estates) appoint a shooting, a bowling, a [Cocking] cocking, or a drunken swearing ale, for the helpe as they say of some poore one, but vpon the Sabaoth? And if he be at ye Church in the forenoon, for the after noone it is no matter, he hath beene verie liberall to God in giuing him so much. What day in the week vsually doeth he giue so euill an example of vnmeasurable sotting in bed, as on the Sabaoth? But O filthie sauour that ariseth out of this lothsome chanell, thus raked vp into the nostrels of the Lorde! I spare to speake, I shame to see, I rew to knowe, what I fully knowe against our soules in this respect. . . . What should I say of the second end of the institution of the Sabaoth, namely for the rest of seruant & cattell? But euen in an word, woe to the man whom God shall iudge according to his guiltinessse herein. For it is too vsual with al estates to be a meanes to robbe their seruauntes of the blessing due to the keepers of this law, and to pull vpon them the plague for the contrarie, by making them ride and run, post and away, vpon euerie occasion that commeth in their heads, when in truth, if they would but euen look into it, the matter may be done wel without such hast. . . . Wherin or howe crucifie we the fleshe more on this day than any other, bridle the frowarde desires of the heart, restrayne our owne nature, and doe the will of God more on this day than any other? Alas, our owne consciences crie vnto us, we doe nothing lesse: wee drinke, wee eate, wee surfet, wee sware, we play, [Sunday amusements.] we daunce, we whore, we walke and talke idly, vainely, vncleanely and vngodilily: these are our workes on ye Sabaoth more commonly than any day in the weeke else; and if this bee to resemble a spirituall rest, then in deede wee doe it, not otherwise. . . . A thousand times & a thousand he might with great right haue destroyed vs either amongst our pottes, or in our daunces, or idle in our beds, asking vs if that were to halow his Sabaoth, or to honour his name to swill [Drinking on Sundays.] and to bibble, to leape, to walowe and tumble in bed, till it bee noone, with such like."

"The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the hearing of Gods word to the reformation of our lyves, for the administration and receyving of the Sacramentes to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behovefull for bodye or soule at Gods hands by Prayer, for the mynding of his benefites, and to yeede praise and thankes unto him for the same, and, finally, for the speciaill occupying of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnescessarie consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed."—Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 315—16.

Parents to blame for bringing up children badly.

p. 221-2. "For too much it is of parents neglected, & yet are they grieved, if of their children they be not reuerenced: and howsoeuer many there bee, that in these daies are carefull ynough to procure vnto their children knowledge of Artes, of Countries, and of any thing that in worldely sort may make them mightie, famous, and spoken of: yet is the grounde of all verie fearefully neglected, namely, to settle in them the true feare of the God of Israell, deliuerner and taught in his worde. Yea, it is euen accounted by father and child not so needfull or beseeming for a gentleman, to the great exasperating of the Lordes wrath against them and their seede. Humilitie also and shamefastnes are taken from youth in these daies, euen by their parents and their teachers; and where it hath euer beene held, that blushing in measure, modestie, and silence haue beene commendable tokens in young yeeres, nowe is it a shame to be ashamed at any time, blushing is want of countenance and bringing vp, silence is ignoraunce, modestie is too much maidenlinesse; and in short, nowe vertue is vice, and vice very comely and gallant behauisour. So times are changed to and fro, and chaunging times haue chaunged vs too. But of this thus farre."

Children's want of Reverence to Parents. Parents' setting bad Examples to their Children.

p. 247-251. "What shoulde I name, what shoulde I feare to name, so will it wring vs all, the mocking of our Parentes? Where is that childe that hath carefully couered to his power, and euer borne withall in him selfe, the wantes or infirmities whatsoeuer of his Parents? No, no, the Lord hath not onelie something against vs in this behalfe, but euen great and greeuous hath beene our fault, and still it remaineth in manie of vs. Wee laugh to see our Parentes shame, we smile at their wants, wee publishe their infirmities, we disdaine their ignoraunce, wee loath their age, and in manie a thing to our owne confusion, if the Lorde giue not an amending repentance, we bewray a robbed hart of *that* true reuerence which ought to bee in children to their parentes. Alas if God iudge vs for our obedience, where are we? what wites wil erecteth a kingdome in vs? Howe cleave wee to our selues in all matters, and thinke our owne direction best? Howe despise wee the counsell of our friendes, and cast behinde vs their experience? Euerie sonne and euerie daughter would rule their mariage wholie themselves. And euen in euerie action, alas, what disobedience sheweth it selfe in vs vnto our parentes. . . . Are we parents? . . . What life haue wee ledde before our children too breed and continue these duties in them? Hath it beene holy, graue, and modest, and so remayneth, as neere as we can, seeking to hide from the eyes of their witlesse heades, such wantes as we knowe our selues subiect vnto? No no, but carelessly and loosely, euen in every place, parentes bewray neglect of religion: they will goe to the Churches or good exercises when they list, and that verie rarely; they shewe no regarde of the dutie of Christians, they carie no grauitie in their doinges, no modestie often in their behauisour, but liue most dissolutely and often incontinently; they sweare fearefully without regarde, speake prophaneley, not respecting the frailtie of the youth that heareth them; father and mother let vnkinde speeches passe from them one towards an other in the presence of their children, to the great impairing of their credite

with them, carelesse, God knowes, of their bringing vp, and too full of foolish pitie when they should correct them. . . . The very vnnaturall and vnkinde dealing of Parentes with their children in their youth, denying them releefe, and comfortable helpe, maketh them often (though it should not) when they haue attayned to anie estate, to deale as vndutifully with their needie Parentes againe.'

Stage-Plays and Players. (See too p. 85*.)

p. 316-318. "These prophane & wanton stage playes or interludes: what an occasion they are of adulterie and vncleanenesse, by gesture, by speech, by conueyances, and deuices to attaine to so vngodly desires, the world knoweth with too much hurt by long experience. Vanities they are if we make the best of them; and the Prophet prayeth to haue his eies turned away by the Lorde from beholding such matter: Euill wordes corrupt good manners, and they haue abundance. There is in them euer manie dangerous sightes, and wee must abstaine from al appearance of euill. They corrupt the eies with alluring gestures: the eyes, the heart: and the heart, the bodie, till al be horrible before the Lord. *Histrionicis gestibus inquinantur omnia:* (sayth Chrysostome) These players behauour polluteth all thinges. And of their playes he saith, they are the feasts of Sathan, the inuentions of the deuill, & Councils haue decreeed verie sharply against them, and polluted bodies by these filthie occasions haue on their death beddes confessed the daunger of them, lamented their owne foule and greeuous faulles, and left their warning for euer with vs to beware of them. But I referre you to them, that vpon good knowledge of the abominations of them, haue written largely & wel against them. If they be dangerous on the day time, more daungerous on the night certaintely: if on a stage, & in open courtes, much more in chambers and priuate houses. For there are manie roumes beside that where the play is, & peraduenture the strangenes of the place & lacke of light to guide them, causeth errour in their way, more than good Christians should in their houses suffer."

Psal. 119.

1. Cor. 15.

1. Thes. 5. 22.

Dancing, the Evils of it. (See too, p. 85*.)

p. 318-321. "Que. What else?

"Ans. Dancing againe is in the number of vaine pastimes, [Dancing.] and the allurements to vncleannessse, as much experience hath too wel proued. The scriptures checke it, the fathers mislike it, the counsels haue condemned it, & the profe of Gods iudgements vpon it biddeth vs beware. *Instrumenta luxuria tymbana & tripudia,* sayth one, the inticers to lust are pipinges and dancinges. *Laquei sunt & scandala, non solum saltatoribus, sed spectatoribus.* They are snares and offences not onely to the actors, but also to y^e beholders. Job noteth it as an olde practise of the deuil to occupy men withall, & as an ancient exercise of the wicked, that they should daunce. Upon which wordes a godly writer sayeth: that from the tabret and the flute, which in *Calu. serm 80.* themselves are not vnlawfull, they come to dauncing, *vpon Job.* which is the chiefest mischiefe of all. For there is alway (sayth he) such vnchast behauour in dauncing, that of it selfe, and as they abuse it, (to speake the trueth in the worde) it is nothing else, but an incitemet to whoredome. In the gospel the spirite of God noteth it *Math. 14.* in a wicked woman as an immodest thing, & of a damnable

Job. 21. 11.

Catu. serm 80.

vpon Job.

84* Appx. Bp. Babington on the Evils of Dancing.

effect in her wicked father Herode, to dance. And such as interpret the place are not afraide of these words, that it was *meretrizie lasciuiae Marior. ex. turpis nota nubilis puellæ saltatio*. That is, that for her *Catu.* to dance, beeing a maide for yeares mariageable, was a note of whorish wantonnesse. For whosoeuer (saith he) hath a care of honest grauitie, he euer condemneth dancing, and especially in a maide. Againe hee calleth it *spectaculum familiæ Regia probrosum*. A dis-honorable sight in a kings house: with manie speaches moe of mislike. Sirac, a wise man, and of great experiance, biddeth a man not to vse the companie of a woman, that is a singer and a dauncer, neither to heare her, least hee bee taken with her craftinesse. The Ambros. de. godlie Fathers, as I saide, mislike it. For *saltatio ad virgin. lib. 3 adulteras, non ad pudicas pertinet*, saith one of them: Dauncing belongeth to adulterous, and not to honest women. A sharpe Chryst. Math. speeche: Yet was this graue father not afraide to speake hom. 48. it. *Saltatio barathrum diaboli*, sayth an other: dauncing is in Genes. the deuils hell. And we heare speeche of Jacobs mariage Theophilact (saith he) in the scripture, but not a worde of anie dauncing in Mar. 6. that was at it. *Mira collusio* sayth another, *saltat diabolus per puellam*: It is a strange iugling, when wee thinke the maide doth daunce, and it is not so, but the deuill in her, or by her. The councells haue condemned it, as others haue at large shewed. And verie Tullie could say, an honest man would not dance in an open place for a great patrimonie. For the iudgementes of God vpon this vaine pastime, it is An. 1505. strange which Pantaleon noteth out of Crantzius, that in Colbecke, a towne in Germanie, certaine light persons hopping, and dauncing in the Churchyearde of S. Magnus, beeing by the minister admonished to cease, and not ceasing, did for a long time (not able to stay) runne rounde about, and at last fell all downe dead.¹ But because others haue so largelie writ against this vanitie, I say no more of it at this time, but wish vs to consider that it is an inticement often to adulterie, and therefore in this commaundement forbidden. And as for anie dauncing that wee reade of in the scriptures to haue beene vsed of the godly, we must vnderstande, that their dancing was euer a sober modest motion, with some song vsually to Gods praise, and men by themselues, women by themselves. Which nothing will warrant our custome and guise in these daies.

Que. Are there yet anie moe allurementes?

Ans. There are yet many mo. But I may not in this sort stande vpon them. Gluttonie & drunkennesse, with houses of open Ezek. 16. whoredome, youre booke nameth and proofes for them. Idle- 1. Cor. 7. 39. nesse also is an other meanes, the vowe of chastitie, the Deut. 22. deniall of seconde marriages, the going of men in womens apparell, and women in mans apparell, with a number such."

*Temptations to Unchastity: Wanton Looks and Books, Dress,
Plays, Dancing.*

p. 348-350. "The meanes and allurementes either to the actuall offence, or the thought condemned in this commaundement as we haue

¹ Robert Manning of Brunne cites this instance too, in his *Handlyng Synne*, A.D. 1303. See my edition, p. 279-286. He makes the sacrilegious Carollers or Dauncers go on hopping for ever after.

*Appx. Bp. Babington against Stage-Plays, &c. 85**

heard before, are many and diuerse. Sometimes the eyes disorderly wander, and beeing not checked by a Christian conscience that feareth to give them libertie too long, they become the occasions both of thoughtes and actes, wicked and damnable. Sometimes behauour vncast and unseemely. Sometimes speeche wanton and light, stir the hart vp to conceiue that thing, and the wicked fleshe to perfourme it fully, which God and nature abhorre as filthie. The dalyng tattles of these courting dayes, the lasciuious songs made by loose mindes, and the wanton greetinges in euerie place nowe vsed, alas what thoughtes procure they, neuer liked of the Lorde, that I may say no worse? Bookes written by vnreformed heartes, and continually redde to the greefe of God, are they no occasions to fraile flesh, both in thought and deede to offend against this law: God knoweth, and experience teacheth such soules as tast of Christ, that verie deadly poysone vnder a false delight, doth this way creepe into vs. An vncast looke makes an vncast heart, and a rouing tongue beyonde the listes of godlinesse ere euer we well knowe what we doe. So subtil is the sinne that this way creepeth into our soules. Apparell is next, a most fearefull allurement to the breache of this commaundement both in thought and deede, if God once in mercie would open our eyes. So are these stage playes,^[Stage Plays.] and most horrible spectacles, so is our dauncing, which at this day is vsed, so is drunckenesse, gluttonie and idlenesse, with a number such like, as can witnesse eche one in the world that will weigh them."

P. 351-354. "Light behauour and alluring daliance is *Behaviour.* euerie where accompted comelie bouldnesse, and good *Speech.* bringing vp: discoursing speeche to a vaine ende, we count a quality commendable in vs, and the want of it we esteeme simplicitie, wheresoever we see it. And therefore by bookes to such endes set out, we endeavour to attaine vnto it, and hauing once polluted our speech (for I will neuer call it polishing) we are neuer better than when we haue company to bestowe our tales and greetinges vppon. Our apparell, in matter, to our power we make sumptuous, and in forme, *Apparell.* to allure the eye asmuch as wee can. If this be true, in the name of Christ let vs better thinke of it than we haue done. These are allurementes to sinfull lust, and this lawe of God forbiddeth not onely both act and thought, but euen euerie allurement to either of them. What should I speake of stage plaiies and dauncing? Can we say in trueth before the maiestie of God that we carefullie abstaine from these thinges, because they tickle vs vp either more or lesse to the breach of this commaundement? Alas we cannot a number of vs. But we runne to the one *Playes.* continually to our cost, when we will not be drawen to better *Dauncing.* exercises that are offered freely, we sucke in the venom of them with great delight, and practise the speeches and conveyances of loue which there we see and learne. The other wee vse with especiall pleasure, *Gluttonie and drunckenesse.* and God being witnesse to many an one, they wish the fruite of their dauncing to be this, euen the fall of them selues and others into the breach of this lawe. What should I say of gluttonie and idlenesse? Doe they not make vs sinne? Good Lord, giue vs eyes to see, and hearts to weigh the occasions of our fall. The spirite of God hath sayde that these pricked up the flesh of the filthy Sodomites

86* Appx. Bp. Babington on the *Evils of Retainers, &c.*

flesh, as if we were gods that could suffer no temptation: we dare gull in wine and hote drinke continually, beeing peraduenture both strong and young, and euerie way needing rather pulling downe, than setting vp. We dare solace our selues in soft beddes too long for our constitutions, and all the day after betake our selues to nothing whereabout the minde might walke, and so escape impure conceptes."

The giving of Liveries to Retainers and Serving-men, &c.

Liveries are often meanes and couers of p. 378-9. "And I wil yet adde one thing ouer vnto all these, which must needes be included in this head of oppression, because it is a common and a dangerous cloake of the same, to wit, lyueries of Prince or subiectes, noble men, gentlemen, or whosoeuer. Which if they maintaine and beare out the vniust & wrongfull dealings of any man with y^e knowledge of the Lord, not only the deede doer, but the giuer of that cloth and cote whatsoeuer he be, standeth giltie of that oppression before almighty God. The consideration whereof being so true and sure, should iustly cause in al estats, that deale their cloth to others, a more vigilant eye & eare to see & heare the conuersation of their folowers, & a restraining hand of such countenance, credite or couer to them (all worldly reasons set apart) when so euer they shall vnderstande the same to be abused. For why should any earthly respect euer stande so great in mens eies, as *that* for it they dare take vpon them the guilt of other mens sins, & spoyle oppression? But alas great is the vnfeelingnesse of many mens harts in this matter in these dayes. Either Pope, profite, or pollicie, doe make vs deale our cloth too liberally, and regard our mens behauisour too negligentlie. But a worde is ynough"

Liveries. p. 428. "What shoulde I say of that cloake and couer and cause of much oppression, the cloth and liueries of Superiours? Am I the giuer or the taker? If I bee the giuer, haue I never boulstred my cognisance out to doe the thing that God forbiddeth? Haue I hearkned about to see and learne howe they vse the credit that is giuen them? God knowes wee haue little neede to be charged with other mens sinnes, as no doubt such a maister shall with such a mans offences. For we shall never be able to beare in our selues the burden of our owne. Am I the taker? what then saith my conscience? haue I sought it and sued for it for affection, and true duetie in my heart to him that gaue it? Doe I weare it, and wishe to weare it, to haue my heart knownen to him or her the better, whom with heart and hande, bodie and goods, power and might till my death, in right I honour and serue, and wishe and will doe euer? Or rather a false faith seeketh a faire shewe, and a powling hande of manie a seelie weake wretch seeketh a strength to establish my wickednesse, and a backer to beare on my foule oppressions?"

Neglect of honest Work in Youth. (The Grasshopper and the Ant.)

p. 382-385. "There was a litle title tattle, when time was, they say, betwixt the grashopper and the pismire, and we may laugh at it, & yet looke better about vs as admonished by it. The grashopper hauing passed the summer ouer merily, as her custome is, singing and tuning the notes of a thoughtlesse minde vnder euerie leafe, at last when winter came on, beganne to shake, and to goe to bedde with an emptie bellie

manie a night, to the great weakening of her liuely limmes, and the quite marring of all her musicke. To steale, shee refuseth of her honest nature; and to begge, shee is ashamed, for feare to be mocked. Yet neede maketh the olde wife trotte, they say; and modestie in this hungrie creature must yelde to necessitie. To it therefore shee goeth, and hauing a wealthie neighbour not fare off, that had laboured sore all summer, and layde vppe much good vitaile, to her she commeth, and craueth some succour at her hande. Who by and by demaunded of her what shee did all summer? "Alas (sayeth the grashopper) I sung, and little remembered this change." "Did you so (sayth the Ant) in deede did you sing all summer? Nowe trust me, for mee, you shall daunce all winter, for I liue by my labour, and I will never maintaine idlenessse in anie." Thus receiued slouth a checke, when it looked for helpe; and wee, warned by it, may learne this morall, to labour least we lacke. *Optimum obsonium senectute labor*, (sayth one) They are good refreshinges in our age, the wel-bestowed trauelles of our youth. Yeares passe, and strength fayles; gette nothing in youth, and haue nothing in age. But O carelesse heartes of ours, and headie will,² who can perswade this, or beate it into the heades of young men, and maydes, of seruantes, and such as are comming on? No, no, we will hoppe and daunce, tipple and drinke, basket and reuell, what connsell souuer is giuen vs to the contrarie, with that little we haue, and sing care away. And a little gaie apparel on the backe, is worth much money in the chest. But wise is he whome other mens harmes can cause to take heede. Sicknesse may come, and euerie maister will not keepe a sicke seruant; a mayme may fall to vs, and wee then may heare it, I haue no wages vntesse you could worke, many thinges may happen, and a mans owne is his owne, and great is gods blessing to faithfull labour, as trulie his plagues are not little or rare to idlenessse and slouth. . . .³ Wherefore it is not ynoch enough to make vs guiltlesse of this commaundement to say, we get that we haue by labour, but it must be good labour (sayth Paule) iust labour, and lawefull labour. The which distinction ouerthroweth al maintaynance gotten by massing, by iugling, by charming, by playing interludes, by fiddling and piping vppe and downe the countrey, by caryng about beares and apes, by telling of fortunes, and such like trades, mentioned in the statute of this lande, touching vagabundes. For though they be labours, and make them sweate often, some of them, yet want they warrant in the worde to prooue them good, and lawefull labours. And therefore subiect to the penaltie of this lawe before God."

Idle Jesting and Scoffing.

p. 396-7. "Vnto this heade is referred all vngodlie counsell, whatsoever, and all leawde vanitiie, or babishe seruilie to make men delight more in vs, and lesse in the feare of God. Is it not lamentable to see, that a popish, or an atheisticall Spirite shall doe more hurt at a table, or such like place with one peeuiish iest, and girding skoffe in the heartes of the hearers, than twentie good men can recouer with much good counsell? And yet what say we? O, hee is a merie greeke, a pleasaunt companion, and in faith a good fellowe.⁴ Hee cannot flatter, his words must be

¹ p. 383.

² p. 384.

³ p. 385.

⁴ 'Good men' fighting, &c.—"howe dare these sinfull, braulynge, quarelling, disquiet, hatefull, and furious fighters, take vpon them to be called *good men*

borne, and soe foorth. But marke marke what effect this mirth hath in us, and whereto it tendeth. And if it increase our knowledge, increase our zeale, and increase good graces in vs, then like it, and spare not, and cheerish such an one. But if it poyson the profite of the worde vnto vs, decay our diligence, and liking of good exercises, and decrease all that I haue named, then know him for a thiefe, though his handes be true, for he stealeth our soules from the liuing God, & both bodie and soule from eternall life."

Amusements in Moderation are justifiable. What Games are allowable. Gaming for money is not. The Evils of Gaming.

p. 399-400. "Concerning then playing and gaming in generall, diuers you shall finde both in writing and speaking verie straite, who hardlie will bee perswaded to allowe vnto Christians almost anie plaie at all. For, say they, wee must giue accompt in the day of iudgement o feuerie action, of euerie idle worde, and of euerie iote of time, howe wee haue bestowed it, and therefore we shoulde not play."

p. 400-408. "The meaning of these our brethren no doubt is good, and willingly would drawe vs to greater dutie to our God. And these reasons of theirs ought to haue this effect in vs, euen to abridge that excesse which al may see in our playing and our sportes, and to bring vs home to a greater strictnesse of life in heeding what we should. But to cut vs off from all recreation by any play (be it without offence of anie spoken) indeede they cannot. For wee are men, and no Angels, and as men in this worlde wee must walke our course, subiect to dulnesse, and wearinesse, euen in good thinges, and wee must refreshe that feeble weakenesse of ours by lawful and allowed comforts. Which

Zach. 8. 5
Exod. 13.
2 Sam. 18.
Leuit. 23.
The appointing of festiuall dages. I so tearme, because I am assured that the worde of God condemneth not all our play, and the corrupt constitution of our bodies, together with the dulnesse of our minds, require some play. Sparing in truth is the worde in giuing, because well knewe the Lorde wee woulde not bee sparing in taking libertie for to play. Yet is it plaine inough. Notwithstanding fitly may it bee saide of play, as he saide of studying philosophie, *Philosophandum paucis*: Wee must play but little.

But nowe the seconde steppe is more harde than this, namelie to knowe what games wee maie vse, and at what wee may play. Wherein not purposing anie set and curious treatise, I aunswere briefly, that of those manie and differing kindes of sportes, that are deuised and vsed in euerie place, I condemne none, which make for the quickening of bodie or minde, which serue to actiuicie, and prepare men for better seruice an other daye, vnlesse they haue ioyned to them any vngodlinessse, or are by Lawe of that particular place forbidden: no, not Cardes or Tables in all respectes, and to euerie person at all times, and in all places: Neuerthelesse I am fullie assured, and doe willinglie affirme, that they ought not of Christians professing the Gospel to bee so much vsed as they are. . . . Let vs therefore rather enter to consider an other poynt, which is

And what witlesse woodcocks are they, that cals them *good men*, because *Stoute fighters* they fight lustily, sticke to it stoutely, and would mayme and kill *are not good men.* desperately: neuer regarding their cause nor their quarrel." 1580.

T. Lupton. *Sivgila*, p. 53.

harder than this, namelie, whether wee shoulde play for monie or no. And first I reason thus : If it bee lawefull to plaie for monie, then is it lawefull to winne monie in this sort, and the monie lawefullie possessed : But this seconde is false, therefore the former also. That the seconde is false, the ende and first inuention of plaie proueth, which, as euerie one canne well witnesse, was never inuenta to this ende, but onelie to refresh either body or mind ; and corruption afterward brought in mony, as we see dayly before our eyes. . . . Thirddlie, I reason from the multitude of miserable creatures, that are the same fleshe that wee are, and yet pitifullie crie for want of succour : from the multitude of godlie and Christian vses, to employ that which wee maie spare vppon, and even from the want of manie necessaries for our selues, that it is not lawefull nor tollerable to play for monie. For is it not lamentable, and most fearefull, that anie Christian man shoulde carie about in his conscience daie and night a witnesse, that this seuen yeares hee hath not giuen seuen shillings to the naked, needie, and comfortlesse members of Jesus Christ, and yet hee hath lost at vayne playe, in a vayne manner, twentie times as much ? Can a man bee so dull, as to thinke this thing will never prick him, or never haue a just rewarde of punishment at Gods handes ? Is it not lamentable, that a man can see no Christian vse to giue of hys abundaunce to, but thinke all that euer hee can get, litle inough to consume in playe ? Are wee exempted out of the number of them that are bounde to workes of loue, and deedes of mercie, so that wee neede to doe none of these, and yet shall bee sauied too ? Naie, is it not wonderfull, and a thing that heauen and earth are ashamed of, and even all the creatures in both of them stande astonished at, to consider, that a man shoulde not eyther doe the former dueties, or him selfe haue eyther anie good apparell to weare, anie bookees to benifite his soule by, no not so much as a Bible or a prayer booke, anie meate at home for his wife and Children, anie wages to paie hys Seruauntes, or his other debtes, or a number moe such necessaries, and yet think hys playing, yea his costlie playing, lawefull, and not to bee spoken agaynst ? Is it I say, possible, that euer a Christian man, that thinkes hee hath Gods spirite, shoulde thus haue his conscience seared vp ? Truelie, for myne owne part, I professe I haue stooide in my hearte amazed at it, and I beseech the Lorde to drive awaie from vs such grosse securitie. For else as we liue, wee shall knowe wee haue deceyued our selues, and others ; wee were never anie thing lesse, than Christians. These dueties therefore due to others, so manie, and great, and these wants of necessaries for our selues, improue¹ our playing for monie."

Dicing, the Evils of it. Chaucer and Sir T. Elyot.

p. 411-417. "The Poet layeth it downe amongst the Cankers that consume men and make them beggers, Disease, Wine, and Women. What shoulde I say ? Take anie booke in hande of an heathen man, and it is a woorder, if you finde not some thing against dysing. Nowe come from heathens to Christians, and see even as great misliking. Austen beginneth and is not afraide to say plainly, *Aleam De ciuit. Dei. inuenit Daemon*, The deuill first found out the game of *In praeceptorio*. dising. Lyra, detesting it, seeketh to make other men doe *lib. 4.* as much by diuers reasons. It coueteth (sayth hee) an other mans

¹ Lat. *improbo*, disapprove, blame, condemn.

90* *Appx. Bp. Babington, Chaucer, &c., against Dicing.*

goods greatly, it is a mightie meanes of deceite, it passeth vsurie, it causeth lying, swearing, brawling, and manie idle wordes, it is an offence to the godly, it breaketh the lawes, it misspendeth the time, and what not? Olde CHAUCER so long agoe set his sentence downe against this exercise,¹ and spares not to display the vertues of it in this maner :

Dising,² (saith he) is verie mother of leasings, [² Hasard] And of deceite and cursed forswearings.
 Blaspemie of God, manslaughter, and waste also,
 Of battaile, naughtinesse, and other mo.³ [³ Of catel, and of time, and forthermo]
 It is reprofe and contrarie to honour,
 For to be hould a common disesour.⁴ [⁴ hasardour]
 And euer the higher he is in estate,
 The more he is houlden desolate.
 If thou a Prince dost vse⁵ hazardie
 In all[e] gouernance and pollicie 600 [⁵ If that a Prynce / vseth]
 He is, by a⁶ common opinion
 Houlden lesse⁷ in reputation. 602 [⁶ as by]
 Lordes might finde other manner of⁸ play, 627 [⁷ Yholde the lesse]
 Honest inough to driue the day away. 628 [⁸ fynden other maner]

But of all other speeches, me thinkes it is a maruelous saying of Sir Thomas Eliot, and ought verie greatly to moue vs, who affirmeth that if a man heare one to be a diser, and knoweth him not, by and by he iudgeth him to be a light and vaine person, and of no credite or accomp. . . Last of all, peruse the Statutes of this our owne countrie, and I beseech you marke the liking they haue shewed of dising. In the twelfth yeare of Richarde the seconde all vnlawefull games were forbidden, and by name Dising generallie. In the 21. yeare of Henrie the fourth, disers taken were imprisoned sixe dayes. And if anie heade Magistrate, as Maior, or Sheriffe, made not diligent search for them, they forfeitd fortie shillings: If a Constable were negligent, hee lost sixe shillings and eight pence. In the seventeenth yere of Edward the fourth, they that kept dicing houses were to haue three yeares imprisonment and 20. pounds fine. Players at dice in those houses, two yeares imprisonment and ten pounds fine. In the eleventh yeare of Henrie the seventh, Dicers shoulde be openlie set in the stockes by the space of one whole day, and the house keepers that suffered him to play, forfeit a noble, and be bounde to their good behauour. In the 33. yeare of Henrie the eight, Dicing houses forfeitd fortie shillings euerie time, & disers vi. s. viii. d. and bound in recognisance neuer to play againe. And yet more may you see in Pultons abridgement.⁹ Now it is woorderfull that notwithstanding all this, yet so foule a thing shoulde seeme so faire, and that a man shoud not thinke himselfe vsed as a gentleman or almost as a man, vnesesse hee may haue libertie in this loosenesse, and the large reine to so great an euill. And yet wee be Christians, and that of the better sort too, or you doe vs wrong. The heathen hated it, and we hatch it vp in euerie house, and yet we be Christians. The godly writ against it, wee waite for it, and yet we be Christians. The counsels haue condemned it in the spirite of Christ, and christian lawes haue most sharply punished it: wee day and night vse it, and cannot be reaued of it, and

¹ In the *Pardoner's Tale*, Group C, l. 589-628; Six-text, p. 321-2. A few of the Ellesmere MS. readings are in the margin above.

² Of the Statutes.

Appx. Bp. Babington on Oppression of the Weak. 91*

yet we be Christians. But alas, alas! the day of vnderstanding, or the day of damnation for our ignoraunce, shall teach vs an other thing. We sweare, we lie, we reuile, and wee runne into the fieldes with murthering mindes (for such anger is murther) moued by play, and yet we will not leue it. And if I doe not thus in shewe, yet inwardly I frette, I chafe, I gnash with my teethe, and teare the Cardes, burne the Dice, throw away the Tables, and such like, and yet I am religious. The Lorde forbiddeth all appearaunce of euill, all occasions of sinne, and ^{1. Thes 5.} yet wee are the Lordes, and doe neither. The Lorde saith, ‘If thy right hande cause thee to offend, or thy right eye, cut it off, plucke it out, and cast it away’; wee will bee the Lordes, and not restrayne a litle play, that, mine owne soule being witnesse, most greevouslie maketh mee offendre. Fie, fie, what deadnesse is this? Where is either loue of God, or feare in vs? Loue makes vs burne with desire to doe well, feare makes vs shake, to thinke of anie sinne: we continually sinne in our greedie gaming, and yet we be godlie. But this either makes vs see it, or we will neuer (I feare) see the mischeefe of playing, and by name of Dising. The Lorde for Christ his sake awake vs, and so I end.’

Oppression of Servants and the Weak. Taking of Bribes.

p. 425-428. “Who seeth not, who knoweth not, that all *Oppression*. oppression of my brother in his goods is contrarie to that loue that I ought to beare to him and his goods? And how stande wee in this matter? Haue wee never detained the poore seruautes wages, and *Of seruantes*. wrecked our anger vppon him to his harme further than a mercifull heart shoulde haue doone? Haue wee not taken euen the flower of his youth, the strength of his yeares, and the verie iuice and sappe of hys bodie to serue our turnes withall, and then either turned him off vnrewarded,¹ or taken from him, or diminished without cause, other than our

¹ “Nay, thou hast yet *Another Cruelty* gnawing in thy bosome; *Against want of provision for those that dye in the fields.* for what hope is there that thou shouldst haue pitty ouer others, when thou art vnmercifull to thy self! Looke ouer thy walls into thy Orchards and Gardens, and thou shalt see thy seruants and apprentices sent out cunningly by their Masters at noone day vpon deadly errands; when they perceiue that the *Armed Man* hath struck them, yea, euen when they see they haue tokens deliuiered them from heauen to hasten thither, then send they them forth to walke vpon their graues, and to gather the flowers themselves that shall stick their own Herse. And this thy Inhabitants do, because they are loth and ashamed to haue a writing ouer their dores, to tell that God hath bin there; they had rather all their enemies in the world put them to trouble, then that he should visit them.

“Looke againe ouer the walls into thy Fields, and thou shalt heare poore and forsaken wretches lye groaning in ditches, and trauailing to seeke out Death vpon thy common hye wayes. Hauing found him, he there throwes downe their infected carcases, towards which, all that passe by, looke, but (till common shame, and common necessity compell,) none step in to give them buriall. Thou setst vp posts to whip them when they are aliue: Set vp an Hospital to comfort them being sick, or purchase ground for them to dwell in when they be well, and that is, when they be dead.” 1606. T. Decker. *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London* (Arber, 1879), p. 48.

owne couetousnesse, the reward that our auncestour gaue to his seruice before? If wee haue doone it, alas it is a great oppression, a great wrong, and it standeth not with that loue that I am charged withall *Widow and fatherlesse*. not hurt the desolate Widowe, the fatherlesse childe, or anie whose might was lesse than ours to beare off the hardnes of our handes? Haue we not lift vp our force against them when we sawe wee might haue helped them in the gate? If we haue, what can we say why we shuld not rot in peeces for it, & our armes bee broken from *Job. 31, 32.* the bones, as Job wished to him in such a case? Haue wee neuer respected the person more of one than an other in cause of iustice, a strong meanes to drawe vs to oppression? Haue wee neuer suffered *Bribes.* these handes to feele the weight of a bribers gift¹ to drawe vs to oppression? O spare not to spie your sinne euen to the full if you haue offended, and yet accuse not your selues if you dare boast of innocencie. Happie were our countrie, and a thousande comfortes were it to euerie one of vs, if the dulnesse of our heartes in these deadlie sinnen pulled not vppon vs the often offending in them, and then such sinne, such wrath againe from heauen aboue, as is most due vnto it. Alas, wee see not, neither euer will bee made to see, what loue by this lawe wee owe to all men in their goods; but we robbe them, we spoyle them, and wee take gifites to do it, and yet we be no theeuers."

Covetousness. Lawyers. Giving Church-livings to bad Parsons.

p. 431-5. "Wee boldlie looke of euerie mans commodities. As we goe and ride, wee streight way couet, and that which is worse, presentlie we deuise to obtain our will to the impairing of our brothers wealth, and the fearefull breaking of this commandement. And woulde God the rage of our lust were not sometime so vehement, as that missing to get what it greedelie seeketh, it casteth vs downe sicke in our bed, or causeth vs to hurt him who hindereth our wishe, as wee see fell out in Achab to Naboth for his vinearde. But of this hereafter more againe in the tenth commandement. For the tongue, alas what shoulde I saie, I will neuer bid you enquire whether you bee guiltie or no. For whither shoulde a man flie in these dayes from flatterie, or where may we liue and not light of false forgers seeking by filed phrase to bleere the eyes of such as least suspect them. . . . Let them ioyne hereunto, *Lauieres.* whose calling is such a true viewe of the drift and successe of their pleas, whether they haue not often indeuored with their tongues, and often also obtayned by their speach, the wrongfull alienation of mens right from them to other men. And is not this a theft? Might not he euen aswell haue robbed him with his handes, as to be a meanes by speach of wrong perswasion that others doe it? But alas, what wordes can I vse, or anie man else this day aliuie, to make men feele, that neither golden gaine, nor anie regarde to be named whatsoeuer, shoulde make them speake vntruely against the good estate of their brethren in anie causes? Surely, if this will nothing moue, that it is in nature theft which in name they so abbore, I will assay no further. . . . Are we al cleare of that theft of thefes committed in conueying of the Church livinges to our owne vse from them that ought to haue them and doe the dutie for them, to the dishonour of God, the ruine of the Church, and the fearefull casting away of manie a soule into the pitte of hell for

¹ Compare Bacon's case, &c.

*Appx. Bp. Babington on Unfit Parsons, Tittle-Tattle. 93**

want of knowledge?¹ . . . Shall the Lorde crie woe vpon woe, wrath vpon wrath, vengeance vpon vengeance, to the carelesse shepheardes that feede themselues, and not the flocke ; and shall he so quietly passee them ouer, that put in, and place such dumbe dogges, and vnable drones to doe anie duetie for their owne lucre ? Is it a token of loue to feede his sheepe, to feede his lambes ; and is it not a want of loue both to God and his lambes, to put in, for my gaine, such a drie nurse as can giue no milke nor feede at all, except it be with follie, and a fowle example of drinking, swearing, carding, tabling, bowling, sleeping, and such like?"

Prittle-pratle and Tittle-tattle, the Evils of em.

p. 481-2. "For the seconde which was telling of tales, wee haue heard it before shewed, and our owne knowledge both assure vs it is a branch of the breach of this commandement, which shall burne both bodie and soule in the fire of hell. And yet see, do we feare it, or flie it? Alas we knowe I am sure of it, we haue beeene too too secure in this point, and our securitie not seeing and weighing the wickednesse of the vice hath stayned both heart and tongue horriblie. Looke about the worlde and veiwe the generall course of all. Feareth anie man to discredite his neighbour priuily, and to whisper vpon hearesay or his owne imagination what tendeth to the blemish of his name whom he speaketh of? Feareth any woman when shee hath mette with her gossippe to tittle tattle, to the slander of an other, this thing and that thing, which yet hath no certaintie, and which full loth she would haue saide of her selfe vpon like conjectures? No no we see too much the cursed course of lawlesse tongues in euerie place, though the Lorde in mercie giueth some consciences, and a thousande times I begge that we wolud see our sinne, confesse our sinne, and rippe vp our guilt in this respect. Why shoulde wee be so dull and without feeling? If it be a vertue thus to prittle and pratle of euerie bodie, vncertaine tales, but most certaine discredites, then prooue it so, and vse it : but if it bee a branch of false witnesse, that doth truly witnesse gods wrath to hang ouer vs for it, good Lorde, shall we still be polluted with it?"

[*Tea Gowns* in 1878.—See *The World* article, reprinted in *The Royal Exchange*, Nov. 9, 1878, a number sent out as an advertisement. (I, of course, see nothing of the set of folk referrd to in it.)

"It is not so very long ago that the appearance in the drawing room or in any other place where she was visible to the naked eye of the male sex, of a lady loosely wrapped in her dressing gown, would have been an impossibility. But the world moves rapidly in this last quarter of the nineteenth century ; and ladies, who a few years ago would have considered the idea appalling, calmly array themselves in the glorified dressing robe known as a 'tea gown,' and proceed to display themselves to the eyes of their admirers. . . . It is absolutely useless and utterly ridiculous ; but this is not the worst that may be said about it. It is, to

¹ See *Harrison*, Part I., p. 21, 26-27.

all intents and purposes, a *déshabillé*; and so great is the force of association, that the conversation is exceedingly apt, nay almost certain, to become *déshabillé* as well. The gentlemen, in houses where tea gowns prevail, relieve themselves of their shooting attire, and reappear very frequently in gorgeous smoking suits; there is an ease and *sans facon* about the whole proceeding that favours laxity of discourse, and advantage is generally taken of the latitude afforded. It is easier to take three strides forward than half a step backwards; consequently, when the company reassembles at dinner, the point of departure for the conversation is several degrees nearer to the doubtful borderland of *hasardé* allusions and *double entendres* than it would have been without the antecedent symposium *en négligé*. . . . Old-fashioned prudery has long been thrown aside in the eager desire for more admirers of such becoming raiment; the tea gowns have descended to the drawing-room and the hall, and have become more marvellous and more *voyant* in the transit. With the graceful *négligé* toilet there has come in a habit of lounging, which is certainly of most doubtful grace. Hands are not unfrequently to be seen clasped above or behind the head, thus often liberally exhibiting the arm by the falling back of the loose sleeve; feet and ankles are lavishly displayed as dainty slippers are rested on the fender; more ardent spirits recline in ostentatious repose on various sofas. It is considered the thing to suit the action to the attire, and exhibit in it the supremacy of ease. Any quiet spirits in the party generally disappear; they feel themselves as out of place among the stray remarks and *hasardé* stories, as their quiet morning dresses are among the pink and blue and other rainbow-hued tea gowns, with their lavish cascades of lace, and bewitching caps to match. They disappear; and when they again meet their friends at dinner-time, are apt to be somewhat astonished to find how much ceremony has been thrown to the winds in their brief absence, and on how much more familiar a footing their friends are than when they parted from them two or three hours before.

" . . . It will be doubtless said, tea gowns are far less objectionable than the extremely *décolleté* dresses of which such grievous complaint has been made during the last two seasons. But two wrongs do not make a right; and besides, objectionable as too *décolleté* dresses may be, they are still, by a fiction of society—that unwritten law which is of such infinitely greater force than all the statutes in the judicial archives—considered to constitute the fullest toilette, the greatest possible pitch of *grande tenue*; and owing to this belief they are by no manner of means so provocative of laxity of conversation as the moral dressing gown and slippers of the tea-gown."]

For the loan of the following cut I have to thank Captain Harold Dillon. His uncle, at Ditchley, Oxfordshire, has a picture of one of the brothers of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., in the time of Elizabeth, with a Rose in his ear, like the fop on p. 78* note, above: the Rose is just stuck like a pen is, between the hair and the ear, showing the flower in front. The dandies must have carrid their heads very steadily, to have kept the flower from falling out. Perchance it had a woman's hair-pin to hold it in.

Irish Costumes. The 1584 edition of the Anatomie. 95*



Irish Costumes in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, from MS.

Edel-vrouwe
Noblewoman

Burgher-vrouwe
Citizen's wife

Wilde Irische
Wild Irish

p. 60*. *The 1584 edition of the Anatomie.*—Since I wrote the Forewords, Mr. Wallis has been kind enough to lend me his perfect copy of the 3rd (or 4th, or 3rd and 4th as Mr. Hazlitt and I now suppose) edition of the *Anatomie*, of '12 October 1584.' I have tested it in different places chosen at haphazard with the collations of the other editions given at the foot of the original text below, and have found that all of the few important changes there noted as due to E. 1585, had been made before in this (C-D.) edition of 12 Oct., 1584. Out of 58 passages tested (counting the sidenotes singly, would make em full 70) only 4 show small differences. It is clear, then, that Stubbes revisd the 1584 edition more largely than that of 1585, though not so largely as the second of 1583 (August 1) and his last of 1595. The results of my testing follow:—

C-D. has all E.'s readings, p. iii.—2, 3-3, 11-11.
p. iv.—6-6, 7, 9, 12, 13.

96* *Collation of the 1584 edition of the Anatomie.*

Pages
viii/6.—2, 4, 6–6 *differs, having both A. and B.'s reading, and E.'s:*
'a Lamp of light vnto the world, a mirrour of': has 7, 9, 14, 18, 19,
20, 21–21, 22, 23, 24.
ix.—I—1 not in (as not in E.); 6, 11, 12, 13.
x.—Preface left out; as in B., E., F.
xiv.—9. xvi—Greek motto. xvii—3. xix—2.
30.—8–8. 36.—13 *differs, having both A. and B. and E.:* 'peltes
felles & skins' (E. peltes & skins).
38.—6. 39.—2, 'more' not in C.-D. (as not in E.).
40.—7. 41.—3, 4, 10–10 not in C.-D. (as not in E.), 12–12. 68.—7.
70, 71, 72.—has E.'s sidenotes on Starche, A fearfull example,
Women's lubricious mindes, and 2 on the Deuil; as well as E.'s headline,
72 foot. *But keeps A. and B.'s 'Eprautna,' p. 71, against E.'s
'Antwarpe.'*
79 note.—has the 'Deuil's bellowes' sidenote.
82.—8. 87.—has E.'s 'Handbaskets' headline, on back, and 'great
paynes' side-note, &c.
96.—17. 97.—4 §, 9 'the' not in (as not in E.).
111–114.—has all the side-notes and headlines markt E. F., and the
top sidenote on 113 markt F.
117, notes 1, 2.—has, like E., 'Lawyers ruffling in.'
129–136.—has all the side-notes markt E. F., and all B.'s headlines.
139.—6, 10 'very' not in (as not in E.). 152.—9–9.
186–190.—has the side-notes of E., F.; *but* on p. 188 'A materiall
Hell,' like F., *against E.'s 'Materiall.'* 191.—4, 5.

Mr. Wallis, too, thinks "that the other edition of 1584 exists only in imagination." He adds: "It may interest you to know that my 'Stubbes' has never been 'in the market.' It came from the library at Brookfield Hall, in this county, at its dispersal on the death of my father's cousin, Miss Hannah Wright, some dozen or fifteen years ago. These Wrights were descended from the Dr. Wright, M.D., F.R.S., at the sale of whose books (in 1787) the 'first folio' brought £10.¹ He was a Derby man, and closely related to our family.² I was told of a quantity (the word applies here) of such books—*Horresco referens!*—being taken from a loft over the stables, and used for fire-lighting and other base purposes by the grooms."

The title and colophon are given on the opposite leaf. The cut at the back of the colophon is that of the stooping robed man of B.

¹ Lot 1960. Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, *first folio edition, bound in Russia leather with gilt leaves.* 1623. £10.

² 1390. The Anatomie of Abuses, made Dialogue-wise by Phillip Stubbes, *bl. letter.* 1583.

² From the *Derby Mercury*, Oct. 26th, 1786:—"On Saturday the 14th inst. died at his house in Charles Street, Grosvenor Square, London, Richard Wright, M.D., F.R.S., late one of the physicians of St. George's Hospital; only son of the late Mr. Wright, surgeon, of this town (Derby). His remains were brought here yesterday, and interred in the family vault in St. Michael's Church."

The Anatomie of Abuses:

Containing

A Discouerie, or brief Summarie of such Notable Vices and Corruptions, as nowe raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde: but (especially) in the Countrey of AILGNA: Together, with most fearefull Examples of Gods Iudgementes, executed vpon the wicked for the same, as well in AILGNA of late, as in other places, elsewhere.

Very godly, to be read of all true Christians, euery where: but most chiefly, to be regarded in England

Made Dialogue-wise by PHILLIP STVBS.

And now newly revised recognized, and augmented the third time by the same Author.

MATH. 3. Ver. 2.

Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

LvKE. 13. Ver. 5.

I say vnto you, except you repent you shall all perish.

¶ Printed at London, by Richard
Jones 12. October. 1584.

Perufed, auctorised, and al-
lowed, accordyng to the order
appointed in the Quee-
nes Maiesties
Iniuncti-
ons.



At London
Printed by Richard Jones: dwellyng
at the Signe of the Rose
and the Crowne, neere
vnto Holborne
Bridge.

1584.



PHILIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND
IN

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

PART I.

[Collations for the title-page of May 1, 1583, opposite.]

- ^{1—1} description F (1595).
² corruptions E (1585); enormities F (1595). ³ now *om.*, F.
 ⁴ Christian *not in* B (1 Aug. 1583), *or* F.
^{5—5} the countrie of E; this Realme of F. ⁶ verie *not in* B.
⁷ England F. ⁸ Gods heauie F. ⁹ inflicted F.
¹⁰ euerie where *not in* B. ¹¹ chiefly E.
¹² Gent., *added in* F.
^{13—13} And now newly reuised recognized and augmented the third time by the
same Author. E (1585); Now, the fourth time, newly corrected and inlarged by
the same Author F (1595). ^{14—14} omitted F.
¹⁵ saith Christ *not in* E.
¹⁶ Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the Rose and
Crowne, next aboue S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595. F.
¹⁷ 16. August *in* B, *not in* E. ¹⁸ 1585 *in* E.

Series VI. No. 4. 1. 2.

The Anatomie of Abusess:

Contayning¹

A ¹DISCOVERIE, OR BRIEFE

Summarie¹ of such Notable Vices and Imperfections,² as now³ raigne in many Christian⁴ Countreyes of the Worlde: but (especiallie) in ⁵a verie⁶ famous ILANDE called⁵ AILGNA⁷: Together, with most fearefull Examples of Gods⁸ Iudgements, executed⁹ vpon the wicked for the same, aswell in AILGNA⁷ of late, as in other places elsewhere.

**Verie Godly, to be read of all true Christians,
euerie where¹⁰; but most needfull,¹¹ to
be regarded in ENGLANDE.**

Made dialogue-wise by Phillip Stubbess.¹²

¹³ Seene and allowed, according to order.¹³

¹⁴ MATH. 3. ver. 2. Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

LVC. 13. ver. 5. I say vnto you (faith Christ)¹⁵ except you repent, you shall all perish.¹⁴

¹⁶ ¶ Printed at London, by Richard Jones. 1. Maij.¹⁷ 1583.¹⁸

[¹ The collations are on the opposite page.]



To the ¹Right Hono-
rable,² Phillip Earle of Arundell: Phillip
Stubbes wisheth helth of body & soule,¹ fauour
of God, increase of Godly honour, re-
ward of laudable vertue, and eter-
nall felicitie,³ in the Heauens,³
by⁴ IESVS Christ.

⁵ NOBILITAS Patriæ DECVS.⁵

⁵ HE Lord our God (right honorable)⁶ hauing by the power of his word, created Heauen and Earth, with all ⁷thinges what soeuer, for the comfort⁷ and vse of Man, the last of all other (euen the sixt daye) ⁸made [God made man in His own likeness] Man, after his owne similitude and likeneſſe,⁹ that¹⁰ in him he might be glorified aboue all other Creatures. And therfore, wheras in making of other thinges he vſed onely this Woord, FIANT, be they made or let them be made, when he came to make Man, ¹¹as it weare aduyfing¹² himſelfe and¹¹ asking councell at his wiſdome, he ſaid FACIAMVS HOMINEM, let vs make Man; that is, a wonderfull Creature: and therfore is called in greek MICRO-COSMOS, a little world in himſelf. And truely he is no leſſe, whether a little world in himſelf.] we confider his ſpirituall soule, or his humaine body. For what Creature is theare vpon the face of the Earth comparable to man,

^{1—2} Christian Magistrates and godly Gouernors of England, whose authority & offices are to reforme vice and maintain virtue, P. S. wisheth the F.

² and his singular good Lorde *added in E (1585)*.

^{3—3} in the Heauenly hierarchie E; *om. F.* ⁴ through E. ^{5—5} *om. F.*

^{6—6} Right Honourable, worshipfull and welbeloued, the Lord our God F.

^{7—7} other thinges, for the benefit, F (*benifite E.*)

⁸ he made A, F. ⁹ to what end? namely *inserted in B (1 Aug., 1583)*.

¹⁰ to this end, that F. ^{11—11} consulting with himself, & as it were E, F.

¹² consulting with *in B.*

either in body or ¹in mind? what creature hath a soule immortall inherent in his body,¹ but onely Man? what Creature can forsee things ²to come, remember things past, or iudg of things present, but onely ³man? what Creature beareth the ymage of God ⁴about with him,⁵ but Man? what Creature is made so erect to behould the Heauens as man? What Creature may be likened to man, ⁶either in proportion of body, or gifts of the soule ⁶? And (finally) what Creature hath the promise of the resurrection & glorification of their bodies, & of eternall life, but onely Man? Than, seeing the Lorde hath made Man thus glorious, and preferred him in ⁷ ⁸euery degree ⁸ before ⁹ al other Creatures (the Angelicall Creatures set a part) it is manifest he hath done it to some end ¹⁰ & purpose, ¹¹ namely, that he might be glorified in him, and by him aboue all other his works, according to the measure of his integrarie, excellency and perfection.¹¹ And hereby we may learn that it is the will of GOD, that we ¹² bend all our force to the aduauncing of his ¹³glorious Name,¹³ the edification of his People, and the building vp of his Church, which he hath redemed with the bloud of his deare Sonne.

^{[2} Sig. ¶ 2.
k. A.]
^{[3} Sig. A 2.
back. E.]
^{[4} Sig. ¶ 2.
back. B.]

[God made man,
to be glorified in
him,

that he might
advance God's
name.]

[This was
typified by
Moses's
Tabernacle,

to which all men
gave something]

Which thing (mee think) is notably figured foorth vnto vs in the ²⁵ of EXODVS, wher the Lord commaunded Moyses to build him a Tabernacle, or howse of prayer, to this end and purpose (doubtles) that therin his lawe might be read ¹⁴, his Ceremonies ¹⁵practised, Sacrifices, Victimates & Holocaustes offred, ¹⁵and his glorious Name called vpon and obeyed. To the erection wherof euery one conferred some what, some brought gold, some siluer & some brasse, lead and tinne; other brought silk, purple, skarlet, and other ornaments, and the meanest brought some what; namely, skins, heare, sand, lyme, morter, wood, stoney, and such like. Euen so ¹⁶(right honorable)¹⁶ would the Lord haue

¹—¹ soule? For what creature hath an immortall soule, F.
⁵ about with him om. F.

⁶—⁶ whether we respect the lineaments the demensions and proportion of the body, or the gifts and graces of the mind E, F.

⁷ by E, F. ⁸—⁸ many degrees F. ⁹ above E, F. ¹⁰ speciall end B.

¹¹—¹¹ that, as in perfection and all kinde of integrarie, he excelleth all other Creatures, so he might be glorified in, thorow, and by him aboue al other Creatures. B.

¹² we should E, F. ¹³—¹³ glorie E, F. ¹⁴ read and preached F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ duly practized, his Sacrifices and offerings faithfully performed F.

¹⁶—¹⁶ om. F.

euery one to conferre some what, euen such as he hath, to the building¹ of his spirituall howse, the Church, purchased with the bloud of Christ.² Wherfore seeing it is so, that euery one is to further this spirituall building to his possible power, I haue rather chosen, with the simblest and meanest sort, to bring, though but heyre, sand, skins, lyme, morter,³ wood, or⁴ stones, than altogether to⁵ contribute nothing. [³ Sig. ¶ 3 A.]

[So I, to help
God's Church,
bring now my
mite.]

Not doubting, but that the chief Maister and Builder of this howse, Christ Iesu, will not dislike, but accept⁶ of⁷ my poore contribution, no leise than he did of the⁸ poore wydowes Mite, to whom was¹⁰ imputed that she had cast more¹¹ in Gazophilatium Templi,¹¹ into the treasury of the Temple, than all the rest; for what she wanted in effect that she supplyed in affect. And for that, also, the Lord our God committing his talents to euery one, whether more or leise, not onely requireth of vs the same againe simply, but also, as a straight computist, demaundeth interest and gaine of euery one of vs: & for that not only he is a murtherer & a Homicide before God who slayeth or killeth a Man with materiall fword, but he also who¹² may¹³ preuent the same,¹⁴ and will not. And¹⁵ not onely he is guiltie of haynous transgression that committeth any euill really,¹⁶ but also he who consenteth to it, as he doth, who holdeth his peace, or he who by any means might auoid it, and either for¹⁷ negligence wil not, or, for feare of the world dare not. Therfore, albe it, that I haue receiued but one poore talent, or rather the¹⁸ shadow of one, yet least I might be reproued (with that vnprofitable Seruaunt) for hyding my small talent in the Earth, not profiting therwith at all, either myself or others, I haue aduentured the making¹⁹ of this litle treatise, intituled (The Anatomy of Abusess) hoping that the same (by diuyne affistance) shall somewhat conduce to the building²⁰ of this spirituall howse of the Lord.

[³ Sig. ¶ 3 B.]

[⁹ Sig. A 3. E.]

[God bids us use
our talents, not
hide them.]

And although I be one²¹ (most honorable Lord)²¹ that can do least in this Godly course of life (palpable barbarisme forbidding mee so much as once to enter into Wysdomes school), yet for that some wil not,

and so I've
written my
*Anatomy of
Abusess*, to help
God's House.]

¹ building vp F.

² the Messyas B.

⁴ and F.

⁵ to sit idle and F.

⁶ rather accept F.

⁷ of this E, F.

¹⁰ it was F.

¹¹—¹¹ om. F.

¹³ might hinder B.

¹⁴ same murther F.

¹⁵ And for that E, F.

¹⁶ actually F.

¹⁷ through F.

¹⁸ but the E, F.

¹⁹ continuing F.

²⁰ building vp & erection E, F.

²¹—²¹ om. F.

The Epistle

[and from love
to God and my
country.]

[¹ Sig. ¶ 3,
back. A.]

[⁴ Sig. ¶ 3,
back. B.]

[⁵ Sig. A 3,
back. E.]

[Tho' I was at
first minded to
suppress my
book, my friends
made me publish
it.]

[I didn't know
whom to
dedicate it to,
till I thought of
you, Lord
Arundel, whose
fame is world-
wide.]

for feare of losing worldly promotion (though in the meane tyme they lose the Kingdome of Heauen), Other some dare not for displeasing the world: I say for these, & semblable causes, together with the zeale and goodwill I bear vnto my Countrey, and feruent desire of their conuerstion and amende¹ment, I haue taken vpon me the contruying² of this book ; which God graunt may be with like plausible alacrity receiued, as with paines and good will I haue published³ it for the benefit of my Cuntry, the pleasure of the Godly and amendement of the wicked. And I doubt not that as none but the wicked and peruerse, whose gawld backes are tutched, will repyne against mee, so the Godly and vertuous will accept of this my labour and trauaile herein,⁵ whose gentle fauour and good⁶will shall counterpoysē (⁷ and farre surmount with mee⁷) the maligne stomacks and stearn⁸ countenances of the other. After that I had⁹ (right honorable)⁹ fully perfectēd this booke, I was minded, notwithstanding, both in regard of the straungenes of the matter it intreateth of, and also in respect of the rudenesse of my penne, to haue suppressed it for euer, for diuerse and fundrie caufes, and never to haue offred it to the viewe of the world, But, notwithstanding, being ouercome by the importunat request, and infatigable¹⁰ desire of my freinds, I graunted to publish the same, as ¹¹ now you see¹¹ is¹² extant.

¹³ But when I had once graunted to imprinte the same, I was¹⁴ in greaterre doubt than¹⁵ before, fearinge to whome I might dedicate the same so rude and impolished a worke. And withall I was not ignorant, how hard a thing it is in these daies to finde a Patrone of such books as this, which sheweth to euery one his sin, and discouereth euery Mans wicked waies, which indeed the vngodly can not at any hand abyde, but, as if were, mad-men disgorging their stomacks.¹⁶ (*Cum in Authorem tum in codicem plenis buccis et dentibus plusquam caninis ralidè feruntur:*) they rage, they fume, and rayle both against the AVTHOR and his booke. Thus (*vacillante animo*) my minde wandring

² publishing F.

³ collected F.

⁶ sustained added in E, F. ^{7—7} yea farre surmount B; om. F.

⁸ austere F. ^{9—9} om. F. ¹⁰ orig. infagitable

^{11—11} now (God haue the praise therof) B.

¹² it F.

¹³ From here to failre neuer, last line, p. vii, is omitted in F.

¹⁴ was then B.

¹⁵ than then E.

¹⁶ and spewing out the poysone of their malicous harts inserted in B.

too and fro, and resting, as it weare, in extasie of despaire, at last I called to mind your honorable Lordship, whose praises haue¹ pearced the Skyes, and whose laudable vertues² are blowen not ouer the realme of England³ onely, but euen to the furtheſt coſts and parts [3 Sig. T 4. A.] of the world.

All whose vertues and condigne prayſes, if I ſhould take vpon mee to recounte, I might as well number the ſtarres in the Sky, or graffe of⁴ the Earth.

For, for Godly Wysdome, and zeale to⁵ the truth, is not your good [5 Sig. T 4. B.] Lordship (without offence be it ſpoken) comparable with⁶ the beſt? For sobrietie, affabilite, and gentle curteſie to euerie one, farre excelling many.

For your great⁷ deuotion and compassion to the poore opprefſed, in all places famous: For Godly fidelitie to your Soueraigne, loue to the cvntry, and vertues in generall, euerie where moft renowmed.

But leaſt I might obſcure your Worthie commendaſtions with my [8 Sig. A 3, bk. E.] unlearned penne (lytle or no thing at all emphatical) I will rather ſurceafe than further to proceed,⁹ contenting my ſelffe rather to haue giuen a shadowe of them, than to haue ciphered them foorth, which indeed are both infinit and inexplicable.

In confideration (wherof,) not withſtanding that my Booke be [Tho' my book
is unworthy of
you,
yet take it under
your protection'] ſimpler, baser, and meaner than that it may (without blushing) preſent it ſelf to your good Lordship (being farre vnworthie of ſuch an honorable Personage) yet, accorſinge to your accuſtomed¹⁰ clemency, I moft humbly beſeache your good Lordship to receiue the ſame into your honors Patrociny and protection, accepting it as an infallible token of my faithfull heart, ſeruice, and good will towardeſ your honorable Lordship: For prooſe wherof, would God it might once come to paſſe, that if not otherwyſe, yet with my humble ſeruice, I might ſhewe foorth the faithfull and euer willing heart I beare in breſt to your good Lordeship, protesting before Heauen and Earth, that though power want, yet ſhall fidelitie¹¹ and faithfulnes¹¹ faile neuer.

¹ have long ſince B.

² (by the golden trumpe of fame) *inserted in B.*

⁴ vpon E.

⁶ to E.

⁷ your great *not in E.*

⁹ hearein *added in E.*

¹⁰ mansuetude, and pristine *inserted in B.*

¹¹—¹¹ faithfulnes and goodwill B.

And because this my Booke is subiect¹ (my verie good Lord)¹ to as
 [It exposes sins,
 [5 leaf ¶ 4,
 back. A.]
 many reproches, tauntes and reproofes as euer was any little book²
 (for that few can abyde to³ haue⁴ their sins⁵ detected) therfore I haue
 had the greater care to commit the same to the guardance and de-
 fence of your honour, rather than to manie others, not onely for that
 God hath made your honour⁶ a Lamp of light vnto the world⁶
 true nobilitie and of al⁷ integritie and perfection, but also hath made
 you his substitute, or vicegerent, to reforme vices, punish abuses, and
 correcte finne.

and you are
 God's vice-
 gerent to correct
 sins.]

[¹² Sig. ¶ 4,
 back. B.]

And as⁸ in mercie he⁸ hath giuen you this⁹ power and autoritie,
¹⁰ so hath he¹¹ giuen¹⁰ you a hungrie¹¹ desire to ac¹²complish the same
¹³ according to his will: Which zeal in your sacred brest the L O R D in-
 crease for euer.

[Reform is
 needed.]

Pride is rife.

Commoners
 wear gentlefolks'
 dress.

[¹⁷ Sig. A 3,
 back. E.]

Plays, whore-
 dom, and usury
 go on.]

And¹⁴ as your Lordship knoweth,¹³ reformation of maners and
 amendment of lyfe was neuer more needfull, for was pride (the
 chieffest argument of this Booke) euer so rype? Do not both Men and
 Women (for the most part) euery one in generall go attyred in filks,
 veluers¹⁵, damaskes, satans, and what not¹⁶? which are attyre onely for the
 nobilitie and gentrie, and not for the other at¹⁷ anie hand? Are not
 vnlawfull games, Playes, and Enterluds, and the like, euery where
 vsed¹⁸? Is not whordome, couetousnes, vsurie, & the like, daylie
 practised without all punishment or lawe¹⁹?

But hereof I²⁰ say no more, ²¹referring the²¹ consideration, both²²
 of these and²³ the rest, to your²⁴ Godly wysdome.²⁵ Beseeching²⁶ your

^{1—1} om. F.

² book subiect vnto E, F.

^{3—3} heare their faults discouered) I thought it most meetest to be dedicated
 to all good Magistrates and men in authoritie, to reforme vice, & maintaine
 vertue: Vnto whom, in al humble dutie I doe willinglie present the same.
 And therefore, as the Lorde God F.

⁴ heare E.

^{6—6} a mirror of E.

⁷ a rare Phoenix of for of al E.

⁸ om. F. ⁹ his E, F.

^{10—10} to reforme vices and abuses, so I beseech him to giue euery one of F.

^{11—11} by the operation of his Holy Spirite infused into your heart an earnest B.

^{13—13} for as you know F.

¹⁴ the rather for that inserted in B; For, E.

¹⁵ Velvets F.

¹⁶ not els? F.

¹⁸ frequented E, F.

¹⁹ or execution of iustice added in E; F adds, Was there euer seene lesse
 obedience in Youth of all sortes both men-kinde and women-kind towards their
 superiours, Parents, Masters and gouernors?

²⁰ I nead to E. ^{21—21} reseruyng the good E, F. ²² as well E, F.

²³ as of E, F. ²⁴ your Lordships E. ²⁵ Wisedomes F. ^{26—26} you F.

good Lordship²⁷ to perdon my presumption in speaking thus much, for (*Zelus domini huc alegit me*) the zeal of my God hath dryuen me heather.

¹ Knowinge that the LORd hath ordeined you to himselfe, a [You, Lord Arundel, are God's Minister to purge his Church.] chosenn vessell of honour, to purge his Church of these Abuses and corruptions, which, as in a table, are depainted and set foorth in this little ² booke.¹

Thus I ceafe to moleſt your ſacred³ eares any further with my rude ſpeaches, moft humbly beſeaching⁴ your good Lordship,⁴ not onely to admit this my Book into your ⁵honours patronage and defence^{5,6} but alſo to perfift the iuft Defender⁷ therof againſt the ſwyniſh crew of rayling ⁸Zoilvs and flowting Momvs, with their complices⁹; to whome ¹⁰it is eaſier to deprauſe all things, than to amend any thing them ſelues: Which¹¹ if I ſhall perceiue to¹² be accepted of your honour, beſides that I ſhal not care for a thouſand others diſliking the fame, I ſhall not onely think my ſelf to haue receiued a ſufficient guerdon for my paines, and ſhalbe therby greatly incoraged (if God permit) hereafter to take in hand ſome memorabla thing to your immortall prayſe, honour and renouerne; but alſo shall daylie pray to God for your good Lordship long to continue, to his good pleaſure and your harts deſire, with increaſe of Godly honour, reward of laudable vertue, and eternall felicitie in the HEAVENS by Iefus Christ.

[Protect me
againſt the
ſwyniſh crew
of railers and
mockers!]
[to leaf ¶ 5. A.]

Columna gloriae virtus.

Your Honors to commaund,¹³

PHILLIP¹⁴ Stubbes.⁸

^{1—1} Not in E. ² treatise B. ³ om. F.

^{4—4} you F. ^{5—5} protection F. ⁶ protection E. ⁷ defenders F.

^{8—8} F has the following, and ſlauderous tongues, ſo ſhall I acknowledg my ſelue moft bounden to pray vnto god for the proſperous & good estates of you all, whom I beſeech for Christ his ſonneſ sake, to blesſe and proſper you in all your godly proceedings now and for euer.

Your Honourſ and Wiſdomes moft bounden,

P. S.

⁹ complies of braging Thrasoſ and barking Phormionſ E.

¹¹ but E. ¹² the ſame to E.

¹³ in the Lorde added in E.

¹⁴ P. in B.

[leaf ¶ 5, bk]

*A PREFACE¹**to the Reader.*[Tho' I blame
Plays, Dances,
&c.,I don't want to
abolish all
amusements, but
only the abuses
in them.]

[¶ leaf ¶ 6]

[Some plays are
useful for good
exampleand Godly
recreation

Thought it conuenient (good Reader, who soeuer thou art *that* shalt read these my poore laboures) to admonish thee (least haply *thou* mightest take my woords otherwise than I meant them) of this one thing: That wheras in the proesse of this my booke, I haue intreated of certen exercyses vsually practised amonkest vs, as namely of Playes and Enterludes, of dauncing, gaming and such other like, I would not haue thee so to take mee, as though my speaches tended to the overthrowe and vtter disliking of all kynd of exercyses in generall: that is nothing my simple meaning. But the particulare Abuses which are crept into euery one of these feuerall exercyses is the onely thing which I think worthie of reprehension.

For otherwise (all Abuses cut away) who feeth not *that* some kind of playes, tragedies and enterluds, in their own nature are not onely of great ancientie, but also very honest and very commend²able exercyses, being vsed and practised in most Christian common weales, as which containe matter (such they may be) both of doctrine, erudition, good example, and wholsome instrucion; And may be vsed, in tyme and place conuenient, as conducible to example of life and reformation of maners. For such is our groffe & dull nature, that what thing we see opposite before our eyes, do pearce further and printe deeper in our harts and minds, than that thing which is hard onely with the eares, as Horace, the hethen Poet, can witnesse: *Segnius irritant animum dimissa per aures, quam quæ sunt hominum oculis obiecta.* So that when honest & chaste playes, tragedies & enterluds are vsed to these ends, for the Godly recreation of the mind, for the good example of life, for the auoyding of that which is euill, and learning of that which is good, than are they

¹ This Preface is omitted in the editions of 16 August 1583, of 1585, and of 1595.

very tollerable exercyfes. But being vsed (as now commonly they be) to the prophanation of the Lord his fabaoth, to the alluring and inuegling of the People from the blessed word of God preached, to Theaters and vnclean assemblies, to ydlenes, vnthriftnes, whordome, wantonnes, drunkennes, and what not; and which is more, when they are vsed to this end, to maintaine a great sort of ydle Persons, doing nothing but playing and loytring, hauing their lyuings of the sweat of other Mens browes, much like vnto dronetts deuouring the sweet honie of the poore labouring bees,¹ than are they exercyfes (at no hand) sufferable.

[But Plays
acted on Sunday
to wantons,

But being vsed to the ends that I haue said, they are not to be disliked of any sober and wise Christian.

And as concerning dauncing, I wold not haue thee (good Reader) to think that I condemne the exercyfe it self altogether; for I know the wisest Sages, and the Godlyest Fathers and Patriarches that euer liued, haue now and than vsed the same, as Dauid, Salomon, and many others: but my woords doo touch & concerne the Abuses thereof onely. As being vsed vppon the Sabaoth day, from morning vntill night, in publique assemblies and frequencies of People, Men & women together, with piping, fluting, dromming, and such like inticements to wantonnesse & sin, together with their leapinges, skippings, & other vnchaift gestures, not a few: Being vsed, or rather abused, in this sort, I ytterly discommend it.

and to support
idle drones, are
insufferable]

[¹ leaf ¶ 6, bk.]

Dancing all
Sunday in pub-
lic, with music,
skippings, &c., is
wrong;

But vpon the other fide, being vsed in a mans priuat-chamber, or howfe, for his Godly solace and recreation in the feare of God; or otherwise abroade, with respect had to the time, place and persons, it is in no respect to be disallowed.

the' in private it
is allowable.]

And wheras I speake of gaming, my meaning is not that it is an exercise altogether vnlawful. For I know that one Christian may play with another at any kind of Godly, honest, ciuile game, or exercife, for the mutuall recreation one of the other, so that they be not inflamed with co²ueytousnes, or desire of vnlawfull gaine; for the commaundement faith, thou shalt not couet: wherfore, if any be voide of these affe^tions, playing rather for his Godly recreation, than for desire of filthie lucre, he may vsē the same in the feare of God: yet so as the vsē therof be not a let or hinderance vnto him to any other Godly exploit.

[Gaming is only
wrong when
covetousness is
mixt with it.]

[² leaf ¶ 7]

[Haunting gaming-houses to win money, is wrong]

I want the abuses of amusements removd.]

But if a man make (as it ware) an occupation of it, spending both his tyme and goods therein, frequenting gaming howfes, bowling allyes, and such other places, for greedinesse of lucre, to him it is an exercize altogether discommendable and vnlawfull. Wherfore, as these be exercyses lawfull to them that know how to vfe them in the feare of GOD, so are they practises at no hand sufferable to them that abuse them, as I haue shewed. But take away the abuses, the thinges in themselues are not euill, being vsed as instruments to Godlynes, not made as spurres vnto vice. There is nothing so good but it may be abused; yet because of the abuses, I am not so strikt that I wold haue the things themselues remoued, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because¹ it is abused, vtterly to be taken away.

[So in Dress. Noble folk may wear sumptuous apparel.]

[² leaf ¶ 7, bk.]

And wheras also I haue spokēn of the exceſſe in Apparell, and of the Abuse of the ſame, as wel in men as in women generally, I wold not be ſo vnderſtood, as though my ſpeaches extended to any, either noble, honorable, or worshipful; for I am farre from once thinking that any kind of ſumptuous or gorgeous attire is not to be worn of any of them, as I ſuppoſe them rather Ornaments in them, than otherwife.

And that they both may, and, for ſome reſpects ought, to were ſuch attire (their birthes, callings, functiōns, and eſtats requiring the ſame) for cauſes in this my Booke laid downe, as maye appeare; and for the diſtincſion of them from the inferiour forte it is prouable, both by the Woord of GOD, Ancient Writers, and common practiſe of all ages, People and Nations from the beginning of the World to this day.

[But lower folk must not flaunt in velvets, gilt daggers, &c.]

And therfore, when I ſpeake generally of the exceſſe in Apparell, my meaning is of the inferiour forte onely, who for the moft parte do farre ſurpaſſe either noble, honorable, or worshipfull, ruffling in Silks, Veluets, Satens, Damasks, Taffeties, Gold, Siluer, and what not, with their ſwoords, daggers, and rapiers guilte and reguilte, burniſhed, and costly ingrauen, with all things els that any noble, honorable, or worshipfull Man doth, or may weare, ſo as the one cannot eaſily be diſcerned from the other.

[I am againſt abuse, not use.]

These be the Abuses that I ſpeake of, these be the euills that I lament, and these be the perſons that my words doo concerne, as the

¹ be- it is

To the Reader.

xiii

tenure of my Booke, consideratly wayed, to any indifferent READER
doth purport.

This much I thought good (Gentle Reader) to informe thee of,
for thy better instrucion, as ¹well in these few points, as in all other [¹ leaf ¶ 8]
the like, whersoeuer they shall chaunce to occurre in my Booke;
Beseaching thee to construe al things to the best, to beare with the
rudenes therof, and to giue the same thy good-woord and
gentle acceptaunce. And thus in the

LORD I bid thee
farewell.

Thyne to vse in the Lord,

PHILLIP Stubbes.



[Sig. B i E.
B.]

Phillippus Stubenus

CANDIDO LECTORI.¹

[I don't wonder,
reader, if my
book offends you
with its worse
than Vandalic
words and dull
themes; so read
something more
useful.]

[Since, Zoilus,
you rage like a
mad dog,

and dart out
your viper's
tongue against
everybody, and
can never be
quiet,
and are always
swelling like the
frog, I wonder
you too don't
burst.]

[To the devil
with Zoilus!
But why so with
one who carries
about the devil
in his own
bosom?

If the book
before you
seems too long,
make it short by
reading but
little of it.]

O ffendit nimia te garrulitate libellus
fortè meus, Lector; miror id ipse nihil.
Obsitus est etenim verborum colluuiione
plusquam vandalica, rebus *et* infipidis.
Quare si sapias, operam ne perdito posthac
nostra legendo; legas vtiliora, vale.

¶ *Idem in Zoilu*

ZOILE, cum tanta rabie exardescis in omnes,
non aliter rabidus, quam folet ipse canis:
Dente Theonino rodens alias, calamoque,²
inceps hos, qui nil nocuere tibi:
Vipereum in cunctos vibrans, O Zoile, linguam,
linguam quam inficiunt toxica dira tuam:
Cum debacchandi finis sit, Zoile, nullus,
hora quieta tibi nullaque prætereat:
Cum tumeas veluti ventrosus, Zoile, bufo,
demiror medius quod minus ipse crepes.

¶ *Aliud in eundem.*

Dæmonis ad tetrum descendat Zoilus antrum,
hunc³ lacerent furiæ, Cerborus ore voret.
Imprecor at misero quid pœnas, cui satis intus?
dæmona circumfert pectore namque suo.

¶ *Eiusdem aliud.*

Si tibi prolixus nimium liber iste videtur,
paucal legas; poterit sic liber esse breuis.

¹ This page is omitted in F.

² calamoque in B, E. ³ hunc in B.

[C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations.

[¹ Sig. B i,
back B, E; not
in A.]

You Sages graue with heares so hoare
 attend what you doe heare :
 And eke you youthfull gallants all,
 marke well and giue good eare.
 You princely peeres, and Senatours,
 in sacred breasts imprint :
 These faiynges wife, and prudent eke,
 to practize doe not flint.
 You Bisshoppes, and you Prelates all,
 learn here your flock to keepe :
 You Ministers, and Preachers eke,
 to feade your feely sheepe,
 You Commons all, whiche doe enioye,
 bothe high and lowe degree :
 Step boldly in amongest the route,
 and view with fingle eye,
 This perfect glasse, and mirror pure,
 which doeth your finnes descrie :
 And sacred precepts doeth prescribe,
 by name Anatomie.
 Approche therefore both high and lowe,
 this Booke see that thou buye :
 And learne thy self by sacred lore,
 in vertue for to dye.
 To God, to Queene, to all men eke,
 how thou thy self shouldest frame :
 To liue, to dye in vertues lawes,
 to win immortall fame.
² Loe here (you readers all) the gaine,
 which you herein maie haue:
 Delay not then, giue *Stubbes* the prafe,
 sinc feely he it gaue.

[Sages,

Callant.,

Peers,

Bishops,

Preachers,

Commons,

see here your
sins describ'd !

Buy this book,

learn your duty
by it,[² Sig. B ij. B.
E.]and praise
Stubbes.]

Loe, here my freende, his freendly harte,
which he to Countrey beares,
His taken paines, to all his¹ fendas,
with fighes and tricklyng teares:
In his behalfe, I, as his freende,
doe humbly of you craue:
His willyng minde accept, and giue
hym praiſe he ought to haue.

[I. Stubbes's
friend, ask you to
take his work in
good part, and
praise him.]

Finis.

τῆς ἀρετῆς διεγοῦ· η τενχ' ή αλδιαλακαι. B, E.]

¹ ?he



[leaf A.]

¹A. D. In commendation of the Au-
thor and his Booke.

[Sig. B ij. R, E.]

I F Mortall-man may challenge prayfe
 For any thing done in this lyfe,²
 Than may our *Stubbes*, at all affayes,
 Inioy the same withouten ftryfe :
 Not onely for his Godly zeale,
 And Christian life accordinglie,
 But also for this³ booke in sale,
 Heare present, now before thine eye.
 Herein the Abuses of these dayes,
 As in a glasse thou mayest behold :
 Oh ! buy it than ; hear what he fayes,
 And give him thankes an hundred fold.

[Stubbes should
 be praisd for his
 Christian life,
 and this book
 which mirrors
 the abuses of our
 days.]

¹ This page is omitted in F.² like B.³ his B, E.



[Sig. A 1, bk.
A ; B ij, back.
B, E.]

I. F. In Commendation of the AVTHOR and his Booke.

[If profane men
get praise for
wanton
pamphlets,

Stubbes should
receive the
laurel for this
godly book,

in which the
vices of the
world are
displayed.]

SHALL men prophane, who toyes haue writ,
And wanton pamphlets store,
Which onely tend to noorish vice,
And wickednes the more,
Deserue their praise, and for the fame
Accepted be of all,
And shall not this our AVTHOR than
Receiue the Lawrell pall?
Who for goodwill in sacred brest
He beares to natvie soyle,
Hath published this Godly Booke
With mickle paine and toyle.
Wherein, as in a Mirrour pure,
Thou mayest behold and see
The vices of the World displayed
Apparent to thy¹ eye.
He flattereth none, as most men do,
In Hope to gaine² a price ;
But shewes to all their wickednesse,
And Gods diuyne Iustice.
A Godlyer booke³ was neuer³ made,
Nor meeter for these dayes :
Oh! read it than, thank GOD for it;
Let TH' AVT⁴ OR haue his praise.

¹ the E, F. ² get F. ^{3—3} hath not beene E, F.
T' HAVTOR A ; Th' Author B, E, F.

¹The Avthor and his Booke.[Sig. A ij. A.;
B ij. B.]

Now having made thee, feelie booke,
 and brought thee to this frame,
 Full loth I am to publish thee,
 left thou impaire my name.

The Booke.

Why so, good Maister? what's the caufe
 why you so loth should be
 To fend mee foorth into the World,
 my fortune for to trye?

The Author.

This is the caufe; for that I know
 The wicked thou wilt moue;
 And eke because thy ignoraunce
 is such as none² can loue.

The Booke.

I doubt not but all Godly Men
 will loue and like mee well;
 And for the other I care not,
 in pride although they fwell.

The Author.[Sig. A ij.
back. A.]

Thou art also no leſſe in thrall,
 And ſubie&t every way
 To Momvs and to Zoilvs crew,
 who'le dayly at thee bay.

¹ This and page xx are omitted in F.² fewe B, E.

The Booke.

Though Momvs rage and Zoilvs carpe,
I feare them not at all ;
The Lord my God, in whom I trust,
shall foone cause them to fall.

The Author.

Well, fith thou woldest so faine be gone,
I can thee not withhold ;
Adieu, therfore ; God be thy speade,
And blesse thee a hundred fold.

The Booke.

And you also, good Maister mine,
God blesse you with his grace ;
Preferue you still, and graunt to you
In Heaven a dwelling place.





¹ *The Anatomie of* ² *the Abuses in AILGNA.*

[¹ Sig. B i. A.
Sig. B. iiij. back.
B. E.]

¶ The Interlocutors, or Speakers.
Spudeus, Philoponus.

God geue you good morow, Maister *Philoponus.*
Philo. And you also, good brother *Spudeus.*

Spud. I am glad to see you in good health, for it was ³bruted abroad euery where³ in our countrey (by reason of your discontinuance,⁴ I thinke) that you were dead long agoe.⁵

Philo. In deede, I haue spent some tyme abroad, els where then in my native countrey (I must needs confesse), but how false that Report is (by whom soeuer it was first rumored,⁶ or how farre so euer it be dispersed) your present eyes can witneſſe.

⁷ *Spud.* I pray you, what course of lyfe haue you lead in this your longe absence foorth of your owne countrey?

Philo. Truely (brother) I haue lead the life of a poore Trauayler in a certaine famous Ilande, once named ⁸*Ainalla*, after *Ainatirl*,⁸ but nowe preſently called *Ailgna*,⁹ wherein I haue liued theſe ſeuен winters and more, traualing from place to place, euen all the Land ouer in diſſerently.

¹⁰ *Spud.* That was to your no little¹¹ charges, I am ſure.¹²

¹³ *Philo.* It was ſo, but what than? I thank God I haue atchieued it, and by his dyuine affiſtance proſperouſly accompliſhed it, his glori-

[⁷ Sig. B j.
back. A.]

The place
wher the Au-
thour hath tra-
uayled.
[*Albania,*
Britania,
Anglia.]

[¹⁰ leaf x. B †]
[¹³ leaf x. E]

² the *not* in B, E, F. ^{3—3} reported F; euery where *not* in B, E.

⁴ from thence *inserted* in B, E, F. ⁵ agone F.

⁶ broched B, E, F. ^{8—8} *Albania*, after *Britania* F.

⁹ *Anglia* F. [†] leaf I. The Author a Trauailer. B.

¹¹ small E; no little omitted in F. ¹² F adds was it not I pray you?

ous name (worthie of all magnificence) bee eternally prayed there fore.

Spud. And¹ to what ende did you take in hand this great trauayle? if I may be so bould as to aske.²

Philo. Truely, to see fashions, to acquainte my-selfe with the natures, qualities, properties, and conditions of all men, to breake my selfe to the worlde, to learne nurture, good demeanour, & cyuill behauour; to see the goodly sitution of Citties, Townes, and Countryes, with their prospects and commodities; and finally to learne the stafe of all thinges in generall: all which I could neuer haue learned in ³ one place.³ For⁴ ⁵ who so⁵ fitteth at home, euer⁶ commorante or⁷ abiding⁸ in one place, knoweth nothinge in respecte of him that trauayleth abroade: and hee that knoweth nothing, is lyke⁹ a brute Beaste; but hee that knoweth all thinges (whiche thinge none doeth but God alone) hee is¹⁰ a God amonkest men. And seeing there is a perfection in knowledge as in euery thing els, euery man ought to desire that perfection¹¹; for in my iudgement there is as muche difference (almost)¹² betwixt a man that hath trauayled much, and him that hath dwelt euer in one place, (in respect of knowledge and science of things,) as is be¹³twen a man lyuinge, & one dead in graue; And therfore I haue had a great felicitye in trauayling abroade.¹⁴

Spud. Seing that by diuyne prouidence we are heare¹⁶ met togerher, let vs (vntill we come to the end of our purposed¹⁷ iorney) vse some conference of the stafe of the World now at this daie, as well to recreate our minds, as to cut of the tedyousnes of oure iorneye.

Philo. I am very well contente so to doe, beinge¹⁸ not a litle glad¹⁹ of your good companie; for *Comes facundus in via, pro vehiculo est.* ¹ A good Companion too trauayle withall, is in-steade of a Wagon²⁰ or Chariot. For as the one doth easfe the painfulnes of the way, so doth the other alleuiat the yrksomnes of the iourney intended.

¹ And not in B, E, F.

² aske you F.

³—³ my owne countrey E; my owne countrey at home F.

⁴ For (in my poor iudgement) E, F.

⁵—⁵ hee that F.

⁷ commorante or not in F.

⁸ or abiding not in B, E.

⁹ like not in E, F.

¹⁰ is (as it were) E, F.

¹¹ F adds aboue al other things. ¹² om. F. ¹⁴ F adds all my life long.

† leaf 1, back. The benefite of trauailyng. B.

¹⁶ om. F.

¹⁷ om. F.

¹⁸ reioysing E, F.

¹⁹ glad not in E, F.

The causes
that moued
the author to
take this tra-
uaile in hand.

[⁶ Sig. B ij. A.]

The difference
betwixt a man
that hath tra-
uayled, and a
man that hath
not.

[* the A; that B]

[¹³ leaf 1, back.

B.]

[¹⁵ leaf 1, back.

E.]

The benefite
of a good Com-
panion to tra-
uayle withall.

[²⁰ Sig. B ij,

back. A.]

Spud. But before I enter combat¹ with you (because I am a countrey man, rude and vnlearned, & you, a Cyuillian indued with great wisdome, knowledge, and experience,) I most humbly beseech you that you wyl not be offended with me, though I talke with you somewhat grofly,² without eyther polished wordes, or fyled speeches, which your wisdom³ doth require, and⁴ my insufficiencie and inabilitie⁵ is not⁶ of power to affoarde.⁶

A request to
auoid [scandal
or E.] offence.

Phil. Your speeches (I put you out of doubt) shall not⁷ be offensiuie to mee, if they be not offensiuie to God first.

Spud. I pray you⁸ what maner of Countrey⁹ is that *Ailgna*,¹⁰ where [⁹ leaf 2. B.†] you say you haue traualied so much?

Philo. A pleasant & famous Iland, immured aboue with the Sea, as it were with a wall,¹¹ wherein the aire is verie¹² temperate, the ground fertile, and¹³ abounding with all things, either¹⁴ necessary to¹⁴ man or needfull¹⁵ for beast.

Ailgna a
goodly country.
[Anglia, Eng-
land.]
[¹¹ leaf 2. E.]

Spud. What kinde of people are they that inhabite there¹⁶?

Philo. A strong kinde of people, audacious,¹⁷ bold, puissant, and he-
roycal ; of¹⁸ great magnanimitie, valiauncie, and prowes, of an incom-
parable feature,¹⁹ of an excellente complexion, and²⁰ in all humanitie [²⁰ Sig. B.ij. A.]
inferior to none vnder the Sunne.

The people of
Ailgna.

Spud. This people, whome God hath thus bleffed, must needs bee a verie godly people, eyther els they be meere ingrate²¹ to God, the authour of all grace, & of these their bleffinges especially.

Philo. It greeueth me to remember their liues, or to make men-
tion of their wayes²²; for, notwithstanding that the Lorde hath bleffed
²³that Lande²³ with the knowledge of his truth aboue all other Landes
in the world, yet is there not a people more abrupte,²⁴ wicked, or per-
uerfe, liuing vpon the face of the earth.

The liues of
the people of
Ailgna.

Spud. From whence spring all these euills in man? for we see

¹ into dispute F.

² rudely B, E, F.

³ F adds peraduenture ⁴ and whiche B. ⁵ being such added in E, F.

⁶—⁶ able to perform B, E; able for to yelde F. ⁷ uot A.

⁸ you then E, F. † leaf 2. Ailgna described. B.

¹⁰ is England F. ¹² verie not in B, E, F. ¹³ the earth B, E, F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ needfull for F. ¹⁵ necessarie F. ¹⁶ that Countrey E, F.

¹⁷ most audacious F. ¹⁸ and of F. ¹⁹ of body added in F.

²¹ meerlie vngratefull F. ²² workes F. ²³—²³ them F.

²⁴ corrupt E, F.

euerie one is inclined to fin naturally, and there is no fleshe which liueth and finneth not.

From whence
all euilles
spring in man.
[² leaf 2, back.
B.]

[⁶ leaf 2, back.
E.]

We ought to
haue no deal-
ing with the
worke of the
flesh.

[¹⁰ Sig. B iiij, bk]

The day of
Dome not re-
garded.

Euery Man
must answer
for him selfe.
[²² leaf 3. B.]

Philo. All wickednes, mischiefe, and finne (doubte you not, brother *Spud.*) springeth of¹ our² auncient ennemie the Deuill, the inueterate corruption of our nature, and the intestine malice of our owne hearts, as from the³ ⁴originals of all vncleannes & impuritie⁴ whatsoeuer. But we are now newe creatures, and⁵ adoptiue children,⁵ created in Christ Iesus to doe⁷ good woorkes, which God hath prepared for vs to walke in. ⁸Wherefore wee⁸ ought to haue no fellowship with the worke of darknesse, but to put on the armour of light, ⁹Christ¹⁰ Iesus,⁹ to walke in newnesse of life, and to worke our saluation in¹¹ feare and trembling, as the Apostle saith¹²; and our Sauiour Christ biddeth vs so¹³ work as our worke may glorifie our heauenlye Father. But (alas!)¹⁴ the contrarie is most true; for there is no finne that¹⁵ was euer broached in any age, which¹⁶ florisheth not nowe. And therfore the fearfull daie of the Lord cannot be farre of; at which day all the World shall stand in flashing fier, and than shall Christ our Sauiour come marching in the clowdes of heauen, with his¹⁷ *Tarata-tara* sounding in each mans eare, ‘arise you Dead, and come to iudgement!’ and than shall the Lord reward euery Man after¹⁸ his owne worke. But how little this¹⁹ is esteemed of, & how smally regarded,¹⁹ to consider, it²⁰ greeueth me to the very harte, and there is almost no life in mee.²⁰

Spud. It is but a follie to greeue at²¹ them who sorowe not for them selues. Let them finck in their owne finne: lyue well your selfe, & you shall²² not answeare for them, nor they for you. Is it not witten,

*vnuquisque portabit suum onus*²³? Euery one shall beare his own bur-

¹ from E, F.

* leaf 2, back. The originall of sinne. B.

³ the causes and E.

⁴—⁴ efficient causes and stinking puddles of all vncleannes and filthinesse F.

⁵—⁵ adoapted (*sic*) children of God F.

⁷ om. F.

⁸—⁸ and therefore B, E; and therefore we F.

⁹—⁹ *not in* E, F. ¹¹ with F. ¹² speaketh F. ¹³ so to F.

¹⁴ F omits alas.

¹⁵ which F.

¹⁶ that F.

¹⁷ this dreadfull *instead of* his B, E, F.

¹⁸ according to F.

¹⁹—¹⁹ daie is feared, †how smally perpende, †and how slenderly regarded in Ailgnas B, E, F. †—† om. F; § England F.

²⁰—²⁰ would greeue any Christian hart to consider F.

²¹ for F.

† leaf 3. Of Christian charitie. B.

²³ onus suum F.

den. *Anima quæ peccauerit, ipsa morietur*: the soule that finneth shall dy. wherfore surcease¹ to forow or greeue any more for them, for² they are such as the Lord hath cast of³ into a⁴ reprobate fence, &⁴ ⁵ preiudicat opinion, & preordinat⁵ to⁶ destrucion, that his power, [⁶ Sig. B iiiij. A.. his glorie, and⁷ iustice may appeare to all the World.

Philo. Oh, brother! ther is no⁸ christen man in whose hart shineth *scintillula aliqua⁹ pietatis*, any sparke of¹⁰ God his grace, which¹¹ will not greeue to see¹⁰ his brethren & sisters in the Lord, members of the same body, coheyres of the same kingdom, & purchased with one & the same inestimable price of Christ his bloud, to runne thus¹² desperatlie into¹³ the gulphe of destruction and labyrinth of¹⁴ perdition.¹⁵ If the leaft and¹⁶ meanest member of thy whole body be hurt, wounded, cicatriced, or brused, doth not the hart and euerie member of thy¹⁷ body feele the anguish and paine of the grieued parte, seking & endeououring¹⁸ them selues,¹⁸ euery one in his office & calling,¹⁹ to repaire the same, and neuer ioying vntill that²⁰ be restored again to his former integritie & perfection? Which thinge, in the balance of Christian charity, consideratly weighed, may²¹ mooue any good Man²² to mourn for their defection, and to assay²³ by all possible means²³ to reduce²⁴ them home²⁵ again, that their soules maie be sauad in the daye of the Lord. And the Apofile commandeth vs,²⁶ ²⁷ that we be²⁷ (*alter²⁸ alterius emolumento*) an²⁹ ayde and helpe one to an other. And that we do good to all men, *dum tempus habemus*, whyleft we haue tyme. To weepe with them that weepe, to mourne with them that mourne, and³⁰ to be of like affection one towardes an other. And common

[The Christian's
grief at English-
men's sins]

The mutuall
harmonie of
one member
with an other.

[²⁵ leaf 3, back.
B.t]

[³⁰ Sig. B iiiij,
back]

¹ cease F.

² by all probable conjectures added in B, E; F adds by all likelihood

³ not in F; of=off. ⁴ not in B, E, F. ⁵ destinate F.

⁷ and his F. ⁸ not any F. ⁹ vlla F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ Gods grace, but will greeue, seeing F. ¹¹ who B, E.

¹² thus not in B, E, F. ¹³ headlong into B, E, F.

¹⁴ labyrinth of not in F. ¹⁵ F adds both of body and soule for euer.

¹⁶ or B, E, F. ¹⁷ the E, F.

¹⁸—¹⁸ by al meanes possible B, E, F. ¹⁹ nature F. ²⁰ it F.

²¹ ought to B; mooveth me and ought to E, F. ²² Christian man B, E, F.

²³—²³ not in B; assaying by al meanes possible E, F.

²⁴ and to bring added in E; reclaime them, and to bring F.

+ leaf 3, back. The Authors intent. B.

²⁶ to the vttermost of our power added in B, E, F. ²⁷ om. F.

²⁸ vt simus alter B, E, F. (*alteri in F.*) ²⁹ That we should be an F.

No man born
for himselfe.

reafon aduertifeth¹ vs, that wee are not borne for our felues onelie; for *Ortus nostris partem patria, partem amici, partem parentes vendicant*: Our Countrey challengeth a part of our byrth, our brethren and frendes require an other parte, and our parentes (and that *optimo iure*) doe vendicate a third parte: Wherfore I will assay to doe them good (if I can) in² discouering their abufes, and laying open their inor-mities, that they, feeing the greeuousnes of their maladies, & daunger of theyr diseafes, may in time feeke to³ the true Phifition⁴ & expert Chirurgion⁴ of their soules, Christ Iefus, of whome onelie commeth all health & grace, and so eternally be faued.

Spud. Seeing that so many and so haynous finnes⁵ do raigne and rage in *Ailgna*,⁶ as your wordes⁷ import, and which mooue you to such inteffine sorrowe and grieve of minde, I pray you desribe vnto me more perticularly fome of thos Capitall⁸ crimes, and chiefe Abuses⁸ which are there frequented, and which dishonour the maiestie of God the⁹ most,¹⁰ as you suppose.¹⁰

[leaf 4: Sig.
B. v.]

A particular desription of PRIDE, the principall Abuse¹¹; and how manifold it is in AILGNA.¹¹

PHILOPONVS.

YOU do well to request me to cipher¹² foorth vnto you¹³ parte¹⁴ of those great Abuses (and Cardinall Vices) vsed¹⁵ in AILGNA,¹⁶ for no man in anie¹⁷ Catalogue, how prolixе foever,¹⁷ is able to comprehend the summe of all¹⁸ abufes there in practiſe.¹⁸ And whereas you woulde haue mee to speake of thos Capitall or¹⁹ chiefe Abuses, which both are deadly in their owne nature, and which offend the maiestie of

The number of
Abuses [in
Ailgna E]
infinite.

¹ teacheth F. ² by E, F. ³ to om. F. ^{4—4} om. F.

⁵ inor-mities B, E, F. ⁶ England F. ⁷ words doe B, E, F.

^{8—8} abuses and horrible crimes E, F. (vices for crimes F.)

⁹ the *not in* B, E, F. ^{10—10} in your judgment F.

¹¹ in Ailgna (in England *in F.*) comes after Abuse *in* B, E, F.

¹² discipher B, E; describe F. ¹³ unto you *not in* B, E. ¹⁴ some F.

¹⁵ which are vsed F. ¹⁶ England F. ^{17—17} competent volume F.

^{18—18} the abuses there practised F. ¹⁹ and B, E.

God moste.¹ Mee thinke you² shake hands with the sworne enemies of God, the Papistes, who say there are two kindes of finne, the one veniall, the other lethall or deadly. But you must vnderstand that there is not the least finne, that is committed, eyther in thought, woerde or deede (yea, *Væ vniuersæ iustitiae nostræ, si remota misericordia iudicetur*: Wo be to all our righteousnes, if, mercy put away, they³ should bee iudged) but it is damnable, *dempta misericordia Dei*, if the mercie of God be⁴ not extended.⁴ And againe; there is no finne so⁵ greeuous, which⁶ the grace and mercy of God is not⁷ able⁸ to coun⁹ teruaile withal, & if it bee his¹¹ pleasure to blot it out for euer.⁹ So that you see now, there is no finn so venial, but if the mercie of God be not¹² stretched out,¹² it is damnable; nor yet anie finne so mortall, which by the grace and mercie of God may not bee done away. And therfore as we are not to presume of the one, so wee are not to despaire of the other. But to returne againe to the satisfying of your request. The greatest abuse, which¹³ both offendeth god moste, & is there not a little aduaunced, is the execrable finne of Pride, and excesse in apparel, which is there so ripe,¹⁴ as the filthie fruits¹⁵ thereof haue long fince presented themselues before the throne of the maiestie of God, calling and crying for vengeance day and nighte incessantly.

Spud. Wherfore haue you intended to speak of Pride the first of all, geuing vnto¹⁶ it the first place in your tractation¹⁷? Because it is euill in it-selfe, and the efficiente cause of euill, or for some other purpose?

Philo. For no other cause but for that I thinke it to bee¹⁸ not onely euill and damnable in it owne nature, but also the verie efficient cause of all euills. And therfore the wise man was bolde to call it *Initium omnium malorum*, the beginning and welspring of al euils. For as from the roote all natural thinges doe grow, & take their

All sinne in it
owne nature is
mortall.

[8 Sig. B. v,
back.]
[10 leaf 4, back.
B. t.]

The greatest
abuse which
offendeth god
most is pride.

Pride the be-
gynning of all
euill.

ECCLES. 10.

¹ as I suppose added in B, E.

² you herein B, E. ³ the B; it E, F. ⁴—⁴ taken away E.

⁵ lethall nor yet any offence so added in B, E; so lethall or deadly, nor yet any offence so F. ⁶ but F. ⁷ om. F.

⁸—⁹ pardon and remit, if it be his good pleasure so to do F.

+ leaf 4, back. Pride, the roote of all vices. B. ¹¹ his good E.

¹²—¹² stretched forth E; extended F.

¹³ in my judgemente added in B, E, F. ¹⁴ so stinckyng B, E; so rotten F.

¹⁵ and lothsome dregges added in B E; dregges F.

¹⁶ om. F.

¹⁷ discourse F.

¹⁸ to bee not in F.

[¹ Sig. B vj.]

beginning, so from the cursed ¹roote of ²pestiferous Pride do all other³ euilles sproute, and thereof are ingenerate. Therfore may Pride be called not improperly, *Matercula et origo omnium vitiorum*, the mother and nurse of al mischief: for what thyng⁴ so haynous, what cryme so flagitious, what deed so perillous, what attempt so venterous, what enterprise so pernicious, or what thing so offendisive to God, or hurtful to man, in ⁵all the world, which man ⁶(of himselfe a very Sathanas,) ⁶⁷to maintain his pride withall,⁷ wil not willingly atchieue ⁸? hereof ⁹wee haue too muche experiance euerye day, more is the pittie.⁹

Spud. How manyfold is this sin of Pryde, whereby the glorie of God is defaced, and his maiefie so greeuously offended!

Philo. Pride is tripartite¹⁰; namely, *the prude* of the hart, the pride of the mouth, & *the prude* of apparell, which¹¹ (vnles I bee deceiued) offendeth God more then the other two. For as *the pride* of the heart &¹² mouth is¹³ not opposite to *the eye*, nor visibile to the sight, and therefor¹⁴ intice not¹⁴ others to vanitie & sin (notwithstanding they be greeuous finnes in the sight of God) so the pride of apparel,¹⁵ remaining in¹⁵ sight, as an exemplararie of euill, induceth the whole man to wickednes and finne.

Spud. How is the pride of the hart committed?

^{[16} leaf 5, back.
B. f.]
^{[18} Sig. B vj.
back]
[Isaias 50. E.]
What pride of
16 *Philo.* Pride of the hart is perpetrate¹⁷ when as a man lifting him selfe on highe, thinketh¹⁸ of himself aboue that which he is¹⁹ of himselfe,¹⁹ dreamyng a²⁰ perfecc²¹on of himselfe, when he²² is nothyng lesse; And in respect of himselfe contempneth,²³ vilefifth, and reproacheth²³ all men,²⁴ thinking none comparable to him selfe, whose righteousnes, notwithstanding, is lyke to the polluted cloth of a menstruous woman. Therfore the Pryde of the Heart maye bee faide too bee a Rebellious elation, or lyftynge vppe of the mynde agaynstie the

What pride of
the hart is.

* leaf 5. Three sortes of Pride. B. ³ other *not in* B, E.

⁴ facte B, E, F. ⁵ is there in B, E, F. ⁶⁻⁶ *not in F.*

⁷⁻⁷ come after atchieue in B, E, F. ⁸ attempt E; commit F.

⁹—⁹ euery daies successe ministreth proof sufficient B, E, F.

¹⁰ threefold F. ¹¹ the laste whereof B, E, F. ¹² and of the B, E, F.

¹³ are F. ¹⁴—¹⁴ cannot intice B, E, F.

15—15 obiecte to B, E ; which is obiect to the F.

19—¹⁹ *not in E. F.* 20 *of a F.* 21 *in F.*

²² there F. ^{23—23} and despiseth ²⁴ others E, F.

there is. and despiseth others Σ , IV.

Lawe of God, attrbutynge and ascrybyng that vnto himselfe whiche is proper to God onely. And although it bee the Lorde, *Qui operatur in notis velle¹* et posse, who worketh in vs both the wil and power to do good, *Ne gloriaretur omnis caro*, leaste anie fleshe shoulde bofste of his owne power and strength, yet Pride, with his Cofin germayn *Philautia*, which is *Selfeloue*, perswadeth him that he hath neede of **PHILAVTIA.** no mans helpe but his owne; that he standeth by his own proper strength & power, and by no mans els, & that he is al in all; yea, so perfect and good as no more can be² exacted of hym.³

Spud. How is⁴ Pride of wordes, or pride of⁵ mouthe, committed?

Philo. Pride of the mouth, or of⁶ wordes, is when we boast, bragge, or glorie, eyther of our felues, our kinred,⁷ consanguinitie, byrth, parentage, and fuche like: or when we extol our⁸ felues⁹ for any⁹ vertue, sanctimonie of lyfe,¹⁰ fincerytie of¹¹ Godlynes¹¹ which eyther is in vs, or which we pretend to be in vs. In this kinde of Pride (as in the other) almost euery one offendeth; for shal you not haue all (in a maner) boast &¹²vaunt themselues¹² of their Auncetors and progenitors? saying & crying¹³ with open mouth, I 'am a Gentleman, I am worshipful, I am Honourable, I am Noble, and I can not tell what: my father was this, my father was that: I am come of this house, and I am come of that.¹⁴ Wheras, Dame *Nature* bryngeth vs all into the worlde after one sorte, and receiueth all againe into the wombe of our mother, I meane¹⁵ the bowelles of the earth, al in one and the same order and manner; without any difference or diuersitie at all; wheroft more hereafter shalbe spokēn.

How pride of
wordes or of the
mouth is com-
mitted.

[8 leaf 7; + there
is no leaf 6.
B. 7.]

[Vain glorious
ostentation of
birthes, &
parentage, &c.
B. E.]

Spud. How is Pride of Apparell committed?

Philo. By wearyng of Apparell more gorgeous, sumptuous, & precious than our state, callyng, or condition of lyfe requireth; How pride of

¹ et velle F.

² be required or B, E.

³—⁸ required of him in this life F.

⁴ is the E, F.

⁵ of the E; the pride of the F.

⁶ om. F. ⁷ affinitie added in F.

+ leaf 7. Pride vainglorious. B.

⁹—⁹ in respect of E; in respect of some F.

¹⁰ of lyfe om. F.

¹¹—¹¹ integrity or perfection F; and the like added in E.

¹²—¹² bragge F.

¹³ aperto ore added in F.

¹⁴ I was borne of this race, and I was borne of that, I am þ come of this stocke, and I am come of that, þ added in B, E, F; but E & F have sprong of [descended in F.] this stock, and I of that for þ—þ

¹⁵ I meane not in E, F.

apparell is per-
petrate &
committed.

[³ leaf 7, back.
B. f.]
[⁴ B 7, back]

A decorum to
be obserued.

Our apparell
rather deform-
eth than
adorneth vs.

[²³ B viij]

wherby we are puffed vp into Pride, and inforced¹ to thinke of our felues more than we ought, beyng but vile earth, and miserable sinners. And this finne of Apparell (as I haue fayde before) hurteth more then the other two; For the finne of the heart hurteth none but the Author in whom it breedeth, so long as it bursteth not foorth into ²exterior action²; ³and the ⁴Pride of the mouth ⁵(whiche confisteth, as I haue fayd, in oftenting and braggyng of some singular vertue, eyther in himselfe or some other of his kinred, and which he arrogateth to himselfe (by⁶ Hereditarie posseſſion or lineall diſſent)⁵ though it be meere vngodly in it own nature; yet it is not⁷ permanent (for ⁸wordes fly⁸ into the aire, not leauing any print or character behinde them to offend the eyes⁹) But this finne of¹⁰ exceſſe of Apparell remayneth as an Example of euyll before our eyes, and as¹¹ a prouocatiue¹² to finne, as Experience daylye sheweth.¹³

Spud. Would you not haue men to obserue a decencie, a comlineſſe, & a *decorum* in their vſuall¹⁴ Attyre? Doeth not the worde of God commaund¹⁵ vs to do all things¹⁵ *decenter et secundum ordinem ciuilem*, decently and after a cyuile maner¹⁶?

Philo. I¹⁷ would wish that a decencie, a comly order, and, as you say, a *decorum* were obſerued, as well in Attyre as in all things els: but would God the contrarie were not true; for¹⁸ most of our nouell¹⁹ Inuentions and new fangled fashions²⁰ rather deforme vs²¹ then adorne vs, disguise vs then become vs, makynge vs rather to reſemble fauadge Beastes and ſtearne²² Monſters, then continent, sober, and chafte Christians.

Spud. Hathe this contagious infection of ²³*Pride in*²⁴ *Apparell* infected and poysoned any other countrey beside *Ailgna*,²⁵ ſuppoſe you?

¹ induced F. ²—² outward shew and appearance F.

+ leaf 7, back. Men become Monsters. B.

⁵—⁵ not in F; from his progenitors added in E.

⁶ as it were by B, E. ⁷ is it not ſo F.

⁸—⁸ Verba cito avolant, et euanescunt in aerem, words ſoone fly away and vanish E, F. ⁹ eies withal F. ¹⁰ of the F. ¹¹ is E, F.

¹² prouocation F. ¹³ prooueth F. ¹⁴ vſuall not in F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ vs al things to be done E, F. ¹⁶ order F.

¹⁷ yes truly I B, E; Yea trulie I F. ¹⁸ do not the E. ¹⁹ fond F.

²⁰ dooe thei not added in B.

²¹ vs omitted in F.

²² bruitiſh F.

²⁴ of F.

²⁵ countries besides England F.

¹ *Philo.* No doubt but this poysone hath shed foorth his influence, [² leaf 8. B.*] and powred foorth his stinking dregges ouer all the face of the earth ; but yet I am sure there is not any people vnder the Zodiacke² of heauen, how ³clownish, rurall,³ or brutifh foever, that is⁴ so poisoned with this Arsnecke of Pride, or⁵ hath drunke so deepe of ⁶the dregges of this⁶ Cup as *Ailgna*⁷ hath ; with grieve of conscience I speake it, with forow I fee it, and with teares I lament it.

[Circes cuppes
and Medeas
pottes haue made
England dronken
with Pride. E.]

Spud. But I haue heard them faye that other Nations passe them for exquisite⁸ brauery in Apparell : as the *Italians*, the *Athenians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Caldeans*, *Heluetians*, *Zuitzers*, *Venetians*, *Muscouians*, and such lyke: now, whither this be true or not I greatly desire to knowe.

No Cuntry so
drunken with
pride as
Ailgna.

Philo. This is but a visour, or cloke, to hide⁹ their Sodometrie¹⁰ withall ; onelye spoken, not prooued ; forged in the deceiptfull Mint of their owne¹¹ braynes : For (if credit may be giuen to ancient writers) the *Egyptians* are said neuer¹² to haue changed¹² their fashion, or altered the forme¹³ of their first¹³ Attire from the beginning¹⁴ to this day : as Iacobus Stuperius, *lib. de diuersis nostræ ætatis habitiibus*, Pag. 16, [Stuperius. B., E.] affirmeth. The *Grecians* are faide to vse but one kynde of Apparell without any chaunge: that is, to¹⁵ wit, a longe Gowne reaching [¹⁵ B 8, back] downe to the grounde.

The *Germaynes* are thought to be so precise in obseruing one vniforme fashion in Apparell, as they haue neuer receeved from their first Original; as the said *Stuperius* sayth in these¹⁶ wordes : *Non enim mores leuiter mutare vetustos, Germanus vnguam confueuit incola :* [¹⁶ leaf 8, back. B.†]

Whiche in Englysh Verse is thus muche in effect :

¶ *The Germayne people neuer vse
lightly¹⁷ to chop and chaunge
Their customes olde, or els Attyre,
wherin abroade they range.*

[Cp. my Andrew
Boorde, p. 159,
152, 249.]

¶ *The Muscouians, Athenians, Italians, Brasilians, Africane,*

* leaf 8. Newfanglednesse in Ailg. B.

² face F.

^{3—3} sauge F.

⁴ that is *not in* B, E, F.

⁵ or that B, E, F.

^{6—6} this impotionate B, E, F.

⁷ England F.

⁸ finenesse and *added in* F.

⁹ couer B, E, F.

¹⁰ owne shame E, F.

¹¹ own lying F.

^{12—12} to chaunge F.

^{13—13} or fashion of their F.

¹⁴ of the world *added in* F.

† leaf 8, back. Foreigne guise of Apparell. B.

¹⁷ at all F.

[All nations inferior to Ailgna for pride of apparell B, E.]

Asianes, Cantabrians, Hungarians, Ethiopians,¹ or els what Nation² foever vnder the Sunne, are so farre behinde the people of *Ailgna*³ in exquisitnesse of Apparell, as in effect they esteeme it litle or nothyng at all, so it repell the colde and couer their shame; yea, some of them are so smally addicted thereto, that, settynge apart all honestie and shaine, they go cleane naked. Other some, meanly apparelled; some in Beasts skinnes, some in haire, & what euer they can get⁴: some in one thing, some in another, nothing regarding eyther hosen, shooes, bands, ruffes, shirts, or any thing els. And the ciuilest nations that are, bee so farre estrangued from the pride of ⁵Apparell, that they esteeme him as brauelye attyred that is clothed in our carzies, frizes, ruggs, and other kinds of cloth, as we do him that is clad all ouer in filkes, veluets, satens, damaskes, grograins, taffeties, and such like. So that herby you see that they speake vntruly, that say that other nations exceede them in brauerie of apparell. For it is manifest that all other Nati⁶ons vnder the sun, how strange, how new, how fine, or how comly foever they think their fashions to be, when they be compared with the dyuerse fashions & fundrie formes of apparell in *Ailgna*,⁷ are most vnhandsome, brutish, and monstrouse. And herby it appeareth that no People in the World is⁸ so curiose in new fangles as they of *Ailgna*⁷ be. But graunte it were so, and admit that others excelled them (which is false), shal we do euill because they do so? shal their wickednesse excuse vs of finne, if we commit the like & worse? shal not the soule that finneth dye? wherfore let vs not finne of⁹ presumption with the multitude, because they do so, least we be plagued with them because we doe the like. Moreouer, thos Cuntryes are rich and welthie of them selues, abounding with all kinde of preciouise ornaments and riche attyre, as filks, veluets, Satens, damaskes, farcenet, taffetie,¹⁰ chamlet, and such¹¹ like (for al these are made in those foraine cuntryes), and therfore¹²if they weare them they are not muche¹³ to bee blamed, as not hauing anie other kind of cloathing to couer themselues withall. So if wee would contente ourselues with such kinde of attire as our owne Countrey doeth

[No people so curious in newe fangles as thei of Ailgna. B, E.]
[6 leaf 9. B.t]

Other coun-
tryes not to
be blamed:
though they
go in silks,
veluets, and
why.

[12 C 1, back]

¹ Dutch, French added in F. ² nations F. ³ England F.

⁴ get not in F. ⁵ leaf 9. Brutishe fashions in Ailgna. B.

⁷ England F. ⁸ are B, E, F. ⁹ in B, E. ¹⁰ Taffeta F.

¹¹ the B, E, F.

¹³ not in F.

¹ minister vnto¹ vs, it were much² tollerable. But wee are so surprised³ in Pride, that if it come not from beyond the seas, it is not worth a straw. And thus we impoverish our selues in buying their trifling merchandizes, more plesant than necessarie, and ⁴inrich them, who rather⁵ laugh at vs in their sleeues than otherwise,⁶ to see our gret follie in affecting of trifles, & departing⁷ with good merchandizes⁸ for it.⁹ And howe litle they esteeme of filkes, vēluets, satens, damasks,
¹⁰ and fuch like,¹⁰ wee maye easely fee, in that they sell them to vs for¹¹ wolles, frizes, rugges, carzies, and the lyke, whiche they coulde¹² neuer doe¹³ if they esteemed of them as much as we doe. So that you see they are forced of necessytye to weare such riche attyre, wanting other things (wherof we haue store) to inuest themselues withall. But who feeth not (excepte wilfullie blynde) that no necessitie compelleth vs to weare them, hauing abundance of other things to attire our selues with,¹⁴ both hansomer, warmer,¹⁵ and as comlie as¹⁵ they in euerie respekte? But 'farre fetched and deare boughte' is good for Ladys,¹⁶ they say.

Spud. Doe you thinke it not permitted to any, hauinge store of other necessary cloathing,¹⁷ to weare silks, veluets, taffeties, & other [v C 2] suche riche attyre, of what calling soeuer they be of¹⁸?

Ph. I doubt not but it is lawfull for *the potestates*,¹⁹ the nobilitie, the gentrie,²⁰ yeomanrie, and for euerye priuate subiecte els²⁰ to weare²¹ attyre every one in²² his degree, accordinge as his calling and condition of life requireth; yet a meane is to be keptt, for *omne extreumum vertitur in vitium*, euery extreme is turned into vice.²² The nobilitye²³ (though they haue store of other attyre) and the gentrie (no doubt) may vse a rich and preciouſe kynd of apparell (in the feare of God)²³ to innoble, garnishe, & set forthe their byrthes, dignities,²⁴ functions, and callings; but for no other respekte they may not in any maner of

Other Countries
esteeme
not so muche
silkes, veluets,
as we do.
[⁴ leaf 9, back
B.]

[Foreigners
change their
velvets, &c. for
our wools. Cp.
Strford, p. 54,
87, &c.]

Euery man
may weare
apparell ac-
cording to his
callinge.

The nobility
may weare
gorgiouse at-
ture, and why

¹—¹ afford B, E; yeld F. ² somewhat B, E, F. ³ captiuate F.

[†] leaf 9, back. Pride and Pleasure in Ailg. B. ⁵ rather *not in* B, E, F.

⁶ than otherwise *not in* B, E, F. ⁷ parting F. ⁸ wares F.

⁹ them B, E, F. ¹⁰—¹⁰ Taffetaes, and such, F. ¹¹ for our B, E, F.

¹² would F. ¹³ *not in* F. ¹⁴ with-all F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ and comlier then B, E, F. (comelier F.) ¹⁶ ladies as B.

¹⁸ of *not in* B, F. ¹⁹ the potestates *not in* B, E, F.

²⁰—²⁰ and the magisterie B, E, F. ²¹ weare riche B, E, F.

²²—²² their calling B, E, F. ²³—²³ omitted in B; and gentrie E, F.

²⁴—²⁴ & estates. The magistery B, E, F.

wyse. The maiestrats also & Officers in the weale publique, by what tytle soeuer they be called (accordinge to their abylties), may were (if the Prince or Superintendent do Godly commaund) costlie ornaments and riche attyre,²⁴ to dignifie their callings, and to demonstrat

Maiestrats
may were
sumptuous
attyre, & why.
[3 leaf 10 B.*]

¹ and shewe forth¹ the excelency² and worthines of their offices and functions, therby to strike a terroure & feare into the harts of the people to offend against³⁴ the maiesty of their callings⁴: but yet would I wish that what so is superfluous or ouermuche, either in the one or in the other, shold be distributed to⁵ the helpe of⁶ the pore members of Christ Iefus, of whom an infynite number⁷ daylie do⁸ perish thorowe wante of necessarie refection and due sustentation to their bodies. And as for the priuat subiects, it is not at any hand lawful

[7 C 2, back]
[Men die for
want of food.]

that they shold weare filks, veluets, satens, damasks, gould, filuer, and what they list (though they be neuer so able to maintain it), except they, being in some kinde of office in the common wealth, do vse it for the dignifying and innobling of the same.⁹ But now there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparell in *Ailgna*,¹⁰ and such preposterous¹¹ excesse therof, as euery one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparell he lust¹² himselfe, or can get by anie kind of¹³ meanes So that it is verie hard to knowe¹⁴ who is noble,¹⁴ who is worshipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not: for you shall haue those which are neither of the nobyltie, gentilitie, nor yeomanry; no, nor yet anie Magistrat, or Officer in the common welth, go daylie in filkes, veluets, satens, damasks, taffeties, and such like, notwithstanding that they be both base by byrthe, meane by estate, & seruyle by calling.¹⁵ This is¹⁵ a great confusion, &¹⁶ a general disorder:¹⁷ God be mercyfull vnto vs¹⁷!

Not lawfull
for private
subiectes to
weare sum-
ptuous attyre.

Hard to know
a Gentleman
from another
by apparell.

[16 leaf 10, back.
B.†]

Spud. If it be not lawfull for euery one to weare filks, veluets,

^{1—1} not in B.

² the maiestie added in B, E, F.

* leaf 10. Sumptuous Attyre. B. ^{4—4} their office and autoritie B, E, F.

⁵ and erogate to B, E, F. ⁶ and subvention of B, E, F. ⁸ do not in F.

⁹ Or at the commaundement of [‡]their superintendent, or Archprime, [‡] for some speciall consideration or purpose, added in B, E, F. (^{‡—‡} the chiefe Magistrate F.)

¹⁰ England (and so in every other place where Ailgna occurs) F.

¹¹ horrible F. ¹² listeth F; lusteth B, E. ¹³ kind of not in F.

^{14—14} not in F. ^{15—15} And this I compt [accomp F.] B, E, F.

[†] leaf 10, back. Riche ornaments. B.

^{17—17} in a christian common wealth E, F.

satens, damasks, taffeties, gold, filuer, preciouſe ſtones, & what not, wherfore did the Lord make & ordein them?

Philo. I denie not but they may be worne ¹ of them who want other things to cloth them withal, or of the nobylity, gentilytie,² or magiftery, for the caufes abouefaid, but not of every proud fixnet³ indifferentlie, that haue⁴ ſtore of other attyre inough. And yet did not the Lord ordeane theſe riche ornaments and gorgiouse veſtments to be worne of all men, or of anie, ſo muche as to garniſh,⁵ bewtifie, and ſet forth, the maieſty & glorie of this hiſ earthly kingdome: For as cloth of gold, Araſe, tapeſtrie, & ſuch other riche ornaments, pendices, and hangings in a houſe of eſtate, ferue not onely to manuall vſes and feruyle occupations, but alſo to decorate,⁶ to bewtifie, & become⁷ the houſe, and to ſhewe the riche eſtate and glorie of the owner; ſo theſe riche ornaments, and ſumpteouſe veſtments of the earthly territory of this Worlde, do not onelie ferue to be worn of them, to whome it doth appertaine (as before) but alſo to ſhew forth the power, welth, dignity, riches, and glorie of the Lord, the Author of all goodneſſe.⁸ And here in the prouidence and mercy of God appeareth moft plainlye; for wher there is ſtore of other clotheing, there hath he geuen leſſe ſtore of filks, veluets, satens, damasks,⁹ and ſuch like: and wher there is plenty of them, there is no clotheing els almoſt; & thus the Lord¹⁰ did deale¹⁰, for that euery cuntrey¹¹ ought to contente themſelues¹¹ with there owne kind of attyre; except neceſſytie inforce¹² the contrarie; for than we are to vſe our libertie,¹² in the feare of God.

Spud. I praye you, let mee intreate you to ſhewe me wherfore our apparell was giuen vs, and by whome?

Philo. Your requeſte is both diſſufe and intricate, and more than my weake and infirme knowledge is able to comprehend¹³; yet leaſt I might bee adiudged vnwilling to doe good, I will affay to doe the beſt¹⁴ I can.

When the Lord our God, a ſpiritual, intellectible vnderſtanding ſubſtance, incompreheſible, immeſurable, & inacceſſible, had, by

² Gentry F.

³ Thraso B, E, F.

⁴ hath B, E, F.

⁵ ſplendishe B, E, F.

⁶ decore B, E, F.

⁷ adorne F.

⁸ thynges B, E, F.

^{† leaf II.} By whom App[arell] was giuen. B.

^{10—10} hath dealt B, E, F.

^{11—11} ſhould be content B, E, F.

¹³ performe B, E, F.

¹⁴ beſt that B, E, F.

[¶ C 3]
Wherfore the
lord made
riche orna-
ments.

Wherto riche
ornamentes do
ſerue.

[¶ leaf II. B.]

When, where,
and for what
cause our
apparell was
geuen vs.

his woord and heauenly wisedome, Christ Iesus, created and made the world & all things therin contayned, the fixte day he created man after his own similitude and likenes, in innocencie, holines, righteousnes, & all kind of perfection,¹ he placed¹ him in Paradise tereftial, commaunding² him to tyl & manure the same. Than the deuil, an old maligner of mankind, who before was an Angel in heauen, & through sin³ of pride in arrogating to himselfe the feate & throne of Gods maiestie, cast down into the lake of hell, enuying mans glorious estate, which he than had lost, came vnto man in Paradise, & ⁴inticed him (oh,⁵ torteouse serpent!) to eat of the forbidden fruite, wherof the Lorde God had forbidden him to tast on pain of his life: notwithstanding *Adam*, condescending to ⁶his wife her persuasions,⁶ or ⁷rather to⁸ the Serpent,⁹ hauing buzzed his venomous suggestions into their¹⁰ eares, tooke of the apple & did eat, contrary to the expresse commandement of his God. This done, their eyes were opened, thei saw their nakednes, & were not a litle ashamed; (& yet before sin was committed, they, being both naked, were not ashamed; but sin once committed¹¹ they became vncleane, filthie, loathsome, & deformed,) & fewed them garments of fig leaues together, to couer their shame withall. Than the Lord, pittyng their miserie & loathing their deformity, gaue them pelts & ¹²felles¹³ of beasts¹² to make them garments withall, to the end that their shamefull parts might lesse appeare; yet some are so brasen faced & so impudent that, to make the deuill & his members sport, will not sticke to make open shew of those parts which God commaundeth to be couered, nature willetteth to be hid, & honesty is ashamed once to behold or looke vpon.

Spud. I gather by your words three speciaill poynts. First, that sin was the cause why our apparell was giuen vs; Secondly, that God is the author & giuer therof; Thirdly, that it was giuen vs to couer our shame withall, & not ¹⁴to feed the infatiable desires of mens wanton & luxurious eies.

^{1—1} and placing B, E, F. ² commanded B, E, F. ³ the sinne B, E, F.

* leaf 11, back. The fall of Adam. B. ⁶ like a F.

^{6—6} the persuasions of his wife B, E, F. ⁸ of B, E, F.

⁹ in his wife added in F. ¹⁰ her F. ¹¹ contracted F.

^{12—12} beasts felles and skinnes F. ¹³ and skins E.

† leaf 12. Proude Ap[parell] the Deuils nets. B.

[¹⁴ leaf 12, back.
B.]

The fall of
man by the
malice of the
deuill.
[7 C 4]

Impudent
beasts, [that
shewe their
priuities. E.]

[¹⁴ leaf 12. B.]

Philo. Your collection is very true. Than, seeing that our apparel was giuen vs of god to couer our shame, to keep our bodies from cold, & to bee as prickes in our eies to put vs in mind of our miseries, ¹ frailties, imperfections, and fin, of our backflyding from the commandments of god and obedience of the highest, and to excite² vs the rather to contrition and compunction of the³ spirit, to bewayle our misery, & to craue mercy at the mercifull hands of God, let vs be thankfull to God for them, be forie for our finnes (which weare the cause⁴ therof,) and vse them to the glory of our God, & the benefyte of our bodies and soules, ⁵ against the great day of the Lord appeare.⁵ But (alas) these good creatures which the Lord our God gaue vs for the respects before rehearsed, we haue so peruerted as now they serue, in stead of the deuills nettes, to catche⁶ poore soules in ; for euery one now adaies (almost) couet to⁷ deck and painte their liuing⁸ sepulchres, ⁹ or erthly graues⁹ (their bodies I meane) with all kind of brauerie, what soeuer can be deuised, to delight the eyes of the vnshaft behoulders, wherby God is dishonored, offence¹⁰ is encreased,¹⁰ and much sinne daylie committed, as in further discourse shall plainly appeare.

Spud. Did the Lord cloth our first parents in leather, as not hauing any thing more precioufe to attyre them withall, or for that it might be¹¹ a permanent¹² rule, or patern, vnto vs (his posterity) for euer, wherafter we are of force to make all our garments, so as it is not now lawfull to¹³ go in¹⁴ richer arraye,¹⁴ without¹⁵ offendinge [** C 5] his maiestie ?

Philo. Although the Lord did not cloth them so meanly, for that he had nothing els more precioufe to attyre them withall, (for *Domini est terra, et plenitudo eius*, the earth is the Lords and the fulnesse therof, saith the Lord by his Psalmist; And by his Prophet, Gold is myne, filuer is myne, and all the riches of the world is my¹⁶ own,) yet, no doubt, but he would that this their meane & base attyre shoulde be as a rule, or pedagogie, vnto vs, to teach vs that we ought rather

Wherfor our
apparel was
geuen vs.
[^ C 4, back]

Mens bodies
liuing sepul-
chres.

[xx leaf 12, back.
B.t]

² exercise F.

³ the *not in* F.

⁴ causes F.

⁵—⁵ at the last F. ⁶ intangle B, E, F. ⁷ couet to *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ liuing *not in* B, E, F. ⁹—⁹ *not in* B, E, F. ¹⁰—¹⁰ ministred B, E, F.

† leaf 12, back. The right vse of App[arell]. B. ¹² perpetual F.

¹³ for vs to F. ¹⁴—¹⁴ riche attire B, E, F. ¹⁶ mine F.

38 No conscience reposed in Ap[parell]. The Anatomie

[In our apparell we ought rather to obey necessity than to feed vanity.]

to walke meanelye and simlye, than gorgiouly or pomposly ; rather seruing presente necessitie, than regarding the wanton appetits of our lasciuouse mindes. Not-withstandinge, I suppose not that his heauenlye maiestie would that those garments of lether should stand as a rule or pattern of neccesstie vnto vs, wherafter we shold be bound to shape all our apparell for euer, or els greeuouslye to offende ; but yet by this we may see his blessed will is,² that we should rather go an ace beneth our degree, than a iote aboue. And *that* any simple couering pleafeth the Godly, so that it repell the colde and couer the shame, it is more than manifest, as well by the legends both³ of prophane Historyographers, Cronologers, and other writers, as also by the censures, examples,⁴ and lyues of all Godly fince the beginning of the world. And if the Lord would not⁵ that the attyre of Adam should haue beeene a figne or patterne of mediocritie vnto vs, he both in mercy would &, in his almighty⁶ power, could, haue inuested them in filks, veluets, satens, grograins, gold, siluer, & what not.⁷ But the Lord our God foresawe that if he had clothed man in rich and gorgiouſe attyre (ſuche is our procluytyle to finne), he wold haue bene proude therof,⁸ as we ſee it is come to paſſe at this day (God amend it!), and therby⁸ purchafe to himſelfe, his body and ſoule, eternall damnation.

Spud. Than, it feemeth a thinge materiall, and of great importance,⁹ that we reſemble our firſt Parents in austerity¹⁰ and ſimplicity of apparell,¹⁰ ſo muſche as maye be poſſible, doth it not?

Philo. I put no religion in goinge, or not goinge, in the like ſimple attyre of our parents Adam & Eua (as¹¹ our Papiftes, Papifts? no, Sorbonifts, Sorbonifts? no, Atheifts, atheifts? no, plaine Sathanifts¹¹ do, placing all thier religion in hether garments & Romiſh raggs) ſo that we obſerue a meane, and excede not in pride. But notwithstanding, if we approched a little nearer them in Godly ſimplicitie and Chriſtian ſobrietie, both of apparell and maner of lyuinge, we ſhould not onely please God a great deale the more, and enrichte our Cuntry, but alſo auoyd many ſcandals & of¹² fences which grow

¹ oby A. ² was then, & is now F. ³ both *not in* B, E, F.

† leaf 13. No conſcience reposed in App[arell]. B. ⁶ mighty E.

⁷ not els F. ⁸ and ſo F. ⁹ moment F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ of apparell and ſimplicity of attire B, E, F.

¹¹—¹¹ Sorbonicall Papifts B, E, F (F *prefixes* the).

No religion
reposed in
apparell.

[¹² C 6]

daily by our exceſſive ryot, and ryotouſe exceſſe in apparell. For doth not *the*¹ apparell ſtyrre vppe the heart to pride? doth it not [^x leaf 13, back.
B.] intice others to finne? and doth not ſin purchase hell, the guerdon of <sup>The fruite of
Pride.</sup> pride?

Spud. But they ſay they please God, rather than offend him, in wearing this gorgiouſe attyre, for therby the glory of his workmanship in them doth more² appeare. Besides that, it maketh a man to be accepted and eſteemed of in euery place; wheras otherwife they ſhould be nothing leſſe.

Philo. To think that the Lorde our God is delighted in the ſplendente ſhewe of outward apparell, or that it ſetteth forth *the* glory of his Creatures, and the maieſty of his kingdom, I ſuppoſe ther is no man (at leaſt no perfect christian man) ſo bewitched or affotted: For that weare as much as to ſay, that ſtinking pride & filthie finne tended to the glory of God; ſo that the more we ſyn, the more we increase his prayſe and glorye. But the Lord oure God is ſo farre from delightinge in finne, that he adiudgeth them to eternall Death and damnation that committe the ſame. Than, who is he that will take pleasure in vayne apparell, which, if it be worne but a whyle, will fall to ragges, and if it be not worne, will ſoone rotte, or els be eaten with mothes. His wayes are not oure³ wayes, his iudgements not⁴ [³ C 6, back.] our iudgements, as he ſayth by his Prophet: and wheras they holde that Apparell ſetteth foorth the glory of his Maieſtie in his creatures, makyng them to appeare fairer, than other wyſe they would of themſelues,⁵ it is blaſphemouſly ſpoken, and muche derogateth from *the* exellency and glory of his name. For, faith not God by his prophet Moyſes, that after he had made all creatures, he beheld them all, & behould they weare (and eſpecially man, the excellenteſt of all other his creatures, whom he made after his own ſimilitude & likneſſe) excedinge good? And were all creatures good & perfect, & only man not perfect, nor faire inough? If theſe their ſpeeches were true (which in the⁶ fulneſſe of their blaſphemie they shame not to ſpeake) than might we eaſily conuince the Lord of ⁷vndeſtrue ſpeak-

The Lord accep-
teth no
man after his
apparell.

No attyre can
make the crea-
ture of God
ſeeine fayrer.
[⁵ leaf 14. B.†]

* leaf 13, back. Hell, the rewarde of Pride. B.

² more not in E; more brauely F.

⁴ are not F. [†] leaf 14. Man comely of hymſelf. B.

⁶ the not in F.

⁷-⁷ untruthe B, E, F.

40 Proud App[arell] deformeth man. The Anatomie

ing,⁷ who in his sacred word informeth¹ vs, that man is the perfectest Creature, & the fayrest of al others, *that euer he made* (excepting the heuenly spirits, & Angelical creatures)² after his own liknesse,² as before. O³ man! who arte thou, that reasoneſt with thy Creator? shall the clay fay vnto the potter, why haſt thou made me thus? Or can the clay make himſelfe better fauored than the potter, who gaue him his firſt ſtamp & proportion? Shall we think that ſtinking pride can make the workmanſhippe of the Lord to⁴ ſeeme fayrer? Than, why did not the Lord cloth vs⁵ ſo at the firſt? or at leaſt, why gaue he not commaundement in his will & testament, which he ſealed with the⁶ price of the⁶ bloud of his ſonne, to cloth our ſelues in riche & gorgiouſe apparel to ſet forth his glory *the more*? But away with theſe⁷ dogs & helliſh haggs, who retaine⁸ this opinion,⁹ that cur¹⁰ſed pride glorifieth God, & ſetteth forth or bewtiſieth his workmanſhippe in his creatures! In vain is it for me to expoſtulat with them, for doubtles non hould this, but ſuch as be¹¹ miſcreants (or deuills incarnate)¹² & men¹² caſt of [f] into a reprobate ſenſe,¹³ whom I beſeech the Lord, in the bowels of his mercy, either ſpeedely to conuert, that they periſh not, or els confounde, *that they hurte not*, that peace may be vpon¹⁴ Ifrael. Thus, hauiing ſufficiently (I truſt) refelleſt their falſe poſitions, I leauē them to the Lord, beſeechinge them (as they tender their own ſaluation, *linguas compescere digitis*, to ſtoppe their ſacrilegiouſe mouthes with ther fingers, & not to ſpit againſt heauen, or kicke againſt the pricke, as they do, anie longer: For the Lord our God is a conſuming fier, & vpon obſtinate finners ſhal raine down fire & brimſton, & conſume them in his wrath. This is our¹⁵ portion acquired by finne.

Spud. But what ſay you to the other branch of their concluſion, namely, that Apparell maketh them to be accepted, and well taken in euery place?

¹⁶ *Philo.* Amongeſt the wicked and ignorante Pezants, I muſt needeſ

¹ teacheth B, E, F.

^{2—2} *not in* B, E, F.

³ But O F.

⁴ *to not in* F.

^{6—6} *not in* F.

⁷ ſauage added in E, F.

⁸ are of B, E, F.

⁹ mind F.

[†] leaf 14, back. Proude Appa[rell] deformeth man. B.

¹¹ as be *not in* B, E, F.

^{12—12} as the Lord hath B, E, F.

¹³ and preiudicate opinion *added in* F. ¹⁴ vnto F. ¹⁵ their B, E, F.

Euery one is
to contente
him ſelue with
his creation,
and to prayſe
God for it.

[5 C 7]

[¹⁰ leaf 14, back.
B.†]

The Lord our
God is a con-
ſuming fier to
deſtroy all
impeneſt
ſinners.

[¹⁶ C 7, back]

confesse, they are the more esteemed in respect of their apparell; but nothing at all the more, but rather the leſſe, amongett the godly wyſe. So farre of [f] will all wyſe men be from accepting of any for his gay apparell onely, that (be he neuer ſo gallantly pain'ted or curiouſly [¹ leaf 15. B.*]) plumed in the deceiptfull fetheres of pride) they wil rather contemne him a great deale the more, taking him to be a man puffed vp with pride and vaine glorie, a thing both odious, ²& detestable to God & good men.² And ſeeing it cannot ſtand with the rule of god his iuſtice, to accept, or not to accept,³ any man for⁴ his apparell, or any other externe ſhew of deceiptfull vanylie, it is manifest, that man, doinge the contrarie, is a *Iudas* to the truth, a *Traytor* to iuſtice, & an enemy to the Lord: wherfore farre be that from al good christians; and if thoſe that go richely clothed ſhould be eſteemed the rather for their rich apparel than *à contrario*, muſt thoſe that go in meane and bafe attire, be the more contemned, and diſpiled for their pouertie. And than ſhould Christ Iefus, our great Ambaffador from⁵ the king of heauen,⁶& only Sauour,⁶ be contemned, for he came in poore & mean array: but Christ Iefus is bleſſed in his pore raggs, and all others are contemned in their rich & precious attyre. Vnder a ſimple cote many tymes lyeth hid great wiſdom & knowledg; & contrarely, vnder braue⁷ attyre ſomtime is couered great ydiotacy⁸ and folly. ⁹Hereof euery daies ſucceſſe offreth prooſe ſufficient: more is the pytie⁹!

The wise will
not accept of
any after,
apparell.

[Wisdom not
tyed to exte-
rior pompe of
apparell. B, E.]
[7 C 8]

Spud. Wherfore would you haue men accepted, if not for Apparel?

Philo. If any be ſo foolish to ymagin that he ſhalbe worſhipped, reuerened, or accepted the rather for his apparell, he is not ſo wyſe as I pray¹¹ God make me. For ſurely, for my part, I will rather worſhippe & accept of a pore man (in his¹² clowtes & pore raggs¹²) hauing the gifts and ornaments of the mind, than I will do him *that* roifteth & flaunteth¹³ daylie & howrely in his ſilks, veluets, ſatens,

¹⁰ Reuerence
due to vertue,
not to attyre.¹⁰
[^{xx} leaf 15, back
B, f.]

* leaf 15. No estimation due to App[arell]. B.

²—² before men and detestable before God B, E, F. ³ accept of E, F.

⁴ after E.

⁵ ſent from B.

⁶—⁶ not in B, E, F.

⁸ adiocie F.

⁹—⁹ not in B, E, F.

† leaf 15. Reuerence due to Vertue. B.

¹⁰—¹⁰ not in E.

¹²—¹² torne cloutes and ragges E; ragged cloutes F.

¹³ flaunteth it out F.

[All reuerence
due to vertue
and not to riches
attire. B, E.]

damasks, gold or siluer, what soeuer, without *the* induments of vertue, wherto only al reuerence is due. And therfore as any man is indued, or not indued, with vertue, & true godlynesse, so will I reuerence, or not reuerence, accept or not accept of him: wherfore if any gape after reuerence, worship or acceptation, let them thirst after vertue, as namely,¹ wisdome, knowledge, discretion, modestie, sobrietie, affability, gentlenesse & fuche like; than can they be without reuerence or acceptation, no more than *the* sonne can be without light, the fire without heat,² or the water without his naturall moysture.

Sp. Than I gather, you would haue men accepted for vertue & true Godlines,³ wold you not?

Ph. I would not only haue men to be accepted & reuerenced for their vertue (though the ⁴chiefest reuerence is onely to be attributed to him, whose sacred brest⁵ is fraught with vertue, as it may well be called the *Promptuarie* or *Receptorie*⁶ of true wisdome and Godlines, but also (in parte) for their byrthes sake, parentage and consanguinitie⁷; and not only that,⁸ but ⁹also in respect of their callings, offices and functions, whether it be in the Temporal Magifery, or¹⁰ Ecclesiastical presibitry (so long as they gouerne godly and well): For the Apostle sayth, that those Elders which¹¹ gouerne wel amongst vs are worthie of double honor. But yet the man whom God hath blessed with vertue and true godlynes, though he be neyther of great byrth nor callynge, nor yet any Magistrate whatsoeuer, is worthie of more reuerence and estimation then any of the other without the ornaments of *the* minde, & gifts of vertue aboue said. For what preuayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, and to be destitute of all vertue, which deserueth¹² true worship? what is it els then to carie a golden Swoorde in a Leaden Scabbarde? Is it any thyng els then a golden Coffyn or painted Sepulchre, makynge a fayre shewe outwardly, but inwardly is full of all stinche & lothfomnes? I remember once I red a certaine storie of one, a Gentleman by byrth and parentage, who greatly reproched, and withall disdayned an other, for that he was come to great autho¹³rytie onely by vertue,

¹ F adds feare of God, zeale to religion

² the heat. E. ³ onely added in F. ⁵ brest is so B, E.

⁶ storehouse F. ⁷ dissent F. ⁸ for that E.

¹⁰ leaf 16. How to know a Gentleman. B.

¹¹ a or (*sic*) A. ¹² that F. ¹² maketh B, E, F.

[⁴ C 8, back]

Wherfore
man is to be
worshiped
and had in
reuerence.

[⁹ leaf 16. B.+]

Gentilitie
without vertue
is no gentili-
tiae.

[An exelent
apothegme. E,
F.]

[¹³ D r]

being but a poore mans child by byrthe: "What! faith¹ the Gentleman by birth,² arte thou so lufie? Thou arte but a coblers sonne, and wilt thou compare with me, being a Gentleman by³ byrth and calling?" To whome the other answeared,⁴ "thou arte no Gentleman, for thy gentilitie endeth in thee, and I am a Gentleman, in⁵ that my gentilitie beginneth in me:" Meaning (vnleft⁶ I be deceiued) that the wante of virtue in him was the decay of his gentility, and his vertue was the beginning of true gentilitie in him selfe: for virtue therfore, not for apparell, is euerye one to be accepted; For if we should accept of men after apparell onely, respecting nothinge els, than shold it come to passe, that we might more esteeme⁷ of one, both meane by birth, base without⁸ virtue, seruyle by calling, & poore in estate, more than of some, by birthe noble, by virtue honorable, and by callinge laudable.⁹ And the reson is because euery one, tagge and ragge, go brauer, or at least as braue as those that be both noble, honorable and worshipfull.

[5 leaf 16, back.
B.]

The exordium
of virtue is the
exordium of
gentilitie &
worship, and
want of the
one is the
decay of the
other.

Spud. But I haue hard say, there is more holynesse in some kynd of apparell than in othersome; which makes them so much to affecte vary[e]tie of fashions, I thinke.

Philo. Indeed, I suppose that the summe¹⁰ of their religion doth confiste in apparell. And, to speake my conscience, I thinke there is more,¹¹ or as muche holynesse in the apparell, as in them; that is, iust none at all. But admit that there be holynesse in apparell (as who is so infatuat to beleue it) than¹² it followeth that the holynes pretended is not in them; & so be they plaine Hipocrits to make shew of that which they haue not. And if the holines by there attire presaged be in them selues, than is it not in the¹³ garments; & why do they than¹³ leaf 17. B.† attribute that to the garments whiche is neither adherente to the one, nor yet inherent in the other? Or if it wer so, why do they glory of it to the world? but I leaue them to their follie, hastinge to other matters more profitable to intreate of.

[xx D 1, back]
No holynes in
apparell

Spud. But I haue hard them reson thus: That which is good in it own nature cannot hurt; apparell is good, and the good Creature of

¹ quoth B, E, F.

² by birth *not in F.*

³ both by B, E, F.

⁴ repliying, saide B, E, F.

* leaf 16, back. Virtue maketh Gentilitie. B.

⁵ vnlesse F.

⁷ accept B, E, F.

⁸ in B, E, F.

⁹ venerable B, E, F.

¹⁰ and enargie added in B, E; and substance added in F. ¹² then B.

† leaf 17. An obiection to maintain Pride. B.

44 App[arell] the Mother of pride. The Anatomie

An argument
truly con-
tryued.

{But shortly to
fall, without hope
of recovery.]

[² D 2]

[5 leaf 17, back.
B.t.]

Vnpossible to
take away
pride, except
sumptuouse
apparell be
taken away
also.

Apparell and
pride combin-
ed together as
mother &
daughter.
[¹² D 2, back]

God: *ergo* no kynde of apparell can hurte. And if there be anie abuse in it, the apparell knowethe it not; Therfore take awaye the abuse, and let the apparell remaine still, for so it maye (say they) without anie hurte at all.

Philo. These be well seafoned reas ons, and substanciall affeuerations in deed; but if they haue no better arguments to leane vnto than these, their kingdome of Pride will shortlie fall ¹ without all ¹ hope of recouerie againe. The apparell in it owne nature is good, and the good Creature of God (I will not de²nie) and cannot hurte, except it be thorowe ouer³ owne wickednesse abused. And therfore wo be to⁴ them that make the good Creatures of God instruments of dampnation to them selues, by not vsing them, but abusing them. And yet, notwithstanding, it maye be said to hurte, or not to hurte, as it is abused or not abused; And wheras they would haue the abuse of apparell (if any be) taken away, and the apparell to remain still, it is impossible to supplant the one, without ⁵the extirpation of the other also. For it is trulye said, *sublata causa, tollitur effectus;* But not *subrepto⁶ effectu tollitur causa;* Take away the cause and the effecte falleth,⁷ but not contrarylye, take away the effect and the cause falleth.⁷ The⁸ efficiente cause of Pride is gorgiouse attire; ⁹the effect is pride it selfe ingenerate by attire⁹: But to begin to plucke awaie the effecte (to wit, pride) and not to take away the cause first (namelie sumptuouse attyre) is as if a man, intendinge to supplante a Tree by the rootes, should begin to pull the fruite and braunches onelye; or, to pull downe heauen, should dig in the earthe, workinge altogether preposterouslie and indyreclye.¹⁰ And the reason is,¹¹ these two collateral Cofins, apparell and Pride (the Mother and Daughter of mischiefe) are so combineate together, and incorporate the one in ¹²the other, as the one can hardlie be dyuorced¹³ from the other, without the distruiction of them both. To¹⁴ the accomplishmente wherof, God graunte that thos holsome lawes, sanctiōns, and statuts, which, by our most gracious and serene princeffe (whome Iesuſ preserue for euer)

^{1—1} withall B.

³ through our F.

⁴ to *not in* F.

† leaf 17, back. Appa[rell] the Mother of Pride. B.

⁶ sublato B, E, F.

⁷ fayleth F.

⁸ The externe B, E, F. ^{9—9} *not in* F. ¹⁰ and contrarily *added in* F.

¹¹ is for that B, E, F.

¹³ plucked F.

¹⁴ For F.

and her noble and renoumed Progenitors, haue beene promulgated and enacted hertofore, may be put in execution. For, in my opinion, it is as impossible for a man to were preciose apparell and gorgious attyre, and not to be proude therof (for if he be not proud therof, why doth he weare suche riche attire, wheras meale¹ner is both better [^{* leaf 18. B *}] cheape, easier to be had, as warme to the bodie, and as decent and comly to any chaste christians eye) as it is for a man to cary fire in his bosome and not to burne. Therfore, would God euery man might be compelled to weare apparell according to his degree, estat, and condition of life ; which, if it were brought to passe, I feare least some who ruffle now in filks, veluets, satens, damasks, gold, filuer, and what not,² shold be glad to weare frize cotes, & glad if they might get them.³

<sup>Vnpossible not
to be proud of
rich attyre.</sup>

Spud. What is your opinion ? did the people of the former world so much esteeme of apparell as we doe at this present day, without respect had either to sex, kind, order, degree, estat, or callinge ?

Philo. No doubt but in all ages they had their imperfections⁵ and [^{* D 3}] faults, for *Hominis est errare, labi et decipi*; it is incident to man to erre, to fall, and to be deceiued. But, notwithstandinge, as the wicked haue always affected, not onelie pride in apparell, but also all other vices whatsoeuer, so the chaste, Godly, and sober Christians haue euer eschewed this exceſſe of apparell, hauing a ſpeciall regard to weare ſuche attyre as might neyther offend the maiefie of God, prouoke them felues to pride, nor yet offend⁶ any of⁶ their Brethren in any reſpecte. But (as I haue ſaid) not onely the Godlie haue detested and hated this vaine ſuperfluitye of apparell in all tymes ſince the beginning of the Worlde, but also the verie panims, the heathen *Philofophers*, who knew not God (though otherwife wylle Sages and great Clarks), haue contemned it as a pestiferouse euill ; in ſo muche as they haue writ (almoft) whole volumes againſt the ſame, as is to be ſeen in moft of their Books yet extant.

<sup>The Godly
haue euer de-
tested pride of
apparell.</sup>

<sup>The verie
heathen haue
contemned
sumptuous
apparell.
[? leaf 18, back.
B.]</sup>

Spud. Are you able to proue that ?

Philo. That I am, verie eaſilye ; but of an infnyte number, take a tafte of theſe few. *Democrats* beeing demaunded, wherin the ^{Testimonies of}

* leaf 18. The godly abhorre Pride. B.

² not els F.

³ them too F.

⁵ blemishes added in F.

⁶ not in B, E, F. † leaf 18, back. Virtue the comeliest ornament. B.

bethen people
who derided
riche atture.

[^x D 3, back]

Vertue is the
comlyest orna-
ment of all.

[^z leaf 19. B.]

Diogines his
answerty.⁴

[^z D 4]

[The example of
a Philosopher,
deriding
pride. E, F.]

bewtie and comlie feature of man, or woman, confissted? aunswered, in fewnes of speaches well tempered together, in virtue, in integrity ¹of life, and fuche like. *Sophocles*, seinge one weare gorgeouse apparell, said to him, ‘thou foole! thy apparell is no ornamente to the, but a manifest shewe of thy follie.’ *Socrates*, being asked what was the greatest ornamente in a woman, answered, ‘that which most sheweth her chasfitie, and good demeanoure of body and mind, & not sumptuous attyre, which rather sheweth her adulterate life.’ *Aristotle* is so distict² in this point, that he would haue men to vse meaner apparell than are permitted them by the lawe. The Wife of *Philo*, the *Philosopher*, being vpon a tyme demaudned why she ware not gold, siluer and preciuose garments, said, she thought the vertues of her husbande sufficiente ornaments for her. *Dionysius*, the king, sente the richest garments in all his wardrobes to the no³ble Women of the *Lacedemonians*, who returned them from whence they came, sayinge, they would be a greater shame to them than honore. Kinge *Pirrus* sente riche attyre to the Matrones of Rome, who abhorred them as menstrual clowtes. The conceiued opinion amonkest the Grecians to this day is, that it is neither gold nor gorgiouise attyre that adorneth either Man or Woman, but vertuous conditions, and such like. *Diogines* so much contemned sumptuous attyre, that he chose rather to dwell in wildernesſe amon⁵gest brute beasts all his lyfe longe, than in the pomposse courts of mightie kings one daye to be commorante.⁶ For he thought, if he had the ornaments of the minde, that he was than faire ynoughe, and fine inough also, not needing any more. A certen other *Philosopher* addressed himselfe towards a kings courte in his Philosophers attyre, that is, in meane, base and poore aray; But soe fone as the Officers espied him, they cried, ‘awaie with that rogue! what dothe he soe nie the kinges maiesties courte?’ The poore Philosopher, seing it lighten so fast, retyred back for feare of their thunderclappes,⁷ and repayringe home, appaireled himselfe in riche Attyre, and came againe marchinge towards the court: he was no sooner in sight, but euery one receiued him plaufiblie, and with great submision and reuerence. When he came in presence of the kinge, and other

² strict F.

⁴ austerie [austerity] in B, E.

+ leaf 19. Philosophers examples. B.

⁶ resiant F.

⁷ thunderboltes F.

mighty potentats, he kneled¹ down, and² ceased not to kiffe³ his⁴ [3 leaf 19, back B.*] garments. The king and nobles marueylinge not a litle therat, asked him, wherfore he did so? Who aunswered, ‘O noble kinge! it is no marueyle; for that whiche my vertue and knowledge could not doe, my Apparell hath brought to passe: For I, comminge to thy gates in my PHILOSOPHERS⁴ weede, was repelled; but hauing put vpon me [4 D 4, back] this riche attyre, I was brought to thy prefence with as great veneration and worship as could be.’ Wherby is⁵ to be feene in what detestation he had the stinkinge Pride of apparell, takeing this occasion to giue the King to vnderstand the inormious abuse thereof, and so to remoue the same as a pestilent euill out of his whole dominion & kingdome. I read of a certen other *Philosopher* that came before a king, who, at the same tyme, had inuited his nobles to a feast or banquet: the Philosopher comming in and seinge no place to spit in (for euery place was hanged with cloth of gold, cloth of filuer, tinsell, arrace, tapestrie, and⁶ what not⁶) came to the kinge and spat in his face, saying, ‘it is meet (o king!) that I spit in the fowlest place.’ This good *Philosopher* (as we may gather) went about to withdraw the king from taking pleasure or delight in the vaine glistering shewe, either of apparell or any thing els, but rather to haue consideration of his owne filthynes, miserie & finne, not rysing vp into pride, and spitting against heauen, as he did, by diliighting in prowde attyre and gor⁷geouse ornaments. Thus we see the verie painims and heathen [7 leaf 20. B.+] people haue from the beginning dispysed this exceffe of apparell, both in them selues and⁸ others, whose examples heerin god graunt we may folowe.

⁹ Spud. But you are not able to proue that any good Christians¹⁰ D 5] euer set light¹⁰ by precious attire, but alwayes esteemed it as a speciall ornament to the whole man. As for these Heathen, they were fooles, neyther is it materiall what they vsed, or vsed not.

Philo. I am able to proue that euen from the beginning of the world, the chosen and peculiar people of God haue contemned proude¹¹ Apparel, as things (not onely) not necessarie, but also as very euilles

The example
of a Philoso-
pher deriding
the pompe of
the World.

The example
of a Philoso-
pher who spat
in the kings
face.

Probation that
the former
world hath

¹ kneelyng, B, E, F.

² not in B, E, F.

* leaf 19, back. The Heathen dispise Pride. B. ⁵ it is E, F.

⁶—⁶ the like F. [†] leaf 20. The base attire of the former age. B.

⁸ and in F.

¹⁰ lightlie F.

¹¹ gorgious F.

48 Christ his example for Ap[parell]. The Anatomie

contemned
pompouse
attyre.

themselues, and haue gone both meanely and poorely in their vsuall attyre. What say you to our Grandfather *Adam*, and *Eua* our Mother? Were they not clothed in peltes, and skins of beasts? Was not this a meane kinde of Apparell, thinke you? Was it not vnsuittynge¹ to see a woman inuested² all ouer in leather? But yet the Lord thought it precious and seemelie ynough for them. What saye you to the noble Prophet of the world, *Elias*? did hee not walke in the solitude³ of this worlde in a simple playne mantell, or gowne, girded to him with a girdle of leather? *Elizeus*, the Prophet, did not he in a manner the verie same? And what say you to *Santuell*, the golden mouthed Prophet, notwithstanding that ⁴hee was an Archprophet, and a chiefe seer of that time? did hee not walke so meanely, as *Saul*, seking his fathers Asses, could not know him from the rest, but asked him, where was ⁵the seers house? This must needs argue that he went not richer then the common sorte of people in his time? The Children of *Israell*, beeing the chosen people of God, did they not weare their Fathers attire fortie yeeres togither in the wildernes? was not *John the Baptisit* clothed with a garment of Camels heare, girded with a thong of the skin of the same, in sted of a girdle or succinctorie about his loines? *Peter*, the deere Apostle of our Sauiour, was not distinct from the rest of his Fellowes,⁶ Apostles, by any kinde of rich apparel, for then the maid would not haue said, ‘I know thee by thy tung,’ but rather, ‘by thy apparel.’ The Apostle *Paul*, writing to the *Hebrues*, saith that the persecuted Church, bothe in his time and before his dayes, were clothed, some in Sheep skinnes, and some in Gote skinnes, some in Camels heare, some in this, and some in that, and some in whatsoeuer they coulde get; for if it would hide their shameful parts, and kept⁷ them from the colde, they thought it sufficient, they required no more. but, to speake in one woord for all: did not our Sauiour *Iesus Christ* weare the very same fashion of apparell that his Cuntry-men vsed, that is, a cote without a feame, either knit or weaued⁸? which fashions the ⁹*Palestyrians* vse there yet to this day, without any alteration, or chaunge, as it is

¹ straunge F ² couered F. or wildernes added in F.

* leaf 21, back. Christ his example for Appa[rell]. B. ⁶ fellow F.

⁷ keepe F.

⁸ wouen F.

† leaf 21. Greate superfluitie of Ap[parell]. B.

Elias.

Elizeus.

Samuell.

[⁴ leaf 21, back.
B. †]

[⁵ D 5, back.]

The children
of Israell.

John Baptist.

Peter.

[The early
Church.]

The humility
and pouertie of
Christe vpon
earth.
[⁹ leaf 21. B. †]

thought. This his attyre was not¹ very hanfome (one would think): [^{¶ D 6}] at the² leaſt it was not curious, or new fangled, as ours is; ³but, as the Poet wel ſaid,³ *nitimur in vetitum, ſemper cupimusque negata*, we deſire things forbideſ, and couet thinges denied vs. We lothe the⁴ ſimpliciteſ of Chrifte, and abhorring the christian pouertie, and godly mediocritieſ of our Forefaſhers in apparell, are⁵ neuer content except wee haue ſundry ſutes of apparell, one diuers from an other, ſo as our Preſſes crack withall, our Cofers bruft, and our backs sweat with the cariage therof: we muſt haue one ſute for the forenoone, another for the afternoone, one for the day, another for the night; one for the workeday, another for the holieday, one for ſommer, another for winter; one of the newe fashion, an other of the olde, one of this colour, another of that, one cutte, an other whole, one laced, another without, one of golde, and other of filuer, one of filkes and veluetes, and⁶ another of clothe, with more diſference and varietie than I can exprefſe. god be merciful vnto vs, and haſten hiſ kingdome,⁷ that all imperfeſtions may be doon away⁷!

[Modern extravagance]

[* Side-note here
in B, E, F.]

* Superfluitie of
apparell With
dyuerſtie of
fashions.

A perticuler Discription of apparell in Ailgna by degrees.

⁹[Spud.] YOu haue borne me in hand of many and greeuous abufes reigning in *Ailgna*,⁸ but now ſetting aparte theſe¹⁰ ambagies and¹¹ ſuperfluouſ vagaries, I pray you deſcribe vnto me more¹² particularly the fundrie abufes in¹³ Apparell there uſed; running ouer by degrees the whole ſtate thereof, that I maye fee, as it were, the perfect Anatomie of that Nation in Apparell, whiche thinge I greatlye deſire to knowe.

[¶ leaf 21, back.
B.t]

[¶ D 6, back]

Philo. Your reu'eſt ſeemeth both¹⁴ intricate and harde,¹⁴ conſider-

² the *not in* F.

^{3—3} For of us that Poeticall Apothegme maie very well be verified B, E, F.

⁴ this F.

⁵ wee are F.

⁶ and *not in* B, E, F.

^{7—7} for his electes ſake B, E, F.

⁸ England F.

+ leaf 21, back. Hattes of ſundry fashions. B.

¹⁰ theſe impertenent B, E, F (ambagies *not in* F).

¹² more *not in* B, E.

¹³ of B, E, F.

^{14—14} harde and intricate B, E, F.

ing¹ there bee *Tot tantæ mæryadæs inuentionum*, So manie and so fonde fashions, and inuentions of Apparell euerie day.¹ But yet, leſt I might be iudged vnwilling to shewe you what pleasure I can, I will affay (*pro virili mea, omnibus neruulis vndique extensis*)², with all the might and force I can, to ſatisfie your deſire. Wherefore, to begin first with their Hattes.

³Sometimes they were⁴ them ſharp on the crowne, pearking vp like a⁵ ſphere,⁶ or hafte of a ſteeple, ſtanding a quarter of a yard aboue the crowne of their headeſ; ſome more, ſome leſſe, as pleafe the phantasies of their⁷ mindes. Otherſome be flat and broad on the crowne, like the battlements⁸ of a house. An other fort haue round crownes, ſometimes with one kinde of bande, ſometime with an other; nowe blacke, now white, now ruffet, now red, now greene, now yellowe, now this, nowe that, neuer content with one colour or fashion two dayes⁹ to an ende. And thus in vanitie they ſpende the¹⁰ Lorde his treasure,¹¹ conſuming their golden yeares and filuer dayes in wickednes & fin. And as the fashions bee rare and ſtraunge, ſo¹²are the thinges¹³ wherof their Hattes be made, diuerſe alſo; for ſome are of filke, ſome of veluet, ſome of taffetie, ſome of farcenet, ſome of wooll: & which is more curiouſ, ſome of a certaine kind of fine haire,¹⁴ far fetched and deare bought, you maye bee ſure¹⁵; And ſo common a thinge it is, that euerie Seruingman, Countreyman, and other, euen all indifferently, do weare of theſe hattes. For he is of no account or estimation amongſt men,¹⁶ if hee haue not a veluet or a¹⁷ taffatice Hatte, and that muſte bee pincked and cunningly carued of the beſte fashion; And good profitable Hattes bee they,¹⁸ for the longer you weare them the fewer holes they haue.¹⁹ Besides this, of

¹—¹ the innumerable *meriades* of ſondrie fashions daiely inuented amongſt them B, E, F.

²—² not in F. ³ A description of the Hattes of England added in F.

⁴ vſe B, E, F.

⁵ the B, E, F.

⁶ ſpearē F.

⁷ their inconstant B, E; their wauering F.

⁸ battlement F.

⁹ moneths F.

¹⁰ leaf 22. Varietie of Hattes. B.

¹¹—¹² is the ſtuffe B, E, F.

¹³—¹³ These thei call Beuer hattes of xx, xxx, or xl ſhillinges price fetched from beyond the ſeas, from whence a greate ſorte of other varieties* doe come besides B, E, F. (* vanities F.)

¹⁴ them F.

¹⁵ a not in F.

¹⁶ these B, E, F.

¹⁷ F adds:—They haue also Taffeta hattes of all coloures quilted, and im-

The diuersity
of hattes in
Aylgna.

[¹⁰ D 7]
[¹¹ leaf 22. B. t.]

The ſundry
things wherof
hattes be
made.

late there is a new fashion of wearing their Hattes sprung vp amongst them, which they father vpon the Frenchmen, namely to weare them without bandes; but how vnseemelie (I will not say how Affy) a fashion that is, let the wise judge. Notwithstanding, howe euer it bee, if it please them, it shall not displease me. An other¹ sort (as phantafticall as the rest) are content with no kind of Hatt without a great bunche² of feathers of diuerse and fundrie colours, peaking on toppe of their heades, not vnylike (I dare not say) Cockfcombes, but ³as sternes of pride and en⁴signs of ⁵vanitie; and³ these fluttering fayles and fethered flags of defiance to vertue (for so they are⁶) are so aduaunced in *Ailgna*, that euery Childe hath them in his hat or cap: many get good liuing by dying and selleng of them, and not a fewe prooue them selues more then fooles⁷ in wearing of them.

Wering of
hlettes without
bandes.

[Wearyng of
Feathers in
hlettes. B, E, F.]

[⁴ D 7, back]
[⁵ leaf 22, back
B.t]

Spud. These Fethers argue the lightnes of their fond imaginations, and plainly conuince them of instabilitie and folly; for sure I am, hanosome they cannot be, therefore Badges⁸ of pride they must needs be, which I think none wil weare, but such as be like them selues. But to your intended discourse.

Philo. They haue great and monstorous ruffes, made either of Cambrick, holland, lawn, or els of some other the finest cloth that can be got for money, whereof some be a quarter of a yard deep, yea, some more, very few lesse; So that they stand a full quarter of a yarde (and more) from their necks, hanging ouer their shoulder poyns, infsted of a vaile.¹⁰ ¹¹But if *Aeolus* with his blasts, or *Neptune* with his stormes chaunce to hit vpon the crafie bark of their brused ruffes, then they goe flip flap in the winde, like rags flying¹² abroad, ¹³and lye¹³ vpon their shoulders like the dishcloute of a flut.¹¹ But wot

Great ruffes
deformed &
ill fauored.

broydered with golde, siluer, and silke of sundrie sortes, with monsters, antiques, beastes, foules, and all maner of pictures and images vpon them, wonderfull to behold.

¹ And another B, E, F.

² plume F.

^{3—8} fooles bables if you list: And yet notwithstanding F.

+ leaf 22, back. Feathers, Flagges of vanitie. B. ⁶ be E, F.

⁷ Asses F.

⁸ Ensignes. F.

⁹ heading:—Of great Ruffes in England. F. ¹⁰ Pentise F.

^{11—11} F has: But if it happen that a shoure of raine catch them before they can get harbour, then their great ruffes strike sayle, and downe they fall, as dishcloutes fluttering in the winde, like Windmill sayles.

¹² that flew B, E.

^{13—13} lyng B, E.

52 Great Ruffes and Supportasies. The Anatomie

[^x D 8]

Two arches or
pillers to vn-
der proppe the
kingdom of
great ruffes
withall, *vide-*
lacet support-
asses and
starche.

[⁵ leaf 23. B.*]

you what? the deuil, as he in the fulnes of his malice, first inuented these ¹great ruffes, so hath hee now found out also two great stayes² to beare vp and ³maintaine that³ his kingdome of ⁴great ruffes⁴ (for the deuil is ⁵king and prince ouer all the children of pride): the one arch or piller wherby⁶ his kingdome of great ruffes is vnderproped, is a certaine kinde of liquide matter which they call Starch, wherin the deuill hath willed⁷ them to wash and due his⁸ ruffes wel, which, ⁹when they be⁹ dry, wil then stand stiffe and inflexible about their necks.¹⁰ The other piller is a certaine deuice made of wyers, crested for the purpose, whipped ouer either with gold, thred, filuer or silke, & this hee calleth a supportasse, or vnderpropper. This is to be applyed round about their necks vnder the ruffe, vpon the out side of the band, to beare vp the whole frame & body of the ruffe from falling and hanging down.

Spud. This is a deuice puffing all the deuices that euer I sawe or heard of. Then I perceiue the deuill not onely inuenteth mischeif, but also ordaineth instrumentall¹¹ meanes to continue the same. These bands are so chargeable (as I suppose) that¹² but fewe haue of them: ¹³if they haue, they are better monyed then I am.¹³

[^{x5} D 8, back.]

Euery pesant
hath his stately
bands &
monsterouse
ruffes, how
costly souer
they be.

[¹⁷ leaf 23, back.
B †]

Philo. So few haue¹⁴ them, as almost none is without them; for euery one, how meane or ¹⁵simple soever they bee otherwise, will haue of them three or foure apeece for fayling. And as though Camericke,¹⁶ Holland, Lawne, and the finest cloth that maye bee got anie where for money, were not good inough, they haue them wrought all ouer with silke woorke, and peraduenture laced with ¹⁷ golde and filuer, or other costly lace of no small price. And whether they haue Argente¹⁸ to mayntaine this geare withall, or not, it¹⁹ forceth not muche,¹⁹ for they will haue it by one meane or other, or els they

² pillars B, E, F. ^{3—3} vphold this F. ^{4—4} Pride withall F.

* leaf 23. Great Ruffes and Supportasses. B. ⁶ wherewith F.

⁷ learned F. ⁸ their B, E, F. ^{9—9} beyng B, E, F.

¹⁰ F adds:—And this starch they make of diuers substances, sometimes of Wheate flower, of branne, and other graines: sometimes of rootes, and somtimes of other thinges: of all colours and hewes, as White, Redde, Blewe, Purple, and the like.

¹¹ instrumentes and F. ¹² that comes before as F

^{13—13} such as are of the richer sort F. ¹⁴ haue of F. ¹⁶ Cambricke F.

† leaf 23, back. Costly shirtes and bandes in Ailg. B. ¹⁸ Unde F.

^{19—19} is not greatly material B, E, F.

will eyther¹ sell or² morgage their Landes³ (as they haue good store)³ on Suters hill & Stangate hole,⁴ with losse of their lyues at Tiburne in a rope.⁵

Spud. The stafe and condition of that Land must needes be miserable, and in tyme growe to greate scarcitie and dearth, where is such vayne⁶ Prodigalitie, and⁶ exceſſe of⁷ all thynges⁷ vſed.

8 Philo. Their Shirtes, which all in a manner doe weare (for if the Nobilitie or Gentrie onely did weare them, it were somedeal⁹ more tollerable) are eyther of Camericke, Holland, Lawne, or els of the finest cloth that maye bee got. And of these kindes of Shirts euerie one now doth weare alike: so as it may be thought our Forefathers haue made their Bandes & Ruffes (if they had any at all) of groſſer cloth and baser ſtuffe than the worſt of our shirtes¹⁰ are made of now [to E 1] a dayes. And theſe ſhurts (ſomtimes it happeneth) are wrought through out with nedle work of filke, and ſuche like, and curiouſlie ſtitched with open ſeame, and many other knackes beſydes, mo than I can deſcribe.¹¹ [In ſo much as I haue heard of Shirtes that haue cost ſome ten ſhillyngeſ, ſome twentie, ſome forty, ſome five pound, ſome twentie Nobles and (which is horriblie to¹² heare) ſome ten [to leaf 24. B.+] pounde a peece, yea, the meanest shirt that commonly is worne of any, doeft cost a crowne, or a noble at the leaſt: and yet this is ſcarſly thought fine enough for the ſimpleſt person that is. B, E, F.]

Spud. Theſe be goodly ſhurts indeed, & ſuch yet¹³ as will not¹⁴ chafe their tender ſkinnes,¹⁵ nor¹⁶ ulcerat their¹⁷ lyllie white¹⁵ bodyes; or if they¹⁸ do, it wil not be much to their greeuances, I dare be bound. Is it anie maruell, ſi *Cristas erigant & cornua attollant*, if they ſtand vpon their pantoffles, and hoſfe vp their fayles on highe, hauinge

¹ eyther not in B, E, F. ² or at the leaſt F. ^{3—3} not in F.

⁴ F adds, and Salisburie plaine.

⁵ F adds:—& in ſure token therof, they haue now newly found out a more monſtrous kind of ruffe of xii. yea, xvi. lengthes a peece, ſet 3 or 4 times double, & is of ſome, fitlie called: *Three ſteppes and a halfe to the Gallows*.

⁶ vayne comes after and in B, E, F. ^{7—7} things is F.

⁸ heading in F:—Of costly Shirtes in England. ⁹ not in F.

¹¹ recount F. ¹ leaf 24. Nice Appa[rell] make tender bodies. B, F.

¹³ yet not in B, E, F. ¹⁴ neither B, E, F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ nor yet fret their delicate F. ¹⁶ nor not in B, E.

¹⁷ tender fleshe, nor yet make perforation into their added in B, E.

¹⁸ it F.

[New kind of Ruffes, called Three ſteppes and a halfe to the Gallows. F.]

The shirts
vſed in Aulnay

[The cost of these
Shirts.]

[to leaf 24. B.+]

these dyamond shurts on their ¹ delicate bodies¹: but how soeuer it is, I gather by your words that this must needs be a nice and curious² People, who ³are thus nusseled vp³ in such daintie attyre.

Philo. It is very true, for this their curioſity, and niceſes in apparell (as it were) tranſnatureth them,⁴ makinge⁵ them weake, tender and infirme, not able to abide ſuch ⁶sharp conſlicts and bluſteriſt ſtormes⁶ as many other people, both abroade farre from them, and in their confiſes nie to them, do daylie⁷ ſuftaine. I haue hard my Father, with other wyſe Sages affirme, that in his tyme, within the compaffe of foure or fyue ſcore yeres, when men went clothed in black or white frize coates, in hofen of Hufwyues carzie of the fame colore,⁸ that the ſheep bore⁹ them (¹⁰the want of making and wering of which clothe, together with the exceilie wering of filks, veluets, ſatens, damafks, taſſeties, and ſuch like, hath and doth make many a thouſand in *Ailgna*¹¹ as poore mendicants¹¹ to begge their bread) wheroſe ſome weare ſtraiſt to the thigh, oþerſome liþle bigger: and when they ware ſhurts of hempe or flax (but now theſe are to groſſe, our tender ſtomacks cannot eaſilye diſgēſt ſuch roughe and crude¹² meats) men weare ſtronger than we,¹³ helthfuller, fayrer complectiōned, longer lyuinge,¹⁴ and finallye, ten tymes harder than we,¹⁵ and able¹⁶ to ¹⁷beare out¹⁷ any forowe¹⁸ or paynes whatſoeuer. For be ſure, this pampering of our¹⁹ bodies makes them weker, tenderer and neſher, than otherwyſe they would be, if they were vſed to hardneſſe, and more ſubiect to receiue anye kind of i[n]feſtiōn or maladiē; And²⁰ rather abbreviat²¹ oure dayes by manye yeres, than extenuate our liues one minut of an houre.

Spud. I thinke no leſſe; for how ſtronge men were in tymes paſt, how long they lyued, and how helthfull they weare before ſuche Nicenses, and wayne pamperinge curioſitie was inuented, we may reade, and many that lyue at this daye can teſtifie. But now,

^{1—1} backes F.

² womaniſh kind of F.

^{3—3} thus pamper their bodies B, E, F. ⁴ them, and B. ⁵ and maketh F.

^{6—6} bluſteriſt ſtormes and ſharpe ſhowers F. ⁷ dayly beare and F.

⁸ bare F. ^{† leaf 14, back.} Men ſtrong in tymes paſt. B.

^{11—11} not in B, E, F.

¹² a hard F.

¹³ than we not in B, E, F. ¹⁴ liued F. ¹⁵ we be now B, E, F.

¹⁶ abler F. ^{17—17} undure F. ¹⁸ any diſcrasie B, E. ¹⁹ their B, E, F.

²⁰ and doeth B, E, F.

²¹ shorten F.

Nicenses of
apparell mak-
eth the body
tender.

[⁸ E x, back]
[¹⁰ leaf 24, back.
B. f.]

Our predeces-
ſors weringe
meaner appa-
rell were
ſtronge[r] than
we.

through our fond toyes and nice inuentions, we haue brought our selues into suche pufil¹lanimitie and effeminat condition, as we may ^[1 E 2] see me rather² nice dames and yonge³ gyrls than puissant⁴ agents or manlie⁴ men, as our⁵ Forefathers haue bene.

[5 leaf 25. B.*]

⁶ *Philo.* Their dublettes are noe leſſe monſtrous than the reſte; For now the fashion is to haue them hang downe to the middefte⁷ of their theighes, or at leaſt to their priuie members, beeing ſo harde-quilted, and⁸ ſtuffed, bombaſted and ſewed, as they can⁹ verie hardly eyther ſtoupe downe,¹⁰ or decline¹¹ them ſelues¹² to the grounde, ſoe ſtyffe and ſurdy they stand about them.

The monſtrous
dublettes in
Ailgna.

Now, what handſomnes can be in theſe dublettes whiche ſtand on their bellies like, or¹³ muche bigger than, a mans codpeece (ſo as¹⁴ their bellies are thicker than all their bodyes beſyde) let wyſe men iudge; For for¹⁵ my parte, handſomnes in them I ſee none, and muche leſſe proſyte. And¹⁶ to be plaine, I neuer ſawe any weare them, but I ſuppoſed him to be a man inclined to gourmandice, gluttonie, and ſuche like.¹⁶

For what may theſe great bellies ſignifie els than that either they are ſuche, or els¹⁷ are affeſted that way? ¹⁷ This is the trueſt ſignification that I could euer¹⁸ preſage or diuynge¹⁸ of them. And this maye euerye one¹⁹ iudge of them that ſeeth them; for certaine I am there was neuer any kinde of apparell euer inuented that could more diſproportion the body of man then theſe Dublets with great bellies, hanging downe beneath their *Pudenda* (as I²⁰ haue ſaid), & ſtuffed with foure, fife or fix pound of Bombaſt at the leaſt. I ſay nothing of what their Dub-

Great bellied
dublets betok-
en gourmand-
ice, gluttony,
and ſuch like.

[19 E 2, back]

[20 leaf 25, back.
B.||]² rather ſeeme F.³ wanton B, E; wayriſh F.⁴—⁴ valorous and hardy F.

* leaf 25. Monsterous Dublets in Ailgna. B.

⁶ heading to chapter:—English Doublets. F.⁷ middle B, E, F.⁸ and not in B, E, F.⁹ neither woorke, nor yet well plaie in them, through the excesſive heate † thereof: & therefore are forced to weare them loſe about them for the moſt part otherwise they could added in B, E, F. († F adds and ſtiffneſſe)¹⁰ downe not in B, E, F.¹¹ bowe F. ¹² themſelues not in B, E.¹³ as big or F.¹⁴ that F. ¹⁵ 2nd for not in F.¹⁶—¹⁶ besides that I ſee no good end wherto thei ſerue, except it be to ſhewe the diſpoſition of ye wearer, how he is inclined, namely †, to gluttonie gourmandice, riotte\$, and excesse. B, E, F. († as namelie F; § drunkenneſſe added in F.)¹⁷—¹⁷ would be thought to be ſuch F.¹⁸—¹⁸ gather F.

|| leaf 25, back. Pride in Dublets, and Hose, B.

Dublettes of
dyuerse¹ fash-
ions.

lets be made, some of Saten, Taffatie, silk, Grogram,² Chamlet, gold, filuer, & what not; flashed, iagged, cut, carued, pincked and laced with all kinde of costly lace of diuers and sundry colours, for if I shoulde³ stond ypon ⁴these particularities,⁴ rather time then matter would be wanting.

Spud. These be the strangest doublets that euer I heard of; and the furdest from hansomnes in euery respect, vnlesse I be deceiued.

Philo. Then haue they Hosen, which as they be of diuers fashions, so are they of sundry names. Some be called french-hose, some gally-hose,⁶ and some Venitians. The french-hose are of two diuers makings, for the common french-hose (as they list to call them) contayneth length, breadth, and fidenes sufficient, and is made very round. The other contayneth neither length, breadth nor fidenes (beeing not past a quarter of a yarde side) wherof some be paned, cut and drawne out with costly ornaments, with Canions annexed⁷ reaching down beneath their knees.

[Gally hosen. E,
F.]

[⁸ E 3]

[¹¹ leaf 26. B.+]

[* Side-note here
in B.]

⁸The Gally-hosen are made very large and wide, reaching downe to their knees onely, with three or foure gardes a peece laid down along either hose. And the Venetian-hosen, they reach beneath the knee to the gartering place to⁹ the Leg,¹⁰ where they are tyed finely with¹¹ silk points, or some such like, and laied on also with rewes of lace,¹² or gardes as the other before. And yet notwithstanding all this is not sufficient, except they be made of silk, veluet, saten, damask, and other such precious things¹³ beside: yea, euery one, Seruing man and other inferiour to them, in euery condition, wil not sticke to flaunte it out in these kinde of hosen, with all other their apparel sutable therunto.

* The great ex-
cesse v̄ed in
hosen.

In times past, Kings (as olde Historiographers in their Bookes yet extant doo recorde) would not dislaine to weare a paire of hosen of a Noble, tenne Shillinges, or a Marke price, with all the rest of their apparel after the same rate; but now it is a small matter to bestowe twentie nobles, ten pound, twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a

¹ diuers B, E, F.

² grograine B, E, F.

³ could F.

⁴—⁴ particullarie F.

⁵ heading in F : Costly Hosen in Englannde.

⁶ Gallie in B, E ; Gallie hosen F.

⁷ adioyned F. ⁹ of F.

¹⁰ beneath the knee added in B. [†] leaf 26. Great excesse in hose. B.

¹² of lace not in F.

¹³ stuffe F.

hundred pound of one paire of Breeches. (*God be mercifull vnto vs!*)¹

Spud. This is a wunderful exceſſe as euer I hearde of, woorthy with the Swoorde² of *Inſtice* rather to be puniſhed, then with paper and pen to be³ fo gentlie³ confuteſed.⁴

Philo. Then haue they netherſtocks to theſe gay hofen, not of cloth (though neuer fo fine) for that is thought to baſe, but of *Iarnſey* worſted,⁵ filk, thred, and ſuch like, or els at the leaſt of the neinf yarn that can be,⁶ and fo curiouſlye knit with open feam down the leg, with quirks and clocks about the ancles,⁸ and ſometime (haply) interlaceſed with gold or filuer threds, as is wunderful to behold. And to ſuſh⁹ inſolency &¹⁰ outrage it is now growen, that euery one (almoſt) though otherwife verie poor, hauing ſcarce forteſhillings of wages by the yeer, wil¹¹ be ſure¹¹ to haue two or three paire of theſe filk neitherſtocks, or els of the neinf yarne that may be got, though the price of them be a Ryall¹² or twentie ſhillinges or more, as commonly it is; for how can they be leſſe, when as the very knitting of them is worth a noble or a royll, and ſome much more? The time hath beene when one might haue clothed all his body well¹³ for leſſe then a pair of theſe neitherſtocks wil coſt.

Spud. I haue ſeldome hearde the like: I think verely that *Sathan*, prince of darknes & Father of pride, is let looſe in the¹⁴ land, els it could neuer fo rage¹⁵ as it dooth; for the like pride (I am fully perſwaded) is not vſed vnder the ſonne of any nation or people how barberous fo euer: wherfore wo be to this age, and thrie accuſed be theſe dayes, which bring¹⁶ foorth¹⁷ ſuch fowre¹⁸ frutes; & vnhappie [17 E 4] are that people whom *Sathan* hath fo bewitched &¹⁹ captiuied in ſin.

*The Lord holde his hand of mercy ouer vs!*¹⁹

Philo. To theſe their netherſtocks, they haue corked ſhooes, pinsnets, and fine pantofles, which beare them vp²⁰ a finger or two²⁰

[3 E 3, back*]
The diuersity
of neither-
ſtocks worne
in Ailgna.

[3 leaf 26, back.
B.+]

The miserie of
theſe daies.

¹ and yet is this thought no abuse neither added in B, E, F.
² Rodde F. ^{3—3} not in F. ⁴ confuted F. ⁶ crewell added in B, E, F.

* heading to chapter:—Costly Nether Stockins in England. F. ⁷ be got F.
† leaf 26, back. Costly netherstocks in Ailgna. B. ⁹ ſuch impudent B, E, F.

¹⁰ and shamefull B, E, F. ^{11—11} not ſtickle B, E, F. ¹² royal F.

¹³ from top to toe added in F. ¹⁴ that F. ¹⁵ ſo far exceed F.

¹⁶ bringeth F. ¹⁸ vnsauorie B, E, F.

^{19—19} captiuiate in Pride. (heading) Corked ſhooes in England. F.

^{20—20} two inches or more F.

Corked shoes,
Pantoffles and
pinsnets.

[¹ leaf 27. B.^{*}]

Pantoffles &
slippers are a let
to those that
go abrode in
them.

Pantoffles vn-
easie to go in.

[⁸ E 4, back]

[¹¹ leaf 27, back.
B.[†]]

The varytie
of coates and
Ierkins.

from the ground; wherof some be of white leather, some ¹ of black, and some of red, some of black velvet, some of white, some of red, some of green, raced, carued, cut, and stitched all ouer with silke, and laid on with golde, filuer, and such like: yet, notwithstanding,² to what good vses serue these pantofles,³ except it be to wear in a priuate house, or in a mans Chamber to keepe him warme? (for this is the onely vse wherto they best serue in my iudgement) but to go abroad in them, as they are now vsed al together, is rather a let or hinderance to a man then otherwise; for shal he not be faine to knock and spurn at euery ⁴ stome, wall,⁴ or post to keep them on his feet?⁵ wherfore, to disclose euen the bowels of my iudgement vnto you,⁵ I think they be rather worne abrode for niceenes, then either for any easie which they bring (for the contrary is mooste true), or any hansomnes which is in them. For how shoulde they be easie, when⁶ as the heele hangeth an inch or two ouer the flipper on⁷ the ground? Insomuch as I haue knownen diuers mens legs fwel with the same.⁸ And handsome how shoulde they be, when⁹ as with their flipping & flapping⁹ vp and down in the dirte¹⁰ they exaggerate a mountain of mire, & gather a heape of clay & baggage together, loding the wearer with importable burthen.¹⁰

Spud. Those kinde of pantoffles can neither ¹¹ be so handsome, nor yet so warme as other vsuall¹² common shooes be, I think. Therfore the weringe of them abrode rather importeth a Nicenes (as you say) in them that weare them, than bringeth any other commodytie, els vnlesse I be deceiued.

¹³ *Philo.* Their coates and Ierkins, as they be diuerse in colors, so be they diuerse in fashions; for some be made with colors, some without, some close to the bodie, some loofe,¹⁴ couering the whole

* leaf 27. Greate exceffe in shooes. B.

² I see not added in F.

³ doe serue added in F.

⁴—⁴ wall, stone F.

⁵—⁵ And therefore to tell you what I judge of them F.

⁶ a man can not goe steadfastly in them, without slipping and sliding at euery pace ready to fall doun: Againe how shoulde thei be easie where added in B, E, F.

⁷ from B, E, F.

⁹—⁹ they go flip flap F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ casting vp mire to the knees of the wearer F.

+ leaf 27, back. Coates and Ierkins. B.

¹² not in F.

¹³ heading in F:—Coates and Ierkins in England.

¹⁴ which they cal Mandiliens E, F.

body downe to the theighe, like baggs or sacks that weare drawen ouer them, hidinge the dimensions and proportions¹ of the body: some are buttoned downe the breft, some vnder the arme, & some downe the back; some with flappes ouer the breft, some without, some with great sleeues, some with small, and ²some with non at all²; some pleated and crested behind, & curiouflye gathered; some not so³; & how many dayes ⁴(I might say hours, or minutis of hours,⁴ in the yeare) so many sortes of apparell some⁵ one man will haue, and thinketh it good prouision in faire weather to lay vp against ⁶a storme !⁶ But if ⁷they would consider that their clothes (except thoſe that they ^[7 E 5]weare vpon their backs) be non of theirs, but the poore, they would not heap vp their preffes and wardrobes as they do. Do they think that it is lawfull for them to haue millions⁸ of ſundry ſortes⁸ of apparell lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Iefus⁹ Christe die at their doores for wante of clothing? God commaundeth in his law, that there be no miserable poore man, nor begger amonget vs, but that euery one be prouided for and maintained of that abundance¹⁰ which God hath bleffed vs withal. But we thinke it a great

The ſhapes* of
coats and jer-
kins.
(* varitie (sic)
F.)

matter if we geue them an old ragged coate, dublet, or a paire of hosen, or els a penny or two, wheras not withſtanding we flow in abundance of all things. Than we thinke we are halfe way to heauen, and we need to do no more. If we geue them a peace of brown bread, a meſſe of porredge (nay, the ſtocks & priſon, with whippinge cheare now and than, is the beſt portion of almes which many Gentlemen geue) at our dores, it is counted meritorious, and a worke of ſupererogation, when we fare full delicatelye oure felues, feeding on many a dainty¹¹ diſh. There is a certen Citye in *Ailgna* called *Munidnol*,¹² where as the poore lye in *the*¹³ ſtreats vpon pallets of straw, and well if they haue that to, or els in the mire and dirt, as commonlie it is ſene, ¹⁴hauing neither houſe to put in their heads, couering to keep them from the cold, nor yet to hide their shame withall, penny to buy them sustenance, nor any thing els, but are permitted¹⁵ to dye in the ſtreats like dogges, or beaſts, without anie

The poore
ought to be
prouided for
[9 leaf 28. B.1]

Our ſmal re-
gard to the
poore.

[Londonium in
Anglia.]

Cold charitic
to the poore.
[14 E 5, back]

¹ lineaments B, E, F. ^{2—3} not in F. ³ so not in B, E, F. ^{4—4} not in F.

⁵ ſome ſome (sic) F. ^{6—6} foule F. ^{8—8} of ſutes F.

† leaf 28. Cold Charitie in Ailgna. B. ¹⁰ ſtore F. ¹¹ danity A.

¹² Londou F. ¹³ the not in F. ¹⁵ ſuffered B, E, F.

60 Turkish impietie, in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

mercie or compassion shewed to them at all. And if anye be sicke of the plague (as they call it) or any other¹ disease, their Maisters and Maistres² are so impudent³ (being⁴ it should seeme, at⁵ a league with Sathan, a couenant with Hell, and⁶ as it were obliged them-selues by⁶ obligation to⁷ the deuil neuer to haue to do with *the works of mercy*) as straight way thei throw them out of their dores. And so being caried foorth, either in carts or otherwyse,⁸ and thrown⁸ in the streats,⁹ there⁹ they end their dayes most miserably. Truely, Brother, if I had not seen it, I would scarly haue thought that the like Turkish cruelty had bene vsed in all¹⁰ the World. But they say *vnum tefis oculatus plus valet quam mille auriti*, one eye witnesse is better to be belyued than a thousand eare witnessses besydes. But to leaue these excursions, and to returne from whence I haue digressed, I think it the best; for I am perswaded, they will¹¹ as much respect¹¹ my words (or amend their maners) as the wicked¹² World did at¹³ the preaching¹⁴ of our Sauiour Christe Iesus; that is, iuft nothing at all.

[³ leaf 28, back.
B. ⁴]

The Turkish
impietie of
some towards
the poore
diseased.

[¹⁵ E 6]

The sundry
fashions of
clokes.

[¹⁹ leaf 29. B. [†]]

¹⁵ Spud. Well then, seeing they are suche a stifneckned People, leaue them to the Lord; and proceed to your former tractation.¹⁶

¹⁷ Philo. They haue clokes there also in nothing discrepante¹⁸ from the rest, of dyuerse and fundry colors, white, red, tawnie, black, greene, yellowe, ruffet, purple, violet, and infynite other colors: some of cloth, silk, veluet, taffetie,¹⁹ and such like, wherof some be of the Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion²⁰: Some short, scarsely reachinge to the gyrdlestead, or waft, some to the knee, and othersome traylinge vpon the ground (almost) liker gownes than clokes.²¹ These clokes must be garded, laced, & thorowly faced; and somtimes²¹ so lyned as the inner side standeth almost in as much as the

¹ other mortall B, E, F.

² Mistresses F.

* leaf 28, back. Turkishe impietie in Ailgna. B.

⁴ hauing made B, E, F (as added in F.)

⁵ at not in B, E, F.

⁶—⁶ an B, E; sealed an an F.

⁷ with B, E, F.

⁸—⁸ are laied doun either B, E, F; but E F have or laide

⁹—⁹ or els conueied to some olde house in the fieldes, or gardens, where for want of due sustentacion B, E, F. (and good tending added in F.)

¹⁰ any place of F. ¹¹—¹¹ regard as much F. ¹² former B. ¹³ at not in F.

¹⁴ of Noah, or the latter worlde at the preachyng added in B, E, F.

¹⁶ discourse F. ¹⁷ heading in F: Cloakes in Englande.

¹⁸ different F. [†] leaf 29. Costly Clokes in Ailgna. B. ²⁰ fashions F.

²¹—²¹ Then are thei garded with Veluette gardes, or els laced with costly lace,

outside : some haue sleevees, other some haue none ; some haue hoodes to pull ouer the head, some haue none ; some are hanged with points & tassels of gold, siluer, or silk, some without al this. But how foever¹ it be, the day hath bene when one might haue bought him two clokes for leſſe than now he can haue one of these clokes made for,² they haue ſuch ſtore of workmanſhip beftowed vpon them.

Spud. I am ſure they neuer learned this³ at the hands of our *Proconful*, and chief Prouoſt,³ Chrift Iefus, nor of any other *that euer lyued godly in the Lord* ; but rather out of the deceiptfull forge of their own braines haue they⁴ drawen⁵ this⁶ cursed Anatomy⁶ to their owne deſtruſtion⁷ in the end, except the⁸ repente.

Philo. They haue alſo bootehose which are to be wondered at ; for they be of the fyneſt cloth that may be got, yea, fine inough to make any band, ruffe, or flurt¹¹ needful to be worn : yet this is bad inough to were next their grefie boots. And would¹² God this weare all¹³ : but (oh,¹⁴ phy for shame !) they muſt be wrought all ouer, from the gartering place vpward, with nedle worke, clogged with ſilk of all colors, with birds, foules, beaſts, and antiques purtrayed all ouer in comlie¹⁵ forte.¹⁶ So that I haue knownen the very nedle work of ſome one payre of theſe bootehose to ſtand, ſome in iiiij pound, vi. pound, and ſome in x. pound a peece. Befides this, they are made ſo wyde to draw ouer all, and ſo longe to reach vp to the waſte, that as little, or leſſe, clothe would make one a reaſonable large ſhurte. But tufh ! this is nothing in comparifon of the reſte.

Spud. I would thinke that boote-hoſen of groffer lynnен, or els of¹⁷ wollen clothe, weare both warmer to ride in, as comly as the other, though not ſo fine, and a great deal more durable. And as for

either of golde, siluer, or at the leaſt of ſilke three or four fingers broade doun the back, about the skirtes, and euery where els. And now of late thei vſe to garde their clokes rounde about the skirtes with (bables) I ſhould ſaie Bugles, and other kinde of glasse, and all to ſhine to the eye. Besides al this, thei are ſo faced, and withal B, E, F.

¹ howeuer E, F. ² for *not in* F. ^{3—3} of our ſauiuour F.
⁵ ſucked E, F. ^{6—6} filthy poyſon F. ⁷ conuincion B, E, F. ⁸ they F.
[†] leaf 29, back. Great exceffe, in Boote hose. B. *Heading in* F : Boothoſe in England. ^{10—10} *not in* E. ¹¹ shirt of F.

¹² would to E, F. ¹³ all too F. ¹⁴ oh *not in* F. ¹⁵ ſumptuous B, E, F.
¹⁶ yea and of late, imbrooyerdered with Golde and Siluer very costly *added in* F.
¹⁷ *of not in* E.

The counting
house of all
euill is mans
braime.
[+ E 6, back]

¹⁹ leaf 29, back.
B.†
¹⁰ The vain ex-
ceſſe of bothe
hōſen ¹⁰

The varitie of
fashions con-
uince vs of
follic.

Bugled clokes.

62 Swoords, Rapiers and Daggers. The Anatomie

those geugawes wherwith you say they be blaunched and trimmed, they ferue to no end but to feade the wanton eyes of gazing fools, & planly argue the vertiginie, and instability of their more than fantastical brains.

[¹ E 7]
Swords and
daggers gilt
& damasked.
[² leaf 30. B.†]

[Scabbards and
sheaths of
velvet.]

[Why gilt
swords, and
daggers be
worne. E, F]

Lucc. x6.

¹ Phil. To these haue they their Rapiers, Swoords and Daggers, gilt twise or thrise ² ouer the hilts, with ³ [good Angell golde, or els argented ouer with filuer both within and without, and if it be true as I heare say it is, there be some hiltes made all of pure filuer itself, and couered with golde. Othersome at the least are Damasked, Vernished, and ingrauen marueilous goodly: and least any thyng should be wantyng to set forthe their pride, their] ³ scaberd and sheathes of ⁴ Velvet or the like; for leather, though it be more proffitable and as seemely, yet wil it not carie such a ⁵ porte or countenance like ⁶ the ⁵ other. And wil not these golden swoords & daggers almoste apale a man ⁷ (though otherwise neuer so stout a *Martialifl*) to haue any deling with them? for either to *that* end they be worne, or els other swoords, daggers and rapiers of bare yron and steele were as hanfom as they, & much more conduicible ⁸ to *that* end whereto swoords and rapiers should ferue, namely, ⁹ for a mans lawful and godly defence against his aduersarie in time of neceffitie. But wherfore they be so clogged with gold and filuer I know not, nor yet wherto this exceſſe ferueth I fee not; but certain I am, a great shewe of pride it is, an infallible token of vain glorie, and a greeuous offence to God, so prodigallie and licentiouslie ¹⁰ to lauish foorth his treasure, for which we must render accounts at the day of Iudgement, when it shall be faide to euerie one, *Redde rationem Vilicationis tuae*. Come, giue accounts of thy Stewardship.

¹ Heading in F:—Rapiers, Daggers, Swords, gilte in Englannde.

† leaf 30. Swordes, Rapiers, and Daggers. B. ^{3—3} in B, E, F.

⁴ are of B, E, F. ^{5—5} Maiesty or glorious shewe as the F. ⁶ as B, E.

⁷ thinke you added in F. ⁸ auailable F. ⁹ that is F. ¹⁰ wastifull F.

¹ A particulare Discription of the Abuses of Womens² [1² E 7, back;
leaf 30, back. B.]
apparell in Ailgna.

THus hauinge geuen thee a³ superficiall⁴ viewe, ⁵ or small taft⁵ (but not discouered the hundredth part) of the guyses of *Ailgna* in mens apparel, and of the abuses contained in the same, now wil I, with like celeritie of matter,⁶ impart vnto thee the guyse and feuerall Abuses [The abuses in women's apparel] of the apparell of wemen there vsed also: wherfore, geue attentiuue eare.

Sp. My eares be prest to heare: begin when you wil, and truely herin you shal pleasur me much, for I haue greatly desired to know thorowly the state of *that Land*, euen *a crepundiis* (as they say) from my tender yeres, for the great prayse I haue hard therof. Wherfore I pray you proceed to the same, & though I be vnable with any benefit to counteruail your great pains,⁷ yet *the Lord*, I doubt not, wil supplie my want.

Ph. The Lord our God is a mercifull God, & a bountiful Rewarder of euery one that trufsteth in him; but yet (such is the magnificency⁸ & liberalitie of that gentle sex) that I trufst I shall not be vnrewarded at their hands, if⁹ to be called a thousand knates be a sufficient guerdon for my pains. But though it wilbe¹⁰ a corrosive¹¹ to their hautie¹² stomacks, & a *nippitatum* to their¹³ tender brefts¹³ to heare their dirtie dreggs ript vp and cast in¹⁴ their dial¹⁵mond faces, yet [15 leaf 31. B.] hope¹⁶ing that they, feeing the horrour of their impieties, and tragically¹⁶ E 8] abuses laide open to the world (for now they sleep in the¹⁷ graue of obliuion) wil at the last, like good Conuerentes and¹⁸ Penitentiaries of *Christie Iesu*, leaue of their wickednes, call for mercie at the hands of God, repent and amend. I will proceed to my intended purpose.

² Womans F.

³ a taste or B, E, F.

⁴ not in F.

⁵ ⁶ not in B, E, F.

⁶ expedition F.

⁷ curtesie F.

⁸ munificencie B, E, F.

⁹ if at the least B, E, F.

¹⁰ maie bee perhappes B, E, F.

¹¹ corrosive F.

¹² tender F.

¹³ haughty minds F.

¹⁴ into F.

+ leaf 31. Colouryng of faces in Ailgna? B. E has a new head-line here, Abuse of the female sex.

¹⁷ dust of silence and added in E, F.

¹⁸ become faithfull B, E; become the faithfull F.

Coloring of
faces with
oyntments and
waters.

¹The Women of *Ailgna*² vse to colour their faces with certain oyles, liquors, vnguentz and waters made to that end, whereby they think their beautie is greatly decored: but who feethe not that their soules are thereby deformed, and they brought deeper into the displeasure and indignation of the Almighty, at whose voice the earth dooth tremble, and at whose presence the heauens shall liquifie and melt away. Doo they think thus to adulterate the Lord his woorkmanship, and to be without offence? Doo they not know that he is *Zelotipus*,³ a ielous God, and cannot abide any alteration of his woorkes, other wife then he hath commaunded⁴?

Adulteration
of the Lord
his workmaz-
ship in his
Creatures.

Yf an Artificer or Craftsman shoulde make any-thing belonging to his art or science, & a cobler should presume to correct the same, would not the other think him self abused, and iudge him⁵ worthy of reprehencion?

And⁶ thinkest thou (oh Woman!)⁶ to escape the Iudgement of God, who hath fashioned thee⁷ to his glory, when thy⁸ great, and more then presumptuous, audacitie¹⁰ dareth to alter, &¹¹ chaunge his woorkmanship in thee¹²?

¹³ Thinkest thou that thou canst make thy self¹³ fairer then God, who¹⁴ made vs all? These must needs be their inuentions,¹⁵ or els they would neuer go about to coulour their faces with such fibber-sawces. And these beeing their inuentions,¹⁵ what can derogate more from the maiestie of God in his creation? For in this dooing, they plainly conuince the Lord of vntrueth in his word, who saith he made man glorious, after his owne likenes, and the fayrest of all other terrestiall¹⁶ Creatures. If he be thus faire, then what need they to make them fayrer? Therfore this their colouring of their faces importeth (as by probable conjecture may be presupposed) that they think them selues not faire enough,¹⁷ and then must God needs be vntrue in his woord.

They that
colour their
faces, deny the
Lord of glory
to bee true
God, and so
no God at all.

¹ Heading in F:—Collouring of womens faces in England.

² (many of them) use B, E, F.

³ deus added in B, E, F.

⁴ made them B, E, F.

⁵ the reprouer F.

⁶—⁶ doe these women thinke B, E, F. ⁷ them B, E, F. ⁸ their B, E, F.

¹⁰ audacitie A.

* leaf 31, back. Coloured faces abhord of God. B.

¹² them B, E, F.

¹³—¹³ Doe they suppose that they can make themselues B, E, F.

¹⁴ that B, E, F.

¹⁵ intentions B, E, F: (suppositions for the 1st word F.) ¹⁶ terrestriall F.

¹⁷ els why doe thei goe about to make themselues fairer added in B, E, F.

And also they deny the Lord to be either merciful or almighty, or bothe, and so consequently no God at all; for if hee could not haue made them faire, then is hee not almighty; and if hee could and would not, then is hee not a merciful God; and so every way they ¹ fall in to the finck¹ of offence, ²beeing² ashamed of the good creation of the Lord in them; but³ it is to be feared leaft at the day of Iudgement the Lord wil be ashamed of them, & in his wrath ⁴ denounce [4 F 1] this heauie and ineuitable sentence con⁵deminatorie against them: “*Departe from mee, you cursed, into euerlasting fire, prepared for the deuil and his Angels: I knowe you not: (I say) departe, for you were ashamed of mee, and of my creation in you.⁶*”

Sentence con
demnatory
against those
that coulour
their faces.
[5 leaf 32. B.t]

Spud. Wherof doo they make these waters, and other⁷ vnctions wherwith they besmeare their faces, can you tel?

Philo. I⁸ am not so skilful in their⁹ matters of pride,⁹ but I holde this for a *Maxime*, that¹⁰ they are made of many mixtures, and fundry compounded¹¹ simples, bothe farre fetched and deer bought, cunningly couched¹² together, and¹³ tempered with many goodly condiments and holosome confectiones, I warrant you; els you may be sure they woulde not applye them to their amorous¹⁴ faces, for feare of harming or blemishing the same.

[Materials of
waters, &c. for
women's faces.]

[*Spud.* I priae you shewe me the¹⁵ iudgements, and¹⁵ opinions of the Fathers, concernyng these colourynges¹⁶ of faces¹⁷ with ointmentes and waters, that I maie the better know, what to iudge of it¹⁸ my self.¹⁷ B, E, F; part inserted with the pen in A.]

Philo. S. Ciprian, amongst all¹⁹ the rest, faith, a Woman, thorow painting and dying of her face, sheweth her self to be more then whorish. For (faith hee) shee hath corrupted and defaced (like a filthie strumpet or brothel) the woorkmanship of God in her: what is this els but to turne truthe into falsehood with painting and fibber-

Inuictives of
the Fathers
against paynt-
ing and cou-
louring of
faces.

^{1—1} stumble at the stone of B, E, F.

^{2—2} whiche one day will crushe them all to peeces, excepte they repent. And as they be B, E, F.

† leaf 32. Harlottes vse painted faces. B. ³ so B, E, F.

⁷ other not in B, E, F. ⁸ Truly I, F. ^{9—9} dealings.

¹⁰ that not in E. ¹¹ compounde B, E; not in F. ¹² mingled B, E, F.

¹³ and artificially B, E, F. ¹⁴ amiable F. ^{15—15} not in A, pen.

¹⁶ this colouringe A, pen. ^{17—17} not in A, pen. ¹⁸ them E, F.

¹⁹ all not in B, E, F.

fawces, wheras the Lord saith, “*Thou canst not make one haire white or black.*” In an other place hee saith, *Qui ¹se pingunt² in hoc seculo, aliter quam creauit³ Deus, metuant ne, cum dies resurrectionis vencrit, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscatur.* Those which⁴ paint or colour them selues in this world otherwise then God hath made them, let them feare, least when the day of iudgement commeth, the Lorde wil not know them for his Creatures. Againe, *Feminæ crines suos insciunt malo præfigio, capillos enim flammeos auſpicari⁵ non metunt.* Whosoever doo color their faces, or their haire, with any vnaturall colour, they begin to prognosticate of what colour they shalbe in hel.

S. Ambrose saith that from the coullouring of faces spring the inticements to vices, and that they which⁶ color their faces doo purchase to them selues the blot and stain of chaftitie.

For what a dotation is it (saith hee) to chaunge thy naturall face which God hath made thee for a painted face, which thou hast made thy self? If thou beest faire, why paintest thou thy self to seeme fairer? and if thou be not faire, why doost thou hippocritically desire to seeme faire, and art nothing lesse? Can those things which, besides that they be filthie, doo cary the brand of God his curse vpon their backs for euer, make thee to seeme fayrer? I could shew you the sharp Inuectiōns, and grounded reasōns of many moe, as of *Aug[u]stine, Hierome, Christophe, Gregorie, Caluin, Peter Martyr, Gualter,* and of an infinite number moe; ⁷yea, of all generally since the beginning of ⁸the world, against this⁹ whorish and brothellous painting and coullouring of faces; but to auoid *prolixitie* I will omit them, deferring them to further oportunitie, for *pauca sapienti,¹⁰* To a wiseman few woordes are sufficient.

Spud. It must needs be graunted, that the dying and coullouring of faces with artificiall colours, and vnnaturall Oyntments, is moste offensiuē to God, and derogatorie to his Maiestie: [And when thei haue doen all that thei can, and the cūningest artist that euer liued besides, yet shal thei neuer be able to make so splendent, so orient, and

² pingunt E.. * leaf 32, back. Colouryng of faces detestable. B.

⁴ that F. ⁵ auspicare F. ⁶ which comes before that in F.

† leaf 33. Painted faces, the Deuilles nets. B.

⁹ those E.

¹⁰ sapientia B., E., F.

No painting
can make any
to seem fairer,
but fowler.

[7 F 2]

[8 leaf 33 B.t]

† Colouring of
faces, the deuiles
net.

so naturall a colour, as dame Nature hath giuen to the herbes in the feeld. Then if God hath imprinted such an excellent colour in the graffe of the feeld, which to-day¹ is stading,¹ and to-morrow is cut doun; how muche more hath he ingrauen a beautifull colour in man, the excellenteſt creature of all others²? Therefore ought euery one to content himself with the ſhape that God hath giuen hym, without ſekyng of alteration or change. B, E, F.] for doo they think that the God of all glorie, and who only decketh and adorneth the Sun, the Moon, the Starres, and all the hoaſt of heauen with vnspeakable glorie, and incomparabele beautie, cannot make them beautiful and faire enough (if it please him) without their fibbersawces? And what are they³ els then the Deuils inuentions, to intangle poore foules in the nets of perdition?

[God's own
colouring
of man.]

Phil. Then followeth the trimming and tric⁵king of their heds in laying out their hair to the ſhewe, which of force muſt be curled, friſled and crifped, laid out (a World to fee!) on wreathes & borders from one eare to an other. And leaſt it ſhould fall down, it is vnder propped with forks, wyers, & I can not tel what, rather⁶ like grime⁷ ſterne monſters, then chaſte christian matrones. Then, on the edges of their bolſtred heir (for it ſtandeth creſted round about their frontiers, & hanging ouer their faces like⁸ pendices⁹ with glaffe windowes an¹⁰ euery ſide) there is layd great wreathes of gold and filuer, curiouſlie wrought & cunninglie¹¹ applied to the temples of their heads. And for feare of lacking any thing to ſet forth their pride withal, at their heyre, thus wreathed and creſted, are hanged bugles (I dare not ſay bables) ouches, rings, gold, filuer, glaffes, & ſuch other¹² gewgawes and¹³ trinckets beſides, which, for that they be innumerable, and I vnkilfull in wemens termes, I can not eaſily recount.¹⁴ But God giue them grace to giue ouer these vanities, and ſtudie to adorn their heads with the incorruptible ornaments of vertue & true Godlyneſſe.

[† ſide-note,
p. 66, here
in B, E.]

Spud. The Apostle *Paul* (as I remember) commaundeth wemen to cheriſh their heyre, ſaying that it is an ornament to them; &

¹—¹ standeth E.

² other F.

³ but F.

⁴ heading in F :—Attirring of wemens headeſ in England.

† leaf 33, back. Laying out of coloured haire. B.

⁶ rather comes before than in F.

⁷ and added in F.

⁹ or vailes added in B, E, F.

¹⁰ on F.

¹¹ cunning = (sic) F.

¹² other childishe B, E, F.

¹³ and foolish B, E, F.

¹⁴ exprefſeſ B, E; recompt F.

Trimming of
their heds.
[§ leaf 33, back.
B, t.]

Simia erit
simia, etiam si
aurea gestat,
inſignia.

Laying out of
their haire.
[§ F 2, back]

Gold wreathes,
circumgyring
the temples of
their heads.

Gewgawes
hanged about
their Frontiers.

68 Laying out of coloured haire. The Anatomie

therfor me think this abuse of curling and laying it out¹ (if eyther were lawfull) is muche more tollerable than dying their faces.

[² leaf 34. B.]

Curling and
crisping and
laying out of
heyre.

Bought heyre
and colored
vsed to be
worn.

[Children's hair
cut off by women
in London.]

[³ leaf 34.]

[Women dye
their hair.]

[¹⁶ leaf 34, back.
B.]

² *Philo.* If curling, & laying out of³ their own naturall heyre weare all (which is impious, and at no hand lawfull, ⁴ notwithstanding for⁴ it is the⁵ ensigne of Pride, and the ftern⁶ of wantonnes to all that behould it) it were the leffe matter; but they are not simply contente with their owne haire, but buy other heyre,⁷ dying it of what color they lift themselues: [And if there be any poore women (as now and then, we see God doeth blesse them with beautie, as well as the riche) that hath faire haire, these nice dames will not rest, till thei haue bought it. Or if any children haue faire haire, thei will intice them into a secrete place, and for a penie or two, thei will cut of their haire: as I heard *that* one did in the citie of Munidnol⁸ of late, who metyng a little child with verie faire haire, inuegled her into a house, promised her a penie, and so cutte off her haire. B, E, F.] & this they were⁹ in the same order as you haue¹⁰ heard, as though it weare their owne¹¹ natural heir: and vpon the other fide, if any haue heyre¹² which is not faire inough, than will they dye it into¹³ dyuerse colors, almost chaunginge the substance into accidentes by their dyuelish, & more than thrise cursed deuyses. So, wheras their heire was geuen them as a signe of subiectiōn, and therfore they were commaunded to cherish the same, now haue they made¹⁴ (as it were) a *Metamorphosis* of it, making¹⁴ it an ornament of Pride, and destruction to them selues¹⁵ for euer,¹⁵ except they repent.

¹⁶ *Spud.* This is a styfnecked People, & a rebellious, I see well, that thus dareth, in euerie respekte, to peruer the straight wayes of the Lord, digginge vp to them-selues cesterns of iniquity,¹⁷ & pittes of aduersity,¹⁷ which in th'end, without the great mercy of God, will be their vtter confusio[n].

¹ forth F. * leaf 34. Bought haire & coloured, worne. B.

³ of not in B, E, F. ^{4—4} beying as B, E, F. ⁵ an B, E; and F.

⁶ standerd F.

⁷ either of Horses, Mares, or any other straunge beastes added in E, F.

⁸ London F. ⁹ weare F. ¹¹ owne owne F.

¹² haire of her owne naturall growyng B, E, F. ¹³ in E, F.

^{14—14} not in B, E, F. ^{15—15} not in F.

+ leaf 34, back. Capitall ornamenteſ for heads, B.

^{17—17} not in F,

¹ *Philo.* Than, on topes of these stately turrets (I meane their goodly heads wherin is more vanitie than true Philosophie now and than) stand their other capitall ornaments, as french hood, hat, cappe, kercher, and fuche like; wherof some be of veluet, ² some of taffatife, some (but few) of woll, ³ some of this fashyon, some of that, ⁴ and some of this color, some of that, ⁵ according to the variable fantasies of their serpentine minds. And to such exceſſe ⁶ is it growen, as ⁷ euery artificers wyfe⁵ (almoſt) wil ⁶not ſtick to goe in her hat of Veluet [f⁶ F 3, back] euery day, euery marchants wyfe and meane Gentlewomen in her french-hood, and euery poore Cottagers Daughter in her taffatife hat, or els of woll at leaſt, wel lined with ſilk, veluet or taffatife. But how they come by this (ſo they haue it) they care not; who payeth for it they regard not, nor yet what hurt boooth to them ſelues and others it ⁷dooth bring, ⁷ they feare not, But runne daylie *a malo ad peius* (as they ſay) from one miſchiefe to an other, vntill they haue⁸ filled vp the meſure of their euill⁹ to their owne ¹⁰ perdition at that day.¹⁰

Capitall ornaments for the head.

Hattes of
velucts: taf-
faty worn in
common

Trahit sua
quenque
voluptas.

¹¹ They haue also other ornaments besydes theſe to furnish foorth [f¹¹ leaf 35. B.] their ingeniouſ heads, which they cal (as I remember) cawles, made Netwyſe, to th' ende, as I thinke, that the clothe of gold, cloth of ſiluer, or els tinfell, (for that is the worſt) wherwith their heads are couered and attyred withall ¹² vnderneath their cawles maye ¹³ appeare, and ſhewe it ſelue in the brauest maner. Soe that a man that ſeethe them (there heads glifter and ſhine in fuche forte) wold ¹⁴ thinke them to haue golden heads. [And ſome weare Lattice cappes with three hornes, three corners I ſhould ſaie, like the forked cappes of Popishe Prieſtes, with their perriwincles, chitterlynges, and the like apishe toyſ of infinite varietie. B, E, F.]

Cawles made
Netwyſe.

Thus lauifhe they foorth the goods of the Lorde, which are none of their owne (but lent them for a tymē) vpon Pride and naughti- neſſe, delighting (as it ſeemeth) in nothing ſo ¹⁵ muche as in the finck- ing puddle of vanitie and finne, which will be their owne decay ¹⁶ at the

Golden heads
fraught with
leaden wit.

[f¹⁵ F 4]

¹ heading in F:—French Hoodes in England.

²—³ not in F.

⁴—⁵ it is grown that F.

⁵ wyſe A.

⁷—⁷ bringeth F.

⁸ haue not in F.

⁹ iniquitie B, E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ confuſion at the laſt F. [leaf 35. Golden heads with leaden wit. B.

¹² not in F.

¹³ may the better B, E, F.

¹⁴ he would F.

¹⁶ in the end F.

Making of holes
in their eares
to hang rings
and Jewels by.

[² leaf 35, back.
B.*]

A people who
cut their skin
to set precious
stones in
them selues.

[⁷ F 4, back.]

Great ruffes,
Neckerchers,
and partlets
vsed of Wo-
men.

[Starche the
deuils liquor. E.
F.]
Supportasses
the pillers of
pride.

[⁴ leaf 36. B.†]

last.¹⁶ Another forte of dissolute minions & wanton *Sempronians* (for I can term them no better) are so far bewitched, as they are not ashamed to make holes in their eares, wherat they hang rings, and other Jewels of gold and precious stones. But what this signifieth in them I will hould my peace, for the thing it selfe speaketh sufficiently. There is a certen kinde of People in the ¹Orientall parte of the World¹ (as Writers affirme), that are suche *Philautoi*, ²louers of them selues, and so prowde with all, that, hauing plentie of precious Stones and Margarits amongst them, they cut and launce their skinnes and fleshe, setting therin these precious Stones, to the end they maye glister and shine to the eye.

So, except these Women weare minded to tread their pathes, and ³folowe their direfull wayes in this cursed kind of ⁴vnhard of ⁴Pride, I wonder what they meane.

But because this is not so muche frequented amongst Women as Men, I will say noe more thereof, vntill further occasion be offred.

Spud. Except it weare a People wedded to ⁵the deuills eldest Daughter⁵ Pride (for I thinke chaftitie⁶ amongst them maye dwell ⁷a Virgin for any that wil marry her), and giuen ouer of God, I neuer heard the like. I am perfwaded ⁸neither the *Libertines*, the *Epicures*, nor yet the vile *Atheists*, euer⁹ exceeded this people in pride, ¹⁰nor¹¹ the wickednes of them might euer counterpease with the wickednes of these people¹⁰: *God be merciful unto them!*

Philo. You heare not the tenth parte, for no pen is able so wel to discribe it, as the eye is to discry¹² it. The Women there vse great ruffes, & neckerchers of holland, lawne, camerrick, and such cloth, as the greatest thred shall not be so bigge as the least haire that is: then,¹³ least they should fall down, they are smeared and starched in the deuils liquore, I meane *Starch*; after that, dried with great diligence, streaked, patted, and rubbed ¹⁴very nicely, and so applyed to their goodly necks, and, withall, vnderpropped with supportaffes (as I tolde you before) the statelie arches of pride: beyond all this they

^{1—1} Orient F. * leaf 35, back. Wearyng of eare-ringes. B.

³ and to F. ^{4—4} not in B, E, F.

^{5—5} not in F. ⁶ humilitie B, E, F.

⁸ that neither B, E, F. ⁹ that euer liued F. ^{10—10} not in F

¹¹ nor that B, E. ¹² discerne F. ¹³ and E, F.

† leaf 36. Great ruffes and minor ruffes. B.

haue a further fetch, nothing inferiour to the rest ; as, namely, three or foure degrees of *minor ruffes*, placed *gradatim*,¹ step by step,¹ one *Minor ruffe*. beneath another, and all vnder *the Maister deuil ruffe*. the skyrts, then, of these great ruffes are long and fide every way, pleted and crested ful curiously, God wot. Then, laft of all, they are either clogged with golde, filuer, or filk lace of stately price, wrought all ^[F 5]
² ouer with needle woork, speckled and sparkled heer & there with the forne, the moone, the starres, and many other antiquities³ straunge to beholde. Some are wrought with open woork down to the midst of the ruffe and further,⁴ fome with purled lace so cloyd, and other gewgawes so pestred, as the ruffe is the leaft parte of it felf. Sometimes they are pinned vp to their eares, sometimes they are suffered to hang ouer their shoulders, like⁶ windmil fayles fluttering in the winde ; and thus euery one pleafeth her felf with⁷ her foolish deuices, for *suis cuiusque crepitus sibi tene olet*, as *the prouerb* feith : euery one thinketh his own⁸wayes beft⁸,⁹ though they leade to diſtruſion of body and soule, which I wiſh them to take heed of.⁹ ^[F 10] And¹¹ amonget many other fearfull examples of Gods wrathe againſt Pride,¹² to fett before their eyes, the fearfull Iudgement of¹³ God, ſhewed upon a gentlewoman of Eprautna¹⁴ of late, even the 27 of Maie 1582, the fearfull found whereof is blowen through all the worlde, and is yet fresh in euery mannes memorie. This gentlewoman beeynge a very riche Merchaunte mannes daughter : vpon a tyme was inuited¹⁵ to a Bridall, or Weddynge, whiche was solemnized in that Toune, againſte whiche daie ſhe made greate preparation, for the pluming of her felf in gorgious arraie, that as her body was moſte beautifull, faire, and proper, ſo her attire in euery reſpekte might bee corespondent¹⁶ to the fame. For the accomplishment whereof, ſhe curled her haire, the died her lockes, and laied them out after the beft maner, ſhe coloured her face with waters and Ointmentes : But in no caſe could the gette any (ſo curious and daintie ſhe was) that could ſtarche, and fette her Ruffes, and Neckerchers to her mynde : wherefore the ſent for a couple of Laundrefſes,

The great
curioſity of
ruffs and
neckerchers.

[¹³ leaf 36, back.
B.T.]

[Antwarpe. E.]

A fearfull
example againſt
pride ſhewed
upon a gentle-
woman in
Antwarpe. E,F]

[Womens
lubricious
minded neuer
content with
anythinge when
it is well. E.]

^{1—1} not in B, E, F.

⁸ antiques B, E, F.

⁴ ſome with close woork, added in B, E, F.

⁵ in E.

⁶ flagges or added in F.

⁷ in B, E, F.

^{8—8} foift the sweetest F.

^{9—9} not in F.

¹⁰ added in B, E, F.

¹¹ But F.

¹² I would wiſh them added in F. † leaf 36, back. *No head-line*. B.

¹⁴ Antwarpe F.

¹⁵ inuited A ; inuited F.

¹⁶ answerable F.

[The fearful
end of the proud
Antwerp lady.]

who did the best thei could to please her humors, but in anywise thei could not. Then fell she to sweare and teare, to curfse and banne, castyng the Ruffes vnder feete, and wishyng that the Deuill might take her, when she¹ weare any of those Neckerchers againe. In the meane tyme (through the sufferaunce of God) the Deuill, transformyng himself into the forme² of a young man, as braue, and proper as she in euery poincte in outward appearaunce, came in, fainyng hymself to bee a woer or futer vnto her. ³ And feyng her thus agonized, and in such a pealtyng chafe, he demaunded of her the cause thereof, who straight waie tolde hym (as women can conceale no thyng that lieth vppon their stomackes) how she was abused in the setting of her Ruffes, which thyng beeyng heard of hym, he promised to please her minde, and thereto⁴ tooke in hande the setting of her Ruffes, whiche he performed to her greate contentation, and likyng,

[The deuil
pleaseth women
better then any
bodie els. E, F.]

in so muche as she lokyng her self in a glasse (as the Deuill bad her) became greatly inamoured with hym. This dooen, the yong man kissted her, in the doyng whereof, he writhe her necke in fonder, so she died miserably, her bodie beyng⁵ Metamorphosed, into blacke and blewe⁵ colours, most vgglesome to behold, and her face (whiche before was so amorous) became mooste deformed, and fearfull to looke vpon. This being knownen,⁶ preparaunce⁶ was made for her buriall, a riche coffin was prouided, and her fearfull bodie was laied therein, and it⁷ couered verie sumptuously. Foure men immediatly affaid to lifte vp the corps, but could not moue it, then fixe attempted the like, but could not once stirre it from the place, where it stooode. Wherat the standers by marueilysing, caused the Coffin to bee opened, to see the cause thereof. Where thei founde the bodie to be taken awaie, and a blacke Catte verie leane and deformed sittynge in the Coffin, setting of greate Ruffes, and frizlyng of haire, to the greate feare, and⁸ wonder of all the beholders. This wofull spectacle haue I offered to their viewe, that by looking into it, in stead of their other looking Glasses

¹ shee did F.

² shape F.

* leaf 37. No head-line B. E has head-line, A fearfull example agaynst Pride.

⁴ so F.

^{5—5} straight waies changed into blew and black F.

⁶ in the cittie, great preparation F.

⁷ it not in F.

† leaf 37, back. Women wearyst Dublets. B. E has The deuil found setting of ruffes.

thei might see their own filthinesse, & auoyde the like offence, for feare of the same, or worser iudgement: whiche God graunt thei maie doe¹.]

Spud. As in a *Camelion* are said to be all coulours, faue white, so I think in these people are all things els², faue Vertue and chrichtian sobrietie. *Proteus*, that Monster, could neuer chaunge him self into *Proteus*. so many fourmes & shapes as these women doo: belike they haue made an obligation with hel, and are at agreement³ with the deuil, els they would neuer outrage thus, without either feare of God or respect to their weak Bretheren, whom heerin they offend.

⁴ *Philo.* The Women also there haue dublets & Ierkins, as men Women wear-
ing dublets
and Ierkins
[5 F 5, back] haue heer, buttoned vp the ⁵breſt, and made with wings, welts, and pinions on the shoulder points, as mans apparel is ⁶for all the world⁶; & though⁷ this be a kinde of attire appropriate⁸ onely to man, yet they bluſh not to wear it; and if they could as wel chaunge their ſex, & put on the kinde of man, as they can weare apparel affigned onely to man, I think they would as verely become men indeed, as now they degenerat from godly, sober women, in wearing this wanton lewd kinde of attire, proper onely to man.

It is written in the ²² of *Deuteronomie*, that what man ſo euer weareth ⁹womans apparel is accuſed, and what woman weareth mans apparel is accuſed alſo. Now, whether they be within the ¹⁰bands and lymits¹⁰ of that curſe, let ¹¹them ¹²fee to it them ſelues¹². ¹¹ Our Apparel was giuen vs¹³ as a ſigne diſtinctiue to diſcern betwixt ſex and ſex, & therfore one to weare the Apparel of another ſex is to participate with the ſame, and to adulterate the veritie of his owne kinde. Wherefore these Women may not improperly be called *Hermaphroditi*, that is, Monsters of bothe kindes, half women, half Hermaphro-
diti.
[9 leaf 38. B.†]

Spud. I neuer read nor heard of any people, except drunken with

¹ added in B, E, F. ² els not in E. ³ a league F.

⁴ heading in F:—Doublets for Women in England. ⁶—⁶ in all respects F.

⁷ although F. ⁸ proper F. † leaf 38. A curse for Apparel. B.

¹⁰—¹⁰ compasse F. ¹¹—¹¹ they themſelves judge F.

¹²—¹² take heede B, E.

¹³ us not in E, F.

¹⁴ Who if thei were naturall women, and honest matrones, would bluſhe to go in ſuche wanton and leude attire, as is proper* onely to man added in B, E, F. (* incident F.)

Cyrces cups, or poysoned with the *exorcisms* of *Medea*, that famous and renoumed Sorcereffe, that euer woulde weare suche kinde of attire as is not onely ¹ stinking before the face of God, ² offendive to man, but also ³ painteth out to the whole world the ⁴ venereous inclination ⁴ of their corrupt conuerteration.

[¹ F 6]The diuersity
of Gounes.

⁵ *Philo.* There Gownes be no leſſe famous also ⁶; for ſome are of filk, ſome of veluet, ſome of grogram, ſome of taffetie, ſome of scarlet, and ſome of fine cloth, of ten, twentie, or fortie ſhillings a yard. But if the whole gowne be not filke or veluet, then the fame ſhall ⁷ be layed with lace, two or three fingers broade, all ouer the gowne, or els the moſte parte.

[⁸ leaf 38, back.
B. f.]

Costly gownes.

Or, if not fo (as lace ⁸ is not fine enough ſometimes ⁹), then it muſt be garded with great gardes of veluet, ¹⁰ foure or fix fingers broad at the leaſt, and edged with costly lace; and as theſe gownes be of diuers and fundrie colors, ſo are they of diuers faſhions, changing with the Moon, for ſome be of the new faſhion, ſome of the olde, ſome of this faſhion, and ſome of that, ſome with ſleeues hanging down to their skirts, trayling on the ground, and caſt ouer their ſhoulders, like Cowtayles.

Diuers faſhions
of Gounes.

Some haue ſleeues much ſhorter, cut vp the arme, ¹¹ and pointed with filk-ribbons very gallantly, tyed with true-looues knottes (for ſo they call them).

[¹³ F 6, back.]

Petticots.

Some haue Capes reaching downe to the middeft of their backs, faced with Veluet, or els with ſome fine wrought filk ¹² Taffaties ¹³ at the leaſt, and fringed about very brauely; & (to ſhut vp all in a word) ſome are pleated & ryuelled ¹⁴ down the back wonderfullly, with more knacks than I can declare. ¹⁵ Then haue they Petticots of the beſt cloth that can be bought, and of the faireſt dye that can be made. And ſometimes they are not of cloth neithir, for that is thought to bafe, but of scarlet, grograin, taffaties, filk, and ſuche like, fringed about the

² and added in B, E, F. ³ ſuch as added in F. ^{4—4} dissolutenesse F.

⁵ heading in F:—Womens Gownes in England.

⁶ then the rest for also B, E, F. ⁷ muſt F.

† leaf 38, back. The great exceffe in Gownes. B. ⁸ now and then F.

¹⁰ every gard added in B, E, F.

¹¹ drawne out with diuers and ſundry collours added in F.

¹² ſilk not in F.

¹⁴ creasted F.

¹⁵ exprefſe F.

skirts with silke fringe of chaungable coloure. But which is more vayn, of whatfoeuer their petticoats be, yet must they haue kyrtles Kyrtles. (for so they call them), eyther of silke, velvet, grograin, taffatier, saten, or scarlet, bordel^{red} with gards, lace, fringe, and I cannot tell what [¹ leaf 39. B. 9] besydes. So that when they haue all these goodly robes vppon them, women feeme to be the finallest part of themselues, not naturall women, but artificiall Women; not Women of flesh & blod, but rather puppits or mawmets of² rags & clowtes compact together. Women the least part of themselves.

So³ farre hath this cancker of pride eaten into the body of the common welth, that euery poore Yeoman his Daughter, euery Husband man his daughter, & euery Cottager his Daughter, will not spare⁴ to flaunt it out in suche gownes, petticoats, & kirtles as these. And not withstanding that their Parents owe a brase of hundred pounds more than they are worth, yet will they haue it, quo iure quae*in iuria*, eyther⁵ by hooke or⁶ crooke, by right or wrong, as they [⁵ F 7] say, wherby it commeth to passe that one can scarcely know who is a noble woman, who is an honorable or worshipfull Woman, from them of the meaner forte.

Spud. Their parents & Freinds are muche to be blamed for suffering them to go in suche wanton attyre. They shoule not allowe them such large pittance, nor suffer them to measure their apparell after their own licentious yardes of selfe will, and wicked desires.⁷ Parents to blame.

Philo. Than shall they⁸ be sure neuer to haue good day with them, For they are so impudent⁹ that, all be it their poore Parents haue but one cow, horfe, or sheep, they wil neuer let them rest til they be fould to maintain them in their braueries,¹⁰ past all tongue can tell.¹⁰ The impudency of proud harlots. [⁹ leaf 39, back. B. 11]

And, to say the truth, some Parents (worthie to be inaugured¹¹ with the lawrell Crowne of triple follie,) are so buxome to their shamelesse desires, and so exorable to their prostitute requestes, that they graunt to their too too nice daughters more than they can¹² desire

* leaf 39. The impudencie of Harlettes. B.

² consistyng of B, F.

³ Yea, so F.

⁴ stick E, F.

⁶ or by F.

⁷ then should thei not rage† so farre as thei doe added in B, E, F; but E F have could; †F has excede, which comes after far.

⁸ theyr Parents F.

† leaf 39, back. What makes youth wicked. B.

¹⁰ beyond all measure B, E, F.

¹¹ for fooles added in E, F.

¹² do E, F.

Our remisse
leuitie of Pa-
rents to their
Children.

[⁵ F 7, back]

⁸ what maketh
whores and
strumpets.⁸

[¹² leaf 40. B.*]

Netherstocks
of gernsey or
silk.

themselues, taking a singular felicity &¹ surmounting pleasure in f[ee]ing them ² to go plumed and decked² in the Feathers of deceiptfull vanity.

Sp. This ouer great lenitie & remisse libertie in³ the education of youthe, in respect of the euent and succeſſe⁴ in the end, maye rather be counted an extrem cruelty, than a Fatherly⁵ pitie⁶ of them towards their children ; For what maketh them foone whores, strumpets,⁷ and bawdes, as that cockering of them doth ?

What maketh them apt & prone to all kind of naughtynesse but this ? Nothing in the World soe muche ; For, giue a wild horse the libertie of the head neuer so litle, and he will runne headlonge to thyne and his owne destruction also.

So long as a sprigge, twist,⁹ or braunche, is yong, it is flexible and bowable¹⁰ to any thing¹⁰ a man can desire ; but if we tarie till it be a great tree, it is inflexible and vnbowable. If wax be taken whyleft it is hote, anye character maye be easilie imprinted¹¹; but taryng till it be hard, it re¹²ceiueth no printe at all.

So, correct Children in their tender yeres, and you may bow them to what good lore you will your selfe ; but tarie till they be old, than ¹³is it¹³ to late, as experience teacheth daylie.

¹⁴ *Philo.* Their neitherstockes, in like maner, are either of filke gearnsey,¹⁵ worsted, crewell, or, at leaſt, of as fyne yarn, thread, or cloth, as is poſſible to be had, [yea thei are not ashamed to weare hofe of all kinde of chaungable colours, as greene, red, white, ruffet, tawny, and els what,¹⁶ whiche wanton light colours, any¹⁷ sober chaſte Christian¹⁸(except for neceſſitie fake)¹⁸ can hardly, without any¹⁹ ſuſpition of lightnesſe, at any tyme weare ; but whatſoever is a deformitie or shame in²⁰ others is an ornament to them that be paſt all shame. Then theſe delicate hofen muſt bee, B, E, F] cuſtily knit and curi-

¹ and farre B, E, F.

^{2—2} decked and plumed B, E, F.

³ of theirs in B, E, F.

⁴ that it bringeth added in F.

⁵ loue or pittie B, E, F.

⁷ Harlots added in F.

^{6—8} not in E, F.

⁹ a twist F.

^{10—10} which way F.

¹¹ in it added in F.

* leaf 40. New fashions euery daie. B.

^{13—13} it is F.

¹⁴ heading in F :—Netherstocks of women in England.

¹⁵ Iarnsey F.

¹⁶ what not F.

¹⁷ no F. ^{18—18} not in F.

¹⁹ any not in E, F.

²⁰ to F.

ously indented in euery point¹: wherto they haue korked shooes, pinsnets, pantoffles, and ²slippers, some of black veluet, some of white, some of greene, and some of yellowe; some of spanish leather, and some of English lether,³ stitched with silk,⁴ and imbrodered with Gold and siluer all ouer the foote, with other gewgawes innumerable. All which, if I shoulde⁵ endeououre my selfe⁵ to expresse, I might⁶ with more⁷ facilitye⁸ number the fands of the Sea, the Starres in the skye, or the graffe vpon the Earth, so infinit and innumerable be their abuses. For ware I neuer soe experte an Arithmetician⁹,¹⁰ or¹¹ Mathematician¹⁰, I weare neuer¹² capable of¹² the¹³ halfe of them, the deuill brocheth soe many new fashions euery day.

Wherfore to their *Author* I leauie them, not omittinge to tell you by the way (¹⁴as an *interim*¹⁴) of a certen kynde of sweete Pride vsed amongest¹⁵ Gentlemen and Gentlewomen in *Ailgna*.

Spud. I haue learned out of the Booke of God, that all Pride is stincking before the face of God; wherfore I greatlye desyre to knowe what abortyue Miscreant this is,¹⁶ for it is some portenteous mishapen monster, I am¹⁷ perswaded.

¹⁸*Philo.* Is not this a certen¹⁹ sweete Pride to haue cyuet, muske, sweete powders, ²⁰fragrant Pomanders, odorous perfumes, & such like, wherof the smel may be felt and perceiued, not only all ouer the house, or place, where they be present, but also a stones cast of almost, yea, the bed wherin they haue layed their delicate bodies, the places where they haue sate, the clothes, and thinges which they haue touched, shall smell a weeke, a moneth, and more, after they be gon. But the Prophet *E/aias* telleth them, instead of their Pomaunders, musks, ciuets, balmes, sweet odours and perfumes, they shall haue stench and horrour in the nethermost hel. Let them take heed to it, and amend their wicked liues.²¹

¹ with quirkes, clockes, open seame, and every thing els accordingly added
in B, E, F.

³ lether not in B, E, F.

⁴ with silke repeated in F. ^{5—6} take vpon me F. ^{6—8} as easily F.

⁷ like B, E. [†] leaf 40, back. Costly Perfumes and Muskes. B.

⁹ Arithmetrician A. ^{10—10} not in F. ¹¹ never so skilfull a added in B, E.

^{12—12} able to recompt F.

¹³ the one B, E, F.

^{14—14} comes after you in B, E, F.

¹⁵ amongst the B, E, F.

¹⁶ may be B, E, F.

¹⁷ am fully B, E, F.

¹⁸ heading in F:—Muske, Ciuet, and sweet powder in England.

¹⁹ certen not in E, F.

²¹ in tyme added in B, E, F.

Corked shoes,
pinsnets, pan-
toffles, &
such like, for
women.
[² F 8]

The innumer-
able fash. ms.
of women's
attire
[§ leaf 40, bac.
B.]

Pride stinking
before the face
of God.

[²⁰ F 8, back]
The haungi of
ciuet, musk,
and other
perfumes, a
sweet kind of
Pride.

Esai, Cap. 3.

[¹ leaf 41. B.*]
Nosegayes &
posies of flow-
ers worn and
caried abrod.

Beware the
Spanish pip.

[³ G 1]

These^{xx} curious
smelles obnu-
bilat the
spirits &
darken the
sences.

Sweet smells
of musks,
cuyet, and such
like, do^{xi} annoy
the spirits.

[²² leaf 41, back.
B.†]

The vain
gestures &
coynes of
women in the
middest of

And in the Sommer-time, whilst floures be greene and fragrant, yee shall not haue any¹ Gentlewoman almost, no nor yet any droye or puffle in the Cuntry, but they will carye in their hands nosegayes and posies of floures to smell at; and which is more, two or three Nofegayes² sticked in their brests before, for what caufe I cannot tel, except it be to allure their³ Paramours to catch at them,⁴ wherby, I doubt not, but they get many a slabbering kiffe, and, paradeuenture, more freendship besides: they know best⁵ what I mean.

Spud. You wil be thought very straight laced to speak against these thinges, for I haue heard it said, that these⁶ sweet smels⁷ are bothe corroboratiue to the fences, and confortatiue⁸ to the spirits, and which doo viuifie and recreate aswel the body as the minde.⁷

Philo. They are so far from comforting the braines⁹, or lightning¹⁰ the spirits of men¹², that as mystes and exhalations which euaporate from these earthly bodyes, and are drawen vp by the attractiue power of the Sun, Moon, and starres, doo rather¹³ obnubilate¹⁴ and darken the beames of the Sun,¹⁵ not suffering his radiations to disparele abrode¹⁵; So these (in a maner) palpable odors, fumes, vapours¹⁶, smells of these¹⁷ musks, cuyets, pomanders, perfumes, balmes, & fuche like, ascending to the braine, do rather denigrate¹⁸, darken, and obscure the spirit¹⁹ and fences, then either lighten them, or comfort them²⁰ any manner of way. But howsoeuer it falleth out, sure I am they are ensignes of pride, allurements to²² finne, and prouocations to vice. After all this, when they haue attired them selues²³ in the midst of their pride, it is a world to consider their coynesse in gestures, their misfedenes in woords and speaches, their gingerlynes²⁴ in trippinge on toes like yong goats, their demure nicitie and babishnes, and withall their

* leaf 41. Sweete smelles, hurtfull. B.

² nosegayes *not in* B, E, F. ³ their amorous B, E, F.

⁴ and to smell at their breastes *added in* F. ⁵ best *not in* E, F.

⁶ these *not in* B, F; the *for* that these *in* E.

⁷—⁷ doe corroborate the sences, comfort the spirits, and recreate both the body & mynd of man greatly, doe they not so? B, E, F. ⁹ braine F.

¹⁰ illuminating E; reuiuing F. ¹¹ The F. ¹² man F.

¹³ doo rather *not in* B; rather *not in* E, F. ¹⁴ obnubilate *not in* F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ *not in* F. ¹⁶ vapours and B, E, F.

¹⁷ these *not in* B, E, F. ¹⁸ denigrate *not in* F. ¹⁹ spirites F.

²⁰ by any B. ²¹ do *not in* F.

† leaf 41, back. Looking glasses, the deuils spectacles. B.

²³ thus *added in* B, E, F. ²⁴ gingernes B, E, F.

hawtie stomackes and more than Cyclopicall countenances. their fingers are¹ decked with gold, siluer and precious stones, their wristes with bracelets and armiets of gold, and other preciouſe² Iewels: their hands are³ couered with their fweet waſhed gloues, imbrodered with gold, siluer, and what not; & to ſuch abhomination is it⁵ grown, as they muſt haue their looking glaſſes caryed with them wherſoever they go. And good reaſon, for els how cold they ſee the deuile in them? for no doubt they are the deuiles ſpectacles to allure vs to pride, & conſequently to diſtruſtion for euer. ⁶and aboue al things they muſt⁶ haue their filk ſcarffes caſt about their faces, & fluttering in the winde, with great taffels at euery end, either of gold, siluer, or filk. But I know wherfor they wil ſay they weare theſe ſcarffes; namely, to keep them from Sunburning; But I wold aſke theſe Nicelings one queſtion, wherin if they can reſolute mee, then I will ſay, as they ſay, *that ſcarffes are neceſſary, and not flags of pride.* Can that thing which is moſte glorious & fair of it ſelf, make any thing foul or illauored? the ſun is a moſt glorious & fair creature, & therfor cannot make them foulere then they are of their own naſure. From whence then is it⁸ *that the Sun burneth them, & altereth their orient colour into woorter hue?* The cauſe therof proceedeth from their own genuine corruption and natural imperfection⁹; for no more is their fowlenes to be ascribed to the ſtelliſerous¹⁰ beames of the glittering¹¹ Sun, then the ſtench of a dead caraffe may be ſaid to¹² come of¹² the ſun, & not rather of it own corruption & filthines. They bufie themſelues in

their pecok feathers.
Fingers clog-
ged with rings.
Womens trinkets.
Sweeted gloues.
Loking glasses, the
œuils ſpecta-
cles.
[+ G 1, back]

Silk ſcarffes.

A queſtion to
ſcarffe wearers.

¹ muſt be B, E, F. ² costly B, E, F. ³ are *not in* B, E, F. ⁵ it is F.

⁶—⁶ *Sþud.* The deuill could neuer haue found out a more pestilent euill then this, for hereby man beholding his face, and being naturally giuen to flatter hymſelf too muche, is easely drawnen to thinke well of hymſelf: and yet no man ſeeth the true proportion of his face, but a counterfaite effigie, and false image therof in the glasse, whiche the Deuill ſuffereth hym to ſee, that thereby he maie riſe into Pride, and ſo [ſo *not in* E, F] offend the Diuine Maiestie. Therefore maie theſe looking glaſſes ⁷be called the deuils bellowes, wherewith he bloweth the blaſt of Pride into our hartes: and thoſe that looke in them may be ſaid to looke in the Deuilles arſe, whilſt he infuſeth the venemous winde of Pride into their ſoules. *Philo.* * Then muſt thei B, E, F. * *Heading in F:*—Scarfes and Maskes in England.

[Looking-glasses
the deuils
bellowes. E, F.]
[? leaf 42. B.†]

† leaf 42. Silke Scarffes in Ailgna, B.

⁸ it is F. ⁹ prauitie F. ¹⁰ ſplendent F. ¹¹ glittering *not in* F.

¹²—¹² proceed of B, E, F.

[¹ G 2]
[³ leaf 42, back.
B. *1]

Visors or
invisories of
veluet to ride
abrode in.

Sues volunta-
bris versantur.

[† side-note here
in B.]

† The first
finders and
inventors of
new fashions
are culpable of
all the euil
that commeth
by them.

[¹⁹ leaf 43. B 4]

[²⁰ G 2, back.]

A vaine
excuse.

prefering the beautie of their bodyes, which lasteth but for a time, & in time ¹is cause of his² own corruption, & which, ³in effect, is nothing els then⁴ putrifaction it self, & a dunghil couered with white & red; but for the beautie of the soule they care nothing at all. When they vse to ride abrod, they haue ⁵invisories,⁶ or ⁵⁷ visors made of veluet,⁸ wherwith they couer all their faces, hauing holes made in them against their eyes, whereout they look. So that if a man, that knew not their guise before, should chaunce to meet one of them, hee would think hee met a monster or a deuil; for face hee can see⁹ none, but two brode holes against her¹⁰ eyes with glassees in them. Thus they prophan the name of God, & liue in al¹¹ kinde of voluptuousnes & pleasure, wursfe then euer did the hethen.

Sp. What think you, are not the inventors & first finders out of these new toyes & dyuelish deuices, in great daunger, and partakers with them of the euill committed?

Philo. It cannot be but the Inuentors of these new toyes are in great daunger before God, as they who shall render accounts to god, not only for the inuention of them, but also for the euil committed by them. For whosoeuer is author of any euil must needs answere for the euil. And surely the authors¹² of these newfangles are ¹³not vnworthy¹³ to be canonized saints when the yeere of *Iulilie* commeth (I meane saincts of sathan); for¹⁴ there is no¹⁴ deed so flagicious, no¹⁵ fact¹⁶ so dangerous, ¹⁷nor any¹⁷ thing¹⁸ so hainous, which¹⁹ with alacritie is not plausibly committed for the²⁰ maintenance of these Diuelish toyes and deuices: And albeit that the Persons themselues who offend this way shal dye in their finnes, their owne bloud being powred vpon their owne heads, yet the *Authors* of these new toyes, wherthorow they offended, shalbe giltie of their deathes, and surely answere for their destruction in the day of the Lord.

Spud. But say they, ‘if I make them not, an other wil, & it is as good for me to make them as an other; & it is my lyuing; wherfore

² it B, E, F. * leaf 42, back. Velvet Visours to ride with. B.

⁴ but E, F. ^{5—5} not in B, E. ⁶ masks F. ⁷ and F.

⁸ (or in my judgement thei maie rather be called invisories) added in B, E, F.

⁹ shew F. ¹⁰ their E, F. ¹¹ all in B, E. ¹² author F.

^{13—13} worthy F. ^{14—14} what B, E, F. ¹⁵ what B, E, F. ¹⁶ attempt F.

^{17—17} or what B, E, F. ¹⁸ fact F.

† leaf 43. A Cauet for Artificers. B.

I am discharged of blame, if I make them (being commaunded) with sweat of my face, and with trauaile and paine to get my lyuing.'

Philo. We are commaunned (*sic*), indeed, to get our lyuing with the sweate of our face; but how? Not in doing those things which are euill of themselues, and also drawe and intice others to euill, but in things lawful and good,¹ & which induce to goodnesse.² And to say 'others will make them, if I³ do not,' no more excuseth them of offence,⁴ than for a Murtherer or⁵ Thief to say, if I had not robbed, or killed this man, another wold, dischargeth him from the penaltie of the iudicall⁶ lawe⁷ to be inflicted against⁸ him.⁷ Is it lawfull for vs to do euill because others do it? Or dooth the wickednes of an other delyuer me⁹ from blame, if I¹⁰ commit the same offence? no, nothing leesse. Wherfore let Taylers and Artificers be¹¹ware how¹² they eyther inuente or make these new deuyces and Dyuelish fashions euery day: And being requested to make them, if they perceiue them¹³ tende to vice, and¹⁴ allure to finne, let them refuse them in the name of God, more tendering the saluation of many, than the priuat commoditye of themselues alone: which thing, if euery one wold do, he should delyuer his own soule, & support an infinit number from falling into the gulphe of finne; and so in short tyme these new toyes, fond deuyces, and childish babelries (new fashions I should say) wold foone vanish away and come to naught¹⁵: which God graunt may¹⁶ once be seene!¹⁶

¹⁷*Spud.* Did the women of the former world attire themselues in suche forte as these women do?

Philo. The Women of the former age, you may be sure, neuer appareled themselues like one of these. But least you should thinke that the Godly onelie lyued thus austerity, you shal heare how litle the very hether and barbarian Women haue, and do at this present, esteeme of apparell; as *Stuperius* witnesfeth, whose words are these,

We are bound
to get our
lyuing in well
doing, not in
euill doing.

A caueat to
Artificers that
inuent new
fashions.

[¹¹ leaf 43, back.
B.†]
[¹² G 3]

[A caueat for
Tailours and
Artificers. F.]

[Heathen women
despise dress.]

¹ honest F.

² godlinesse E, F.

³ they B, E, F.

⁴ before God added in F.

⁵ or a F.

⁶ not in F.

⁷—⁷ or guilt of the fact F.

⁸ upon B, E.

⁹ vs E, F.

¹⁰ we E, F.

[†] leaf 43, back. Mans saluation to be regarded. B.

¹³ to added in E, F.

¹⁴ and to F.

¹⁵ naughe (*sic*) F.

¹⁶—¹⁶ come to passe E, F.

¹⁷ heading in F: The meane attire of both Heathen and other Women in olde time.

82 Wommens habit, in other cuntries. The Anatomie

[Egyptian and
other heathen
women are
modest in dress.]

speking of the Egyprian women : “ *Vestimenta sciunt nec noua pristinis mutare, verum semper his in cultibus gaudent perpetuo tempore congregredi, quascunque gentes hunc per orbem visitent;* Which may be thus turned into English verse:

[^x G 3, back]

¹ *The Egyprian Matrones neuer vse
Their fashions² of attyre to change,*

[³ leaf 44. B.*]

³ *But euer keep one forme to chuse,
Although they visite Nations strange.*

AND as all Writers doo affirme, all the Women there indifferently go with their haire hanging downe, with a broade hat vpon their heads, and other attyre as playne as the rest, so farre are these People from Pride, and hunting after strange fashions as our Women doo.

[The meannes
of other Nations
in attire. B, E,
F; with maners
for meannes.]

The Women of *Affrica* are witnesed, by the same *Stuperius*, and others, to be so farre from affecting⁴ strange fashions, or curiofity in aparel, that they cloth themselues, in a manner, all ouer *ferinis pellibus*, with beasts skinnes, furres, and such like. And this they think so riche attire, as they vse it altogether when they celebrat their festiuall solemne daies, or when they go abrode to be seene.

The *Braflian* Women esteeme so litle of apparell also, as they rather chose to go naked (their secret partes onely being couered) then they wold be thought to be proud, or desirouse of such vanities.⁵

[German women
dress plainly.]

The *Cantabrian* Women likewyse, with many others,⁶ do the same. In High *Germany*, the Women vse in effect one kind of apparel or habite, without any difference at all, nothing like other Nations delighting in new fangles,⁷ yea, the wiues there are so far from pride that they will not disdaine to carie all their househould stiffe, and other trinckets⁸ about with them vpon their backs in tyme of extremitie.⁹ These¹⁰ Mayds & Virgins go very plain, with kerchers only on their heads, their¹¹ haire hanging down behinde, in token of Virginitie.

[^{xx} leaf 44, back.
B,†]

Thus, you see, euery Nation, how barbarous soeuer, are much inferiour to the people of *Ailgna* in pride & exceffe of apparell ; and

² fashions F. * leaf 44. Womens habit, in other Countries. B.

⁴ affecting of E, F. ⁵ vanity F. ⁶ other F.

⁸ supellectiles E, F. ⁹ necessity F. ¹⁰ Their B, E, F.

† leaf 44, back. Brutish Attire not commendable. B.

yet these examples I alledge not to th' end I wold wish all others to vse the same, or the very like brutish¹ kind of austre² habite, but to shew how farre they be from Pride, & how much the other be wedded to the same. And as for the vertuous, & godly christian women: from the beginning of the world they haue so litle cared for the vain glory of apparell, & so litle (or rather nothing at al) were they acquainted therwith, as they hunted for nothing els so much as for the ornaments of the mind, as wisdome, continency, chasteitie, & true godlynnesse, thinking the same bewtie sufficient. They counted it great shame to cloth their bodies with sumptuous apparel, & their minds to be naked, & voide of true vertue. So, if these women wold seek after the bewtie of the mind, they wold not affect apparell so much; for if they be faire in body alredy, than need they not gorgeus apparel to make them fairer: & if they be deform³ in body, it is not the apparell ⁴that can make them fairer. And either [4 G 4, back.] their bewtie confisteth in them, or in their apparel: If in them, than not in the Apparel, & so it is meere foolery to were them; And if in apparel, than not in them, and so cannot the garments make them fayre whome God & na⁵ture hath made otherwise: wherfor look in [5 leaf 45 B.t] what shape, forme, or condition, euerye one is created by God, let him content himselfe with the same, without any alteration or chaunge, with praise to his Creator.

Spud. They hold (notwithstanding) that it is the pride of the heart, which God so muche hateth and detesteth.

Philo. It is verye true that God punisheth the pride of the heart with eternal damnation (if they repent not), for he will be serued and obeyed either with the whole man, or els with none. Than, if he punish the pride of the heart with euerlasting damnation, he must needs (in iustice) punish the pride of Apparel with the like, being booth ioyned in one predicament of finne, and the pride of apparell much more hurting before the world than the other.

Also it is manifest that the pride of apparel riseth first from the corruption of the heart, as the effects from the cause, the fruite from the roote of the tree: than, if the pride of the heart which, notwithstanding it hurteth not outwardly, but is secret betwixt God and him-

[The contempt
of apparell of
the former
age. B, F.]

Pride of the
heart.

Pride of appa-
rel equivalent
with Pride of
the heart.

¹ sausage F

² not in F.

³ deformed F.

† leaf 45. Pride of the harte, and of Ap[parell]. B.

[¹ G 5][Pride of apparel
more damnable
than pride of
heart.][² leaf 45, back.
B.*]Examples of
God his
punishments
executed
vpon them
that offended
in Pride in all
ages.[¹⁰ G 5, back.][¹⁴ leaf 46. B.t][The Tower of
Babel.]

¹ selfe, be damnable in it owne nature before God, than must it needs be that the Pride of apparell (which sheweth its selfe to the world, both offendive to God, and hurtfull to man, and which also is the fruite of the pride of the heart, and throweth almost as many as behold it, at leaft as many as followe it, into the deep dungion of hell,) is ²much more pernicious and damnable than the other.

Spud. Hath the Lord plagued this finne of pride with any notable torture³ or punishment euer from the beginning of the World vnto this day, or hath he ⁴omitted the reuenge therof⁴ as a thing of small force, or⁵ importance?

⁶ *Philo.* Moft fearfull plagues and dreadfull iudgements of God haue in all ages beeene powred vppon them that offended herein, as all Histories, both holy and prophane, do beare record. For prooife wherof I will geue you a taste but of a few, wherby may appeare how wonderfully the Lord, in all ages, tymes, kinreds, & peoples, hath punished thosse that thorow pride (like wicked recusants⁷ and back-flyders from God) haue rebelled against his maiestie. The deuill, who before was an Angell in Heauen, arrogating to himfelfe the imperial throane of the maiefsty of God, was cast downe into the deeph⁸ of Hell, burning with fire⁹ and sulphur for euer.

Adam, desiring to be a God (for the serpent ¹⁰tould him, he should be as God, knowing both good & euill), was for the sin of Pride throwne downe to the bottome of Hell, & not onely he but all his posteritie to the end of the World. The hoast of *Core, Dathan, and Abiram*, for their exceeding pride in stirring vp mutenie,¹¹ ¹²rebelling

against their lawfull Magistrate, were swallowed vp¹³ quick into hell, the earth opening her mouth & deououring them, ¹⁴with all their complices whatsoeuer. The People of *Babylon*, intending to builde a tower, whose top shoulde¹⁵ tutche the Skye,¹⁵ thinking that if God shoulde drown the world againe with water, they would be sure inough on the toppe of their high turrets ; yea, they intending¹⁶ to

* leaf 45, back. Gods punishments for Pride. B.

³ plague F. ^{4—4} passed it ouer F. ⁵ force or *not in* F.

⁶ heading in F:—Pun[i]shments of pride in all ages.

⁷ runnagats F. ⁸ lake E, F. ⁹ brimstone B. ¹¹ mutinies F.

¹² and rebelling B ; and rebellion E ; and rebellions F. ¹³ up *not in* E.

† leaf 46. Punishments for Pride. B. ^{15—15} reach the heauens F.

¹⁶ intended F.

fit with God himselfe (if need weare) weare all confounded, and a diuerse languagē put into euery mans mouth, that none knew what an¹ other spake. And thus were they forced to leaue there building, and dispersed themselues abroad vppon the face of the earth, wherof² sprang the first diuersitie of languages in the world. Wherfore when we heare any language spoken we³ know not, it may be a *memorandum* to⁴ vs to put vs in minde of our Pride, which was the cause therof.

A memoran-
dum.

Goliah, the great Gyant, the huge Cyclops, and sworne enemy to the Children of *Israell*, for his pride against the Lord was flaine by *Dauid*, the fait[h]full Seruaunt of the Lord.

⁵ *Antiochus*, intending to ouerthrowe and facke *Ierusalem*, to spoile the Sanctuarie and Temple of the Lord, and to kill the people of God, was for his pride ouerturned in his chariet, ryding thetherward, his belly brust,⁶ and filthy wormes crawled⁷ out moste lothfomly; and, in fine, beganne so to stinke and fwell,⁸ as neither his Seruants, nor he himselfe, cold abide his owne sauoure; and thus ended his lyfe in great miserie and wretchednesse.

Antiochus
[5 G 6]

*Nabuchodonosor*⁹ was for his pride cast out of¹⁰ his Kingdom, and¹¹ forced to eat grasse with wild beasts in the wilderneſſe.

Nabuchodo-
nosor. Daniel 4.
[¹⁰ leaf 46, back
B. 1.]
K. [Saul.]

King *Saule*, for his pride and disobedience, was deposed of his principallitie and Kingly regimente, and in the end flewe him self on mounte *Gelboe* most desperatly.

Sodoma and *Gomorra* were both destroyed with fire & brimstone from heauen for their sin of pride & contempt of the Lord. All the world in the daies of *Noah* was drowned with¹² vniuersall deluge for pride & contumacy of heart.

King *Hezekiahs*¹³ for his pride in shewing to the Ambassadours of the king of *Babylon* all his treasure (for he sent Meffengers vnto him with gifte¹⁴ & lettres, congratulatorie¹⁵ for the recouerie of his helth) lost al his iewels, trefures, & riches, with his owne¹⁶ sonnes also, being transported captiues into *Babilon*. K. *Dauid*, for his pride in numbring the people contrary the wil of god,¹⁷ was greuouslie pun-

[7 G 6, back]

¹ an not in E, F. ² and hereof F. ³ that we B, E; that me (*sic!*) F.

⁴ vnto F. ⁶ bursting B, E, F. ⁷ crawling B, E, F. ⁸ smell E, F.

⁹ Nabuchadnezar F. ¹¹ and and (*sic!*) F. ¹² with an B, E, F. ¹³ Ezekiah F.

¹⁴ gifte F. ¹⁵ rejoycing added in F. ¹⁶ owne not in B, E, F.

² Samuel 1, c.
²⁴, Ver. 15. ished, and threescore and ten thousand of his People slaine with a greeuous pestilence for the same.

The proude Phariey.
King *Pharao*, for his pride against the Lord (for he thought him selfe a God vpon the Earth, and therfore asked he *Moyes*, in derision, who is the Lord?), was drowned in the read Sea with all his host. The proude *Phariey*, iustifying himselfe, for his pride was reproved of the Lord, and reiected.

K Herode.

[^x leaf 47. B.*]

King *Herode*, for attirring himselfe in sumptuous aray & not ascribing glory to the ¹Lord, was fstrucken² dead by an Angel, and wormes confumed his flesh immediatly. Al these, with infinit millions moe in al ages, haue perished thorow pride; and therfore let not this people think that they shall escape vnpunished, who drinke vp pride as it weare sweet wyne, feede vppon it as vppon delicious meats, and wallowe in it as a³ filthie swyne doth in the dirtie⁴ myre. will the Lord punish his peculiare people and elect vessells, and let them goo free?

God his Plagues
are prepared, if
we repent not.

[⁶ G 7.]

[⁹ leaf 47, back.
B.]

Wherfore I wold wyshe them to be warned, for it is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of Gon, who is a consuming fire & a fearfull God. His bowe is bente, his arrowes of iudgements⁵ are drawen to the head, his fire is kyndled, his wrath is gone out, & ready to be powred vppon the contemners of his lawes. Tempt not the Lord any longer; prouoke not⁶ his wrath, exasperate not his iudgements towards thee; for as mercy proceedeth from him, so doth iustice also; And, be sure of it, he payeth home at the laft. For as in mercie he suffreth no good deed to be vnrewarded, so, in his iust iudgments, there is no wickednes⁷ which he leaueth vnpunished. And yet, notwithstanding, their wickednesse and pride is such as stincketh before the face of God, and maketh the Enemies to blasphemē and speake euill of the wayes of the Lord: for, say they, the men of *Ailgna* are wicked & licentious⁸ in all their wayes, which easilly appeareth by their apparell &⁹ new fangled fashions euery day inuented. The beastly Epicures, the Drunkards & swilbowles, vppon their ale benches, when their heads are intoxycat with new wine,¹⁰ wil

* leaf 47. Gods iudgements for Pride. B. ² striken F. ³ a not in E, F.

⁴ dirtie not in F. ⁵ judgement F. ⁷ without repentance added in F.

⁸ dissolute F. † leaf 47, back. Our liues, a slaughter to the Gospell. B.

¹⁰ and strong drinke added in F.

not stick to belch foorth and say, that the inhabitantes of *Ailgna* go brauelye in Apparell, chaunging fashions euerie daye, for no cause so much as to delight the eyes of their harlots¹ withall, and to inamoure the mindes of their fleshly paramours. Thus be this People a laughing stock to all the world for their pride, a flaunder to the word of God & to their profession, scandalles to their brethren, a dishonor and reproch to the Lord, and very caterpillers to themselues in wasting and consuming their goods and treasures vpon vanities & trifles.

[² Spud. I perceiue these are nice dames, I pray you what exercisес followe thei, for the moſte parte beyng thus clothed in their robes, and how doe thei ſpende the tyme? For I ſtand in doubtē thereof:³

Philo. You neede not to doubt. For thei ſpend their time very well, I warrant you, and to their owne contentation.⁴ For ſome of them lye in bed (I will not faie with whom) till nine or tenne of the clocke every mornyng; then, beyng rouzed forthe of their dennes, thei are twoo or three howers in putting on their Robes, which bee-ying⁵ doen, thei go to dinner, where no delicates either of wines or meates are wanting. Then their bo⁶dies beeing ſatiſfied, and their headeſ pretely mizzled with wine, thei walke abrode for a time, or els confer with their familiars (as women you know are talkative enough, & can chat like Pies) all the world knoweth it. Thus ſome ſpende the daie till ſupper tyme, and then the night, as before. Other ſome ſpende the greateſt parte of the daie, in fiftyng at the doore, to fhewe their braueries, to make knownen their beauties, to beholde the paſſengers by, to viewe the coaſt, to ſee fashions, and to acquainte themſelues with the braueſt fellowes: for if not for theſe cauſes, I ſee no other cauſes why thei ſhould fitt at their doores, from Mornyng till Noone (as many doe) from Noone to Night; thus vainly ſpendyng their golden daies in filthie idleneſſe and finne. Againe, otherſome being weary of that exercife, wil⁷ take occaſion (aboute vrgent affaires you muſt ſuſpoſe) to walke into the Towne; & leaſt any thing

Our new
fangles and
toies are occa-
ſions why all
nations mocke
and floute vs.

Our lyuing a
ſlaunder to
the truth.

[The great
paynes that
theſe gentle-
women take. E.]

[leaf 48 B.]

[Exercises and
practices of the
gentlewomen of
Munidnol. B, E.]

¹ whorish mates F.

² From here to p. 89, l. 24, is from B: it's not in A. Heading in F:—The dayly exercisес of the Women of England.

³ they ſcarſe ſpend it wel *instead of* thereof F. ⁴ contentments F.

⁵ beeing not in F.

† leaf 48; no head-line B. E has Hand baskets clokes to ſinne.

⁷ wil not in E, F.

[This page is
not in A.]

[Hand baskets
clokes to
sunne. E.]

[might bee gathered, but that thei goe about fereous matters indeede,
thei will¹ take their baskets in their hands, or vnder their armes; vnder
which pretence, pretie conceites are practized, and yet maie no man
faie blacke is their eye. But if al other waies faile them, yet haue
thei one which be fure will spedee.

Spud. What waie is that, I pracie you declare vnto me.

²*Philo.* Seyng you are so desirous to knowe I will tell you. In the
Feeledes and Suburbes³ of the Cities thei haue Gardens, either palled,
or walled round about very high, with their Harbers and Bowers fit
for the purpose. And least thei might bee espied in these open places,
they haue their Banqueting houfes with Galleries, Turrettes, and
what not els therin sumptuously erected: wherein thei maie (and
doubtlesse doe) many of them plaie the filthie persons. And for
that their Gardens are locked, some of them haue three or fower
keyes a peece, whereof one they keepe for themselues, the other their
Paramours haue to goe in before them, least happely they shoud⁴ be
perceiued, for then were all their⁵ sporte dasht. Then to these Gar-
dens thei repaire when thei list, with a basket and a boy, where thei,
meeting their sweete hartes, receiue their wished desires. These
Gardens are exelent places, and for the purpose; for if thei can speake
with their dearlynges no where els, yet there thei maie be sure to
meete them, and to receiue the guerdon of their paines: thei know
best⁶ what I meane. But I wishe them to amende, for feare of Gods
heauie wrathe in the daie of vengeance.

Spud. Why? doe you condemne the vfe of Gardens⁷ and houses⁷
then altogether?

Philo. No nothyng lesse. For I knowe they bee very healthful,
comfortable, and holosome for mans bodie, and suche thynges, as the
vfe whereof we can⁸ not lacke. But I condemne these abusess, these
corruptions, and enormities there vsed,⁹ and I pray God thei maie be
reformed. There is no thyng so good but it maie be abused: yet I
am not so precise that I would haue the thyng remoued for the abuse,
but the abuse to be taken awaie, whereby the thyng it self is made

¹ will not in E, F. ² heading in F:—Gardens in Englande.

* leaf 48, back; no head-line B. E has Gardens places of baudrie.

⁴ might F. ⁵ the F. ⁶ best not in E, F. ^{7—7} and garden houses F.

⁸ can we F. [†] leaf 49; no head-line B. E has Women good and badd.

[³ leaf 48, back.
B.*]

[Garden in the
feldes no better
then the
Stewes. E.]

[Gardens, places
of baudry. B, E.]

[⁹ leaf 49. B.]

[Euery thing
abused, is not to
be remoued, but
the abuse to be
taken away
only. E.]

[worse. Nor I speake not against the good and Godly women, for I knowe there bee a greate number,—and the Lorde increase the number of them that are chraft, wife, sober, continent, and verteous Matrones, and voyde of all these corruptions!—But against those light, leauade,¹ and incontinent Harlottes (as it is well knowne there bee too many) that runne to those places, as fast as euer did the brothelles to the Stewes. And truely I thinke some of these² places are little better then the Stewes and Brothell houses were in tymes past: I beseeche the Lorde to make³ them cleane, either with the Olieue braunch of his mercie, or with the broome⁴ of his iudgement, that this wickednesse maie be doen⁵ awaie.

[This page to L
24, is not in A.]

[I denounce the
lewd Harlots, not
the virtuous Ma-
trons.]

Spud. Are these⁶ nice Dames, gentle, sober and discrete, or otherwise, giuen to chiding, braulyng, and vnquietneise: For thei shewe themselues abroade (by reporte) as though butter would not melt in their mouthes.

Philo. There are some, sober, wife, gentle, discrete, and verteous Matrones, as any be in al the worlde. And there be other some (yea *maior numerus*) that are neuer well, but when thei be, either brawlyng, scoldyng, or fightyng with⁷ some⁸ of their housholde⁹: and such deuilles, as a man were better to be hanged then to dwel with them. But because I haue smal experiance hereof¹⁰ my self; ¹¹but onely by¹¹ reporte of them that haue made triall thereof themselues, I will saie no more, committynge them ouer to the Lorde, to whom thei either stand if thei doe well, or fall if thei doe euill. B, E, F.]

[Womes good
and bad, but the
greater number
naught. E, F.]
[¹² leaf 49, back.
B.*]

Spud. Seeing that by diuyne affistance you¹² haue now finished [¹² G 7, back] your tractation¹³ of the Apparell of *Ailgna*,¹⁴ shew me (I pray you) what other abuses be there vfed; for I am perswaded that pride, the Mother of all¹⁵ finne, is not without her Daughters of finne¹⁶ semblable to her selfe.

¹ lewd F. ² those F. ³ sweepe E ; purge F. ⁴ sharpe rod F.

⁵ put F. ⁶ those F.

⁷ eyther with F.

* leaf 49, back. Horrible whordome in Ailgna. B.

⁹ or some others added in F.

¹⁰ therof E, F.

¹¹—¹¹ saue onely by the E, F.

¹³ discourse F.

¹⁴ This is always printed England in F.

¹⁵ all not in B, E, F.

¹⁶ of sinne not in B, E, F.

The horrable vice of Whordome in Ailgna.

Philo. THE horrable vice of Whordome also¹ is ther too too much frequented, to the great dishonor of God, the prouoking of his iudgements against them, the staine and blemish of their profession, the euill example of all the world, and finally to their owne damnation for euer, except they repente.

Spud. I haue heard them reason,² that mutuall coition betwixt man and woman is not so³ offendisue before God; For do not all Creatures (say they) as wel *reptilia terræ* as *volatilia Cæli*, the⁴ creping things vpon the earth, as the⁴ flying⁵ Creatures⁶ in the aire, and all other Creatures in generall, both small & great, ingender together? hath not nature and kynd ordained them so? & geuen them members incident⁷ to that vse? & doth not the Lord (say they) (as it were with a stimule or prick, by his mandat, saing *crescite & multiplicamini* & *replete terram*: increase, multiplie & fill the earth,) stirre them⁸ vp to the same? Otherwyse the World wold become barren, and foone fall to decay: wherfore they conclude that whordome is a badge of loue, a cognizance of amitie, a tutch of lustie youth, a frendlie daliance, a redintegration of loue, and an enigne of vertue,⁹ rather meritorious than damnable: thefe, with the like, be¹⁰ the¹¹ exceptions¹⁰ ¹² which I haue hard them many times to obiect¹³ in defence of their carnal pollutions.

Philo. Curfed be thos mouths that thus¹⁴ blasphem the mightie God of *Israell* and his sacred word, making the fame, clokes to couer their finne withall: ¹⁵worse are they¹⁵ than Lybertines who thinke all things lawfull, or Atheistes who denie there is any God. The diuellis themselfes neuer finned so horribly nor erred so grossly as thefe (not Christians, but dogges) do, that make whordom a vertue and meritorious: but because you shal see their deceptions displayed & their damnable abusis more plainly discouered, I will reduce you to the

¹ also *not in F.*² reason thus B, E, F.³ so much F.⁴ the *not in F.*⁵ leaf 50. Libertines defend whordome, B.⁶ Creatures *not in F.*⁷ proper F.⁸ good will B, E, F.^{10—10} their ridiculous reasons F.¹¹ their chidishe B, E.¹² and friuolous objections *added in B, E.* ¹³ pretende B, E; alleadge F.¹⁴ dare to *added in B*; care *in E*; do *in F.* ¹⁵ They are much worser B, E, F.

Whordome in
Ailgna too too
rife.

Vain and vn-
godly reasons
pretending
that whor-
dome is no
sinne.
[5 leaf 50. B.]

Oh wicked
Lybertynes!
[3 G 8]

[Those that
make whordome
lawfull, are
worsen then
Deuills. E.]

first institution¹ of this Godly ordinance of matrimony. The Lord our God, hauing created all things in Heauen, earth or Hell whatsoeuer, created of euery sex two, male & female² of both kindes²; and lyst of al other creatures he made man after his own likenesse & similitude, geuing him a woman, made of a ribbe of his own body, to be his³ companion, & comforter⁴; & lincking them together in the honorable stafe of⁵ venerable wedlocke, he bleisfed them both, saying ‘crescite, multiplicamini & replete terram’; Increase, multiplie, & replenish the earth: wherby it is more than apparent that the Lorde, whose name is *Iehouah*, the mightie God of *Israell*, is the Author of Godly matrimony, instituting it in the tyme of mans innocency⁶ in *Paradice*; and that, as mee seemeth, for foure causes. First, for the auoydaunce of whordom; Secondly, for the mutuall comforde & consolation that the one might haue of the other in all aduersities & calamities whatfoeuer: Thirdly, for the⁷ procreation and Godly⁷ propagation of Children in the feare of the Lord, that both the world might be increased therby, and the Lord also⁸ in them glorified.⁸ And, fourthlie, to be a figure or type of our spirituall wedlocke betwixt Christ and his church, both militant and triumphante. This congreSSION, and mutuall copulation, of those that be thus ioyned together in the Godlye stafe of blessed matrimony is pure virginitie, and allowable before God and man,⁹ as an action wherto the Lorde hath promised his blessing thorow his mercy, not by our merite, *ex opere operato*, as some shame not to say. All other goinges together and coitions are damnable, pestiferous, and execrable. So, now you see that wheras the Lord faith ‘increase, multiplie, & fill the earth,’ he alludeth to those that are cheyneyd¹⁰ together¹¹ in the¹² Godly state of¹² matrimonie and wedlock, and not otherwyse: For to those that go together after any other sorte, he hath denounced his curse and wrath for euermore, as his alsauing word beareth record. And wheras they say that all creatures vpon the Earth do ingender together, I graunte it is true; But how? *in suo genere*, in their owne kinde. There is no

The first institution of matrimonie.
[¹ leaf 50, back.
B.**]

Gene. 2.
Mat. 19.
Marc.
Luc. 16.
1 Cor. 6.
Ephe. 5.

[⁵ G 8, back.]

Marriage instituted for 4 causes.

[³. [Procreation.]

^{4.} [As type of Christ and his Church.]

All mutuall copulation except mariage is unlawfull.
[¹⁰ H 1.]

How all creatures do goe together in their kinde.

* leaf 50, back. Gods curse for Whordome. B.

²—² not in E, F.

³ a for his E, F.

⁴ vnto him added in E, F.

⁶ inconcency A; innocencie B, E, F.

⁷—⁷ not in B, E, F.

⁸—⁸ be glorified in him E, F. (be not in F.)

+ leaf 51. Fidelitie in maried couples. B.

¹⁰ linked F.

¹²—¹² state of godly F.

92 The Heathen detest whoredome. The Anatomie

creature creeping on the earth, or flying in the aire, how irrationalle
foeuer, that dooth¹ degenerate as man dooth, but keepethe the same
state and order wherein they were made at the firſt; ²and fo² if man
did, he ſhould not commit³ abhominal whordome and filthie finne
as hee dooth. It is ſaid of thoſe that write *de natura animalium*, that
(almoſt) all vnreafonable beaſts and flying fowles, after they haue
once linked and vniited them ſelues together to any one of the ſame
kinde, and after they haue once eſpoused them ſelues the one to the
other, wil⁴ neuer after⁵ ioyne them ſelues with any other, til the one
be diſſolued from the other by death. And thus they keepe the knot
of matrimonie iniuio⁶lable to the end. And if any one⁷ chaunce to
reuoalte, and go togither with any other, during the life of his firſt
mate, al the reſt of the ſame kind aſſemblē togither, as it were in a
council or parliament, and either kil or greeuously puniſh the adul‐
terer or adultereſſe, whether [ſo]euer⁸ it be; which lawe I⁹ would
God were amoungt Chriſtians eſtabliſhed. By all which it may appear
how horrible a finne whordome is in nature, that the very vnreafon‐
able creatures doo abhorre it. The Heathen people, who know not
God, ſo much lothe this ſtinking finne of whordome, that ſome burne
them quick, ſome hang them on gibbets, ſome cut off their heds,
ſome their armes, legs and hands; ſome put out their eyes, ſome
burne them in the face, ſome cut of their noſes, ſome one parte of
their bodye, ſome another, and ſome with one kind of torture, and
ſome with another; but none leaueth them vnpunished: ſo that we
are ſet to ſchoole to learn our¹⁰ firſt rudiments¹⁰ (like yung Nouices or
Children ſcarce crept out of the ſhel¹¹) how to puniſh whordome, euen
by the vnreafonable creatures, and by the heathen people¹² who are
ignorant of the deuine goodnes. ¹³God be merciful vnto vs / 18

Spud. I pray you rehearſe ſome places out of the woord of God,
wherin this curſed vice of whordome is forbiden, for my better
inſtruſtion.

Philo. Our Sauiour Chriſte, in the eight of *John*, ſpeaking to the

¹ doeth ſo B, E, F. ^{2—2} whiche thing B, E, F. ³ commit ſuch E, F.

⁴ thei wil B, E, F. ⁵ after *not in* B; follows themſelves in E, F.

† leaf 51, back. The Heathen detest whoredome. B. ⁷ one *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ ſoeuer B, E, F.

^{10—10} A. B. C. in F. .

¹¹ ſwadling cloaſhes F.

¹² people themſelves B, E, F.

^{13—13} *not in* B, E, F.

woman whom the malitious *Ieuves* had apprehended in adulterie, bad her go her way, and sin no more. If it had not been a moſte greeuous sin, he would neuer haue bid her ²to ſin therin ² no more.

Testimonies
out of the
word of god
wherin whor-
dome is fornd.

[¹ leaf 52. B.]
[³ H 2]
Mat. 5.

³In the fift of *Mathew* he faith, ‘Who ſo luſteth after a woman in his hart, hath committed the fact alredy, and therfore is guiltie of death for the ſame.’ To the *Pharifes*, asking him whether a man might not put away his wife for any occation? *Christe* anſwered, ‘for no caufe, faue for whordome onely’; inferring that whordome is ſo hainous a finne, as for the perpetration therof it thalbe lawful for a man to fequeſter⁴ him ſelf from his owne wife, and the wife from her owne huſband. The Apostle *Paul* fayth, ‘know you not that your bodyes are the members of *Christe*? shall I then take the members of *Christe* (faith he), and make them the members of an whore? *God forlid!* knowe yee⁵ not that he who coupleth him ſelf with a⁶ harlot is become one body with her?’ ‘flee⁷ fornication (faith he), therfore, for euery finne that a man committeth is without the body, but who committeth fornication, finneth againſt his owne body.’ And in an-other place: ‘knowe you not that your Bodyes are the temples of the holy ghoſt, which dwelleth within you? And who ſo deſtroyeth the Temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy.’

Mat. 19; Mat.
10, Luc. 16.

i Cor. 6.

[The Bible
againſt whore-
dom.]

In an other place he faith: ‘be not deceiued, for neither Whoremonger, Adulterer, Fornica⁸tor, incestuous person, nor ſuch like, ſhall euer enter into the kingdome of heauen.’ Again, ‘*Coniugium honorabile eft inter omnes:* ⁹ Mariage is honorable amongſt all men, and the bed vndeſiled; but whooremongers and adulterers, God ſhall iudge.’ In the Reuelation of Saint *John* it is ſaid, that they who were not defiled with women doo waite vpon the Lamb, whetherſoever he goeth. The Apostle *Paul* willeth vs to be ſo far from fornication, that it¹⁰ be¹¹ not once named amongſt vs, as becommeth Saints; with infinit ſuch places, which for breefnes¹² I omit, referring you in the olde Teſtament to theſe and ſuch like¹³ places, namely, the 20 of *Exodus*, 20 of *Leuiticus*, ¹⁴*Deutronomie* 22, *Deutro.* 27, 2 *Reg.*¹⁴ 11,

[8 leaf 52, back.
B.]

[9 H 2, back]

* leaf 52. Examples againſt whoredome. B. ^{2—2} ſin F.

⁴ deuide F. ⁵ you F. ⁶ an F. ⁷ Flie F.

[†] leaf 52, back. The rewarde of chaste liuers. B.

¹⁰ it maie B, E, F. ¹¹ be comes after once in F. ¹² breuitie F.

¹³ like not in E, F. ^{14—14} 22. Deuteronomy. [†] 27. 2. Kinges F. ([#] 22 Deuteronomie for Deuteronomie 22, Deutro. in B, E.)

94 Punishmentes for Whordome. The Anatomic

[Bible bits
against whor-
dom.]

Genesis 7, 8.

Punishments
of whordom in
all Ages.

[⁶ leaf 53. B.†]

Genesis 19 ;
Genesis 24

Genesis 20.
[⁷ H. 3]

G. 26.

Ge. 18.

² Reg. 16.

[Absalon,

Ge. 29.

Reuben,]

Iudi. 20.

² Reg. 13, 12.

[David,

Solomon,]

[¹ Reg. 11. B,
E. F.]

Leuit. 18,¹ Exodus 22. Num. 5, Eccle. 9, Pro. 23, Pro. 7² verfe, 24.

Spud. As you haue now prooued by inuincible testimonies of holy Scripture, that whordome is forbidden by the Lord, so, I pray you, shew mee the greeuousnes thereof by some feuere & rare examples of Gods iust iudgement, executed³ vpon the same from the begining.

Philo. The whole world was destroyed with water, not any liuing thing left vpon the erth (saue in the Ark of *Noah*,⁵) for the sin of whordom, incest, & brothelry, vsed in those daies. *Sodoma* and *Go-morra*, two famous Cities, were consumed with fire and brimstone from heauen for the like sin of whordom, adulterie, and fornication. The citie of the *Sichemits*, man, woman, and childe, weare put to the edge of the ⁷fwoord for the rauishing of *Dina*, the daughter of *Iacob*. The Lord also tolde *Abimelech* that if he did not let go vntouched *Sara*, *Abraham* his⁸ wife, bothe he and all his houshalde shoulde⁹ dye the death, notwithstanding he did it ignorantly. The very same hapned to *Isaac* also. *Iudah*,¹⁰ vnderstanding that his daughter in law was impregnate and great with childe, and not knowing by whom, commanded that she shoulde be burned without any further delay.¹¹ Was not *Abdalon*, king *Dauid* his sonne, plagued all his life for going into his Fathers Concubines? And did not *Achitophel*, who gaue counceal so to do, hang himself? Was not *Ruben*, the first borne sonne of *Iacob*, accursed for going vp to his Fathers bed; and lost he not his birth-right, his dignitie, his¹² primacie, ouer his Bretheren for the same? Were there not abooue threescore and fve thousand men slain for the adulterie doon with one *Leuits* wife? Was not king *Dauid* punished all the daies of his life for his adultery doon with *Bersabe*, *Vrias* his wife? Was not his sonne *Amon*, for lying with¹³ *Thamar*, slain? Was not *Salomon*, beeing peruerted with¹⁴ hethen women, cast out of the fauour of God, notwithstanding being otherwise the wifest Prince in all the world? ¹⁵ Did not¹⁵ *Achab*, at the perswa-

¹ Leuiticus 11 B, E, F.

² 2 Prouer. 7 B, E. ³ poured forth E, F.
⁴ heading in F :—Examples of whoredom punished in all ages.

⁵ Noah F. [†] leaf 53. Punishmentes for Whordom. B.

⁸ Abrahams F. ⁹ shall F. ¹⁰ Iudas A. ¹¹ de-delay (*sic*) F.

¹² and B, E, F. ¹³ his Sister added in F. ¹⁴ with many F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ not in F.

sions of *Iesabel*, his cursed wife, falling ¹ to Idolatrie and woorschiping of Idolles ²and devils, suffer³ moste cruel punishment in this life all his dayes; besides, what he suffereth now, God onely knoweth. Were not the *Israelite* and *Madianitish* woman both slain⁴ by that worthy man *Phinees*, who ran them both thorow the⁵ priuy members with his Iauelin or fwoord? Was not *Sampson* brought to a miserable end, his eyes beeing bothe put out, and he made to be a laughing stock to all men, thorow his too much fauouring of wanton women? Was not king *Pharaos* wunderfully plagued, but for intending euil in his hart towards *Sara*, *Abraham* his wife? Did not the Lord slay (with a moste greeuous mortalitie) foure & twentie thousand of the *Israelites* in one day, for whordome and adulterie with the women of the *Moabites* and *Madianits*? [Reg 21.
leaf 53, back.
B.¶]
[H 3, back]
Num. 25.
Jud. 16.
[Sampson,
Pharaoh,
Gene. 12.]
[24,000 Israelites]

By these, and such like fearful Examples of the iustice of God powred vpon these whoremongers & adultrers, we may learn to know the greeoufnes of the fame, and the punishment due to all whoremongers and fornicatours, either in this life, or in the World⁶ to come, or els in both: for if the Lord deferre the punishment of whordome in this life, hee reserueth it for the world to come, suffering the wicked to wallow in their finne, and to fil vp the measure of iniquitie, that their damnation may be iuft. And if the Lord left not fin vnpunished, no, not in ⁷his most deer Saints, ⁸what he wil⁹ doo in them who dayly crucifie him anew, let the world¹⁰ judge. [leaf 54. B.¶]
[H 4.]

Spud. Now am I fully perswaded, by your inuincible reasons, that there is no fin greater before the face of God then whordome; wherfore, *God graunt that all his may avoid it.*

Philo. You haue said true, for there is no finne (almost¹¹) comparable vnto it; for besides that it bringeth euerlastinge damnation to all that liue therin to the end without repentance, it also bringeth these inconueniences, with many mo: *videlicet*, it dimmeth the sight, it impaireth the hearing, it infirmeth the finewes, it weakneth the ioynts, it exhausteth the marrow, consumeth the¹² moisture and supplement of the body, it riualeth the face, appalleth the countenance, it dulleth

What evils
whordome
bringeth to
mans body in
this life.

* leaf 53, back. Examples for Whoremongers. B.

³ should be suffer'd in F. ⁴ for Whoredome added in F.

⁵ their B, E, F.

⁶ life E, F.

† leaf 54. Many euils come by whordome. B

⁹ wil B; shall E, F.

¹⁰ godly E, F.

¹¹ almost not in F.

¹² the radicall F.

96 Causes of Bastardie in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

the spirits, it hurteth the memorie, it weakneth the whole body, it bringeth¹ it into a¹ consumption, it bringeth² vlcerations,³ scab, scurf, blain, botch, pocks, & biles; it maketh hoare haires &⁴ bald pates; it induceth olde age, &, in fine, bringeth death before nature vrge it, malady enforce it, or age require⁵ it.

Sp. Seeing that whordome bringeth such soure fauce with it, namely,⁶ death euerlasting after this life, and so many discommodities besides in this life, I wunder that men dare commit the same so securely as they doo now a dayes.

Philo. It is so little feared in *Ailgna*, that, vn⁷till⁸ euery one hath⁸ two or three Bastardes a peece, they esteeme him no man⁹ (for that they call a mans deed); infomuch as¹⁰ euery scuruie boy of twelue, sixteen, or twenty yeeres of age, wil make no conscience of it to haue two or three, peraduenture half a dozen feuerall women with childe at once; and this exploite beeing doon, he shewes them¹¹ a faire pair of heeles, and away goeth he, *Euro¹² velocius*, as¹³ quick as a Bee¹³ (as they say) into some strange place where he is not knownen, where, how he liueth, let the wise¹⁴ juge, for, *cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*; though they chaunge their place of abode, yet their naughtie dispositions they retaine stiil. Then, hauing estrangued them selues thus for a small space, they returne againe, not to their pristine cursed life, I dare say, but vnto¹⁵ their cuntrey, and then no man may say black is their eye; but all is wel, & they as good christians as those that suffer them vnpunished.

Spud. The state and condition of that Cuntrey is most miserable, if it be true you report: it weare much better that euery one had his lawful wife, and euery woman her lawfull husband, as the Apostle commaundeth, then thus to be¹⁶ drowned¹⁷ in the filthie sin of whordome.

Philo. That is the only salue and soueraine remedy which the lord ordained against whordome, that those who haue not the gift of

^{1—1} not in B, E, F. ² causeth B, E, F. ³ vlceration F.

⁴ and not in B, E, F. ⁵ constraine F. ⁶ as namely B, E, F.

+ leaf 54, back. Causes of bastardie in Ailgna. B.

^{8—8} one hath had F.

¹⁰ that E, F.

¹¹ all added in E, F.

¹² pilo F.

^{13—13} round as a hall F.

¹⁴ world F.

¹⁵ to E.

¹⁶ lye B, E.

¹⁷ and immerged added in E; plunged F.

[7] Leaf 54, back.
B, f.]

[9] H 4, back]

The small
care to auoid
whordome in
Ailgna.

Whormongers
runagates.

Mariage an
antidotarie
against Whor-
dome.

continencie might mary, and so keep their vessells ¹vndefiled to the Lord. But, notwithstanding, in *Ailgna* there is ouer great libertye permitted therin; for little infants in swadling clowts, are often maried by their ambitious Parents and frends, when they know neither good nor euill; and this is the origene of much wickednesse, & directlie against the word of God, and examples of the primityue age. And besydes this, you shall haue euery sawcy boy of x, xiiij, xvii, or xx yeres of age, to catch vp a woman & marie her, without any feare of God at all, or respect had, either to her religion, wisdom, integrtie of lyfe, or any other vertue; or, which is more, without any respekte how they maye lyue together with sufficient maintenance for their callings and estat. No, no; it maketh no matter for these things: so he haue his pretie pufsie to huggle withall, ²it forceth not,² for that is the only thing he desireth. Than build they vp a cotage, though but of elder poals, in euery lane end, almost, wher they lyue as beggers al their life.³ This filleth the land with such store of poore people,⁴ that in short tyme (except some caution⁵ be prouided to preuent the same), it is like to growe to great pouertie and scarfnes,⁶ which, God forbid!

[^x H 5 A; leaf 55 B,*]
Maring of
infants in
swadling
cloths.

Euery Boy
snatcheth vp a
Woman to
wifte.

[Cottages in
every lane end.
E, F.]

Sp. I canot see how this gearre shold be holpen.

Philo. What if a restraint were made that ⁷none (except vppon speciall and vrgente causes) should marie before they come to xx or xxiiij ⁸yeeres, or, at the⁹ leaft, before they be xiiij or xviii yeeres old, would not this make fewer beggers than now [⁸ H 5, back] there are?

A restraint of
mariaze.
[⁷ leaf 55, back.
B, f.]

Sp. But if this were establisched, than should we haue moe Baftards; and of the two, I had rather we had many ¹⁰legittimats than many illegittimates.¹⁰

Philo. The occasiōn of begetting of manye Baftards were foone cut of, if the punishment which either¹¹ God his lawe doth allowe, or

How whor-
dome may be
suppreſſed.

* leaf 55. Causes of many beggars in Ailgna. B.

²—² not in B, E, F.

³ life after B, E, F.

⁴ Mendicantes, or to speak plainly §, of Beggers as wee call them B, E. § E has plainlyer. For ‘of poore people,’ F has of Beggers as we call them F.

⁵ remedy F.

⁶ extream misery F.

† leaf 55, back. Remedies to supresse whordome. B. ⁹ the not in E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ children lawfully begot than many Bastards F.

¹¹ either not in F.

98 Due punishment for whordome. The Anat[omie]

els which good pollicy¹ doth constitute,¹ were² aggrauated and ex-
ecuted² vpon the Offenders.

The punish-
ment for
whordome
ouer remise.

[⁵ leaf 56. B.†]

[⁶ H 6]

[Whoredome
ought not to be
punished by the
purse. E, F.]

[Let the Arch-
deacons look to
it!]

For the punishment appointed for whordome now is so light that they esteeme not of it; thei feare it not, they make but a iest of it. For what great thing is it to go ij or three dayes in a white sheete³ before the congregation, and that somtymes not past an howre or two in a day, hauing their vsuall garments vnderneth, as commonly they haue?⁴ This impunitie (in respecte of condigne punisiment, which that⁵ vice requireth) doth rather animate and imbolden them to the acte, than feare them from it. In so much as I haue heard some miscreants impudently say, that he is but a beast that for such white lyuered punishment would abstaine from suche gallant paftyme: but certen it is that they who thinke it suche sweet meate here, shall find the fawce fowre⁶ and ftiwick⁷ enough in Hell. [⁸ And yet as light and as easie as this punishment is, it may be, and is dailey dispensed⁹ with-all for monie: and this is thought to be the best kinde of punishment, to punishe them by the purse. Then the whiche, what can be a greater disorder in a Christian common wealth? Is this any thyng els then to buye and sell the bodies and soules of Christians for monie? Can the Pope himself doe any more then this? Is not this a maintenance of the Stewes? Yea, so long as this is vfed, the Stewes shall neuer be out of Ailgna. Let the Magistrates therefore of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchie (for to them I speake) take heede that thei be not maintainers of Stewes and whoredome, whereof thei would so faine bee thought to bee suppressors. For this kind of dispensing with Whoredome, Adulterie, and Fornication for monie, and settynge of them free a *culpa, rubore,*¹⁰ & *poena,*¹¹ in this worlde,¹¹ from the falte¹² it self,¹³ from the shame,¹³ and punishment due for the fault? What is it els then not onely a maintenaunce, but also a

¹—¹ hath constituted F. ²—² executed and aggrauate B; inflicted F.

³ or els in a Cope (a ridiculous kinde of punishment) added in B, E, F.

⁴ [And truely I can not a little admire, nor yet sufficiently deplore the^{*} (* that F.) wickednesse of the Ecclesiastical Magistrates, in not punishing more greeuously, this horrible sinne of whoredome: for to goe in a sheete with a white wande in their handes, is but a plain mockyng of God, and of his Lawes. Added in B, E, F.]

⁷ bitter F.

⁹ suspended in E.

¹² falte B, E; fault F.

† leaf 56. No head line. B.

⁸ From this, to p. 99, l. 16, not in A.

¹⁰ not in F.

¹¹—¹¹ not in E, F.

¹³—¹³ not in F.

[stirryng of them vp to commit whoredome, when for a little monie thei ¹maie be discharged of all gilte? And this beyng certaine, or at least very likely, *that whosoeuer getteth one with child, of what reputation or degree soever she be of, (if he be singlē) he shall be forced to marie her, and that² for a little peece of monie, thei may both haue a Bull of dispensation.* This beyng so, who, I saie, will not seeke to aspire as high as he can,³ and assay⁴ to deflower (in hope of further gaine) as many as he maie.⁵ This filuer punishment is it, that defileth honest Matrones, polluteth chraft Virgines, and dishonesteth poore Maides, to their vtter shame and vndoynge for euer. I saie nothyng, how the monie receiued for these dispensations is bestowed, how spent, nor wherevpon⁶ employed. The Lord for his mercies sake, giue them grace to puniſhe vice ſeuere, as the worde of God doeth commaunde, and not after their owne ſenſuall deſires,⁷ and licencious luſtes, that God maie be glorified, and their conſciences diſburdened⁸ at the greate daie of the Lorde. *Added in B, E, F.]*

Spud. What punishment would you haue inflicted vpon ſuch as commit this horrible kinde of finne?

Philo. I would wiſh that the Man or Woman, who are certenlye knownen, without all ſcrupule or doublte, to haue committed the horryble fact of whordome, adulterie, incest, or fornication, eyther ſhould⁹ drinke a full¹⁰ draught of *Moyſes* cuppe, that is, taſt of preſent death [as Gods word doth¹¹ commaunde, and good pollicie allowe B, E]; or els, if *that* be thought too ſeuere (for¹² in euill, men will be more merciſfull than the Author of mercie him ſelfe, but in goodneſſe, fare well mercy) than wold God they miſt be cauterized and feared with a hote yron on¹³ the cheeke, forehead, or ſome other parte of their boſye that miſt be ſeene, to the¹⁴ end the honeſt and chraft Christians miſt be diſcerned from the adulterous Children of Sathan.¹⁴ But (alas!) this vice (with the reſt) wanteth ſuſh due punishment as God hiſ Word doth commaunde to be executed¹⁵ theryppon.¹⁶

[*To L. 16 is not in A]*

[*To dispence with whoredome for money, is a playne maintenance of whordome. E, F.]*
[** leaf 56, back B.*]*

What kind of punishment whordome ought to haue.

* leaf 56, back. Due punishment for whordome. B. ² thus F.

³ may in E, F. ⁴ assay not in E, F. ⁵ can in E, F.

⁶ whereunto in E, F. ⁷ appetites F. ⁸ diſcharged F.

⁹ eyther comes after ſhould in F. ¹⁰ full not in F.

[†] leaf 57. A late example for whordome, in Aig. B.

¹² as in E, F. ¹³ vpon F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ end that the adulterous children of Sathan, might be diſcerned from the honest and chraft Christians B, E, F. ¹⁵ inflicted F. ¹⁶ vpon them E, F.

100 Two adulterers burned in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

[Magistrates
wink at whore-
dom.]

The Magistrates wincke at it, or els, as looking thorowe their fingers, they see it, and will not see it.

¹ And therfore the Lorde is forced too take the fword into his owne hands, and to execute punishment him selfe, because the Magistrates will not.²

[³ H 6, back]

³ For better proof wheroft, marke this strange & fearful iudgment of god, shewed vpon two adulterous persons there,⁴ euen the last day in effect, the remembrance wheroft is yet green in their heds.

[A most dread-
full example of
two notorious
whoremongers.
E.]

There was a man whose name was *W. Ratfurl*⁵, being certenly knownen to be a notorious vserer (and yet pretending alway a singuler zeale to religion, so that he wold seldom tymes go without a byble about him: but see the iudgements of God vpon them that will take his word in their mouthes, and yet lyue cleane contrarie, making the word of God a cloke to couer their ⁶finne and naughtynesse withall⁷) ;

[⁵ W. Brustar.]

[⁶ leaf 57, back.
B †]
[Bridewell.]

who, vpon occasion of busines, visiting *Lewedirl*, a place appointed for the correction of such that⁸ be wicked lyuers, saw there a famous whore, but a very proper Woman, whom (as is faid) he knew not; but whether he did or not, certen it is that he procured her delyuery from thence, bayled her, &, hauing put away his owne wife before, kept her in his chamber, vsing her at his pleasure. Whyleft these two members of the deuil were playing the vile *Sodomits* together in his chamber, & hauing a litle pan of coles before them, wherin was a very little fire, it pleased God, euen in his wrath, to strike these two persons dead in a moment. The Woman, falling ouer the pan of coles, was burned, that all her bowels gushed out: the man was founde lying by, his ⁹cloths in some partes being scorched and burned, & some partes of his body also. But, which is most wonderfull, his arme was burned to the very boone, his shirt sleeve and dublet not once perished, nor tuched with the fire. Wherby may be thought, & not without great probabilitie of truth, that it was euen the fire of God his wrath from Heauen, and not any natural fire from the earth. And in this wonderfull & fearfull maner weare these cupple founde: which God graunt may be a document¹⁰ to all that

¹ From here to p. 101, end of line 3, not in F.

² not do it added in E.

⁴ in Munidhol, for there E.

[†] leaf 57, back. Two Adulterers burned in Ailgna. B.

⁷ as many do in these daies added in E.

⁸ as B, E.

¹⁰ or lesson admonitorie added in B, E.

[Whoremongers
members of the
Deuill. E.]

[⁹ H 7]

[The punish-
ment of whor-
dom by the
Lord himself
from heauen. E.]

heare or read the same, to avoyde the like offence, and to all Magistrates an Example to see the same punished with more seueritie, to [¹ leaf 58. B.] the glorie of God and their owne discharge.

But so farre² are some from suffering condigne punishment for this horrible sinne, that they get good maintenance with practisynge the same. For shall you not³ haue some, yea many thousands, that liue vpon nothing els, and yet go clothed Gentlewomenlike, both in their silks,⁴ and otherwyse, with⁵ their fingers clogged with rings, their wrists with bracelets & Iewels, and their purses full of gold and siluer. And hereof they make no conscience, so their Husbands know it not. Or if they doo, some are such peascants, and such maycocks, that either they will not, or (which is truer) they dare not, reprove them for it. But & if the Husband once reprove them for their misde⁶meanour, [⁶ H 7, back] than they conspire his death by some meane or other. And all this commeth to passe because the punishment therof is⁷ no extremer, as it ought to be⁷; And some, both Gentlemen and others (wherof some I know) are so nusled herein, that hauing put awaye their owne wyues, do⁸ keepe whores openly, without any great punishment for it; and hauing beene conuented before the⁹ magistery, and there beene⁹ deposed vpon a booke to put away their whores, haue put them foorth at one doore, and taken them in at the other.

And thus they dally in their othes with the Lord, and stoppe the course of the lawe¹¹ with *rubrum argentum*,¹² wherof they haue store to bestowe vpon such wickednesse, but¹³ haue not a mite¹³ to give towards any good purpose.

Wherfore, in the name of God, let all men that haue put away their honest wyues be forced to take them again, and abandon all whores, or els to tase of the law. And let all whores be cut of with the fword of¹⁴ right iudgement¹⁴; For as long as this immunitie and impunitie is permitted amonkest vs, let vs neuer looke to please God, but rather prouoke his heuie iudgements against vs. And the reason

[Many gette
great liunges
with practising of
whordome. E, F.]

[Putting away
honest wifes and
retaining of¹⁰
whores. E, F.]

[¹¹ leaf 58, back.
B, H]

[Lawe ought to
be executed
without par-
tialtie. E, F.]

* leaf 58. Knowne whores kept openly. B.

² Yea so farre of F.

³ not omitted in F.

⁴ and Veluets added in F.

⁵ not in F.

⁷—⁷ so easie and gentle as it is F.

⁸ they E, F.

⁹—⁹ magistrates and there F.

¹⁰ of nat in F.

† leaf 58, back. Great excesse and belly cheere. B. E has Whoredome:
Honest wifes put away.

¹² vnguentum F.

¹³—¹³ not a penny F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ iustice F.

[¹² H 8]

is, for that there is no finne in all the World, but these whores and whoremasters will¹ willingly attempt and atcheive for the¹ inioying of their whordome. ²And Hell, destruction, and death euerlasting, is the guerdon therof, and yet men cannot³ be aware³ of it. The Lord⁴ remoue it from all his Children,⁴ and present them blameles before his tribunall seate, without spotte or wrinkle at that⁵ great day of the Lord!

Spud. What⁶ memorable thing⁶ els haue you seen there frequented? for seeing you haue begun in parte, I pray you describe the whole.

Gluttonie⁷ and drunkenneffe⁸ in Ailg[na].

Philo. I Haue seene that which greeueth mee to report. The People there are marueilously giuen to daintie fare, gluttonye, belli-cheer, & many also to drunkenneffe & gourmandice.

⁹*Sp.* That is a manifest argument of good hospitality, which both is commended in the word of God, & which I know you wil not reprehende.

Ph. Godly hospitalitie is a thing in no wise worthy of reprehencion, but rather of great commendation; for many haue receiuied Angels into their houses, at vnawares, by vsing the same, as *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Tolias*, & many others. Yet if hospitality flow ouer into superfluitie & riotous exceffe, it is not tolerable: for¹⁰ now adayes, if the table be not couered¹¹ from the one end to the other, as thick as one dish can stand by another, ¹²with delicat meats¹³ of sondry sorts, one cleane different from an other, and to euery dish a feuerall sawce appropiat to¹⁴ his kinde, it is thought there vnworthye the name of a diuner. Yea, so many dishes shal you haue pesteruing the table¹⁵ at once, as the infaciablist *Helluo*, the deuouringest glutton, or the greediest cormorant that is¹⁶, can scarce eat of euery one a litle. And these many shall you haue at the first course; as many at the seconf; and, peraduenture, moe at the third; besydes other sweet condyments,¹⁷ and delicat confectiones of spiceries, and I cannot tell what. And to these

^{1—1} greedily commit for F.

^{3—3} beware B, E, F.

^{4—4} keep all his children from it F. ⁵ the F. ^{6—6} notable abuses F.

⁷ The Gluttonie B, E, F.

⁸ exceffe B, E, F.

* leaf 59. Great exceffe in delicate fare. B. ¹⁰ and B, E. ¹¹ pestered F.

¹² meat F. ¹⁴ in F. ¹⁵ thereon F. ¹⁶ ever was B, E, F. ¹⁷ iunkets F.

Daintie fare,
gluttony and
gourmandice
vsed in Ailg.
[⁹ leaf 59. B.*]

Godly hospi-
tality to be
commended.

[¹² H 8, back]

Varietie of
dishes and
meats, with
their curious
sawces.

Excesse of
meats.

dainties, all kind of wynes are not wanting, you may be sure. Oh, what nisiti¹ is this! what vanitie, exceſſe,² ryot and superfluitie is heare! Oh, farewell former world! For I haue heard my Father say that in his dayes, one dish or two of good wholesome ³meate was thought ſufficient for a man of great worſhip to dyne withall; and if they had three or four kinds, it was reputed a ſumptuous meal. A good pece of beef was thought than good meat, and able for the beſt; but now it is thought too groſſe, for their tender ſtomacks ⁴are not able⁴ to diſteſt ⁵ſuch crude and harſh meats⁵: For if they ſhould, (their ſtomacks being ſo queaſie as they be, and not able⁶ to concoct it) they ſhould but⁷ euacuat the ſame againe, as other filthie excrements,⁸ their bodies receiuing no noorif⁹ment therby, or els¹⁰ they ſhould¹⁰ lye ſtinching in their ſtomacks, as dirte in a filthie finck or pruyie. If this be ſo, I marueile how oure fore-Fathers lyued, who eat little els but cold meats, groſſe and hard of diſteſture. Yea, the¹¹ moft of them fead vpon graine, corne, roots, pulse, herbes, weeds, and ſuch other baggage, and yet liued longer then wee, ¹²helthfuller then we, were¹² of better complexion then we, and much stronger then we in euerie respect: wherfore I cannot perſwade my ſelf otherwife, but that our niceſſes and curioufnes in dyet hath altered our nature, diſtempercd our bodies, and made vs more¹³ ſubiect to millions of¹⁴ diſcrasies and¹⁴ diſeaſes then euer weare our Forefathers ſubiect vnto, and conſequently of ſhorter life then they.

Spud. They wil afke you again, wherfore god made ſuch varietie of meats, but to be eaten of men? what anſwere give you to that?

Philo. The Lord our God ordained, indeede, the vſe of meat¹⁵ and drinks for man to ſustain the fraile, caduke,¹⁷ and brittle estate¹⁸ of his mortall body withall¹⁹ for a time; But he gaue²⁰ it him not²⁰ to²¹ delight and²² wallow therin continually²²; for as the olde Adage faith, *Noz*

¹ what prodigality added in F.

² what exceſſe F.

* leaf 59, back. Hard fare holsomest. B.

^{4—4} and ^{5—5} not in, B, E,

F. From ſuch to pruyie, line 13, not in F.

⁶ ſo vnable for not able B, E.

⁷ but not in B; might happily E.

⁸ crude and indigest B, E.

^{10—10} it would B; might E.

¹¹ the not in F.

¹² were before helthfuller B, E, F. ¹³ more not in B, E, F. ^{14—14} not in F.

† leaf 60. How meates bryng deſtruſion. B. ¹⁶ meates B, E, F. ¹⁷ not in F.

¹⁸ ſtate F. ¹⁹ withall not in F. ^{20—20} them not unto him B, E, F. ²¹ for F.

^{22—22} pleasure onely, but for neceſſtie and neede F; as the ſwine do in yemire added after continually in B, E.

The austerity
and Godly
ſimplicity of
the former
World in meats
and drinkeſ.
[³ leaf 59, back.
B.]

Nice, tender
ſtomacks. [not
in F.]

The faraginie
or rough fare
of our Fore-
fathers.

Our nice fare
hath altered
our bodies and
chaunged our
nature.

Medietie to be
obserued in
meats.

[7 I 1, back]

When meats
and drinks are
Instruments of
destruction
vnto vs.

Ge. 24.

¹ Reg. 2.¹⁴
[¹⁵ leaf 60, back.
B. *]

[Bible instances
of the evils of
Gluttony.]

Daniel 5.
verse 5.¹⁶

[¹⁸ sign. I 2]

Luc. 16.

Mat. 4.
[The Devil
tempted Christ
through Glut-
tony.]

*vivendum*¹ *vt edamus, sed edendum*² *vt vivamus*: Wee³ must not liue³ to eat, but wee must⁴ eat to liue; wee must not swill and ingurgitate our⁵ stomacks so ful,⁶ as no more can be crammed⁷ in. The Lord willed⁸ that they should be ordinarie⁹ meanes to preserue¹⁰ the stafe of¹⁰ our bodyes¹¹ a time, whilste we liue and sojourne in this vaste wildernes of the worlde, but not that they should be instruments of destruction to vs bothe of body and soule. And truely they are no lesse when they are takez immoderatly without the feare of God. And¹² dooth not the impletion and facietie of meates and drinks prouoke lust? as Hiero saith, *Venter Mero estuans spumat in libidinem*, the belly enflamed with wine bursteth foorth into lust. Doth not lust bring foorth sinne, and sin bring¹³ foorth death? The Children of *Israell*, giuing themselfes to delicat fare & gluttony, fel to Idolatrie, sacriledg & apostasie, worshipping stocks, stones, and deuils, in-sted of the liuing God. The sonnes of *Hely* the Priest, giuing themselfes to daintie fare & belly-cheere, fell into such sin as the Lord flew them all, & their fa¹⁵ther alfo, for that he chastised them not for the same. The Children of blessed *Job*, in midst of all their banquetings & ryot, were slain by the lord, the whole house falling vpon them, and destroying them most pitifully. *Balthasar*, king of the *Chaldeans*, in midst of all his good cheer, saw a hand writing vpon the wall these woords, *mene*¹⁷ *techel uphar sin*, signifiing that his kingdome should be taken from him; and so it was, and he slain the same night by the¹⁸ hand of the lord. The rich glutton in the Gofpel, for his riotous feastings & propoterous¹⁹ liuing, was condemned to the fire of hel. Our Father *Adam*, with all his of-spring (to the end of the world) was condemned to hel-fire for taking one apple to satisfie his glotonus desire withall. Gluttony was one of the chiefeſt canons wherwith the deuil assailed Christe, thinking therby to batter his kingdome & to win the feeld for euer; yet notwithstanding the greeuousnes heeroſ, the ſame is thought to be a coutenance & a great credit to a man in *Aylg[na]*. But true hofpitality confiſteth not in many dishes, nor in fundry ſorts of meats

¹ *vivimus* F. ² *edimus* F. ^{3—3} *liue not* F. ⁴ *must not in* F.

⁵ *so much into our* B, E, F. ⁶ *so ful not in* B, E, F. ⁸ *prouided them* E, F.

⁹ *as F.* ^{10—10} *not in F.* ¹¹ *for a* B, E, F. ¹² *Besides that* B, E, F.

¹³ *bringes F.*

¹⁴ ³ *Reg. 2. in* B, E, F.

* *leaf 60, back. Small relieve for the poore. B. E has Gluttony punished.*

¹⁶ *verse 5. 25. in* B, E, F. ¹⁷ *mene added in* B, E, F. ¹⁹ *inordinate F.*

(the substance wherof is chaunged¹ almoste into accidents thorow their curious cookries, & ² which doo help to² rot *the*³ bodies & shorthen their daies) but rather in giuing liberally to the poor and indigent⁴ members of Iesus Christe, helping them to meat, drink, lodging, clothing, ⁵ & such other necessaries wherof they stand in need.

Wherin hos-
pitalitie
consisteth.

[5 leaf 6r. B.*]

But such is their hospitality, *that the poor haue the least part of it*: you shal haue 20, 40, 60, yea a C li. spent in some one house in ban-
queting & festing, yet *the poor shall haue litle or nothing*: if they haue any thing, it is but *the refuse*⁶ meat, scraps & parings,⁷ such as a dog would scarfe eat somtimes; & wel if they can get *that too*: infsted wherof, ⁸ not a few haue whipping cheer to feed them⁹ withall. ¹⁰ it is counted but a smal matter for ¹¹a man that can scarifie dispend [¹¹ I 2, back] fortie pound¹² by the yeer, to bestow against one time, ten or twentie pound¹² therof in spices. And truely, so long & so greeuously hath this exceſſe of gluttonie and daintie fare furfeted in *Ailgna*, as I feare mee, it will ſpue out many of his Maifters out of dores before it be long. But as ſome be ouer largeous,¹³ ſo other ſome are ſpare enough; for when any meat is ſtirring, then lock they vp their gates, that no man may come in. An other forte¹⁴ haue ſo many houſes that they visit them¹⁵ once in vii yeer¹⁶; many Chimnies, but little ſmoke; faire houſes, but ſmall hospitalitie. And to be plaine, there are three cankers, which, in proceſſe of time, wil eat vp the whole common Welch,¹⁷ if ſpeedy reformation be not had, namely, daintie Fare, gorgious Buildings, and ſumptuous Apparel; which three *Abufes*¹⁸, ¹⁹ especially, yet not without their cofin germanes, doo florish there. *God remooue them thence, for his Christes sake.*

The small
relief of the
poore.

Locking vp of
Gates when
meat is stir-
ring.

Three deou-
ring Cankers.

[19 leaf 6r, back.]
B.†]

Spud. I had thought that dainty fare & good cheer had both noorished the body perfectly, and also proloſged life²⁰; & dooth it not ſo think you?

Philo. Experience, as [by]²¹ my former intimations you may

¹ changed E.

²—² impionate ſlubber ſawces which B, E, F; (ſlubber *in* B.)

³ their B, E, F. ⁴ needy F. * leaf 6r. Small hospitalitie in Ailgna. B.

⁶ refuge A; refufe B, E, F. ⁷ patrings A; parings B, E, F.

⁸ now and then not B, E, F. ⁹ themſelues B, E, F. ¹⁰ yea it B, F.

¹² pounds F.

¹⁴ forte A; ſorte B, E, F. ¹⁵ not once B, E, F. ¹⁶ yea it B, F.

¹⁷ of Ailgna added *in* B, E, F. ¹⁸ three deouuring Cankers B, E, F.

† leaf 6r, back. Diuersitie of meates hurtfull. B.

²⁰ life greatly B, E, F. ²¹ by F; in B, E; both by and in wanting *in* A.

Who more
subject to
infirmities
then they that
fare best?
[¹ sign. I 3. A.]

Eating of diuers meats
at one time
hurtful.

[¹⁰ leaf 62. B.]

The speedy de-
cay of those
that geue
themselves to
daintie fare.
[¹⁴ I 3, back]

gather, teacheth clean contrary; for who is ficklier then they that fare deliciously euery day? who is corrupter? who belcheth more? who looketh wursse, who is weaker ¹and feebler then they? who hath more filthie colour,² flegme, and putrifaction (repleat³ with groffe humors) then they? and, to be brefe, who dyeth sooner then they? Doo wee not see the poor man that eateth brown bread (wherof some is made of Rye, barlie, peason, beans, oates, and such other groffe graines) & drinketh small drink, yea, sometimes water, feedeth vpon milk, butter, and cheese; (I say) doo wee not see such a one helthfuller, stronger,⁴ and longer liuing,⁵ then the other that fare⁶ daintily euery day? And how should it be otherwise? for wil not the eating of diuers and sundry kindes of meats, of diuers⁷ operations and qualties (at one meale) engender distemperance in the⁸ body? And the body distempered, wil it not fall into sundry deseases? one meat is ⁹of hard disgesture, another of light⁹; & whilſt the meate of hard disgesture is in concocting, the other meat ¹⁰of light disgesture dooth putrifie and stink: & this is the very mother of all deseases. one is of this qualtie, another of *that*; one of this operation, another of *that*; one kind of meat is good for this thing, another is naught for that. Then, how can all these contrarieties & discrepencies¹¹ agree together in one body at one & the same time? wil not one contrary impugne his contrary¹²? one enemy refiſt an other? Then, what wifeman is he that wil receiue all these enemies into ¹³the castle of¹³ his ¹⁴body at one time? Doo we not ſe, by experience, that they *that* give themſelues to dainty fare and ſweet meats are neuer in helth? dooth not their ſight wax dim, their eares hard of hering, their teeth rot & fall out? dooth not their breth ſtink, their ſtomack¹⁵ belch foorth filthy humors, and their memory decay? doo not their ſpirits and fences become heuie & dul by reaſon of¹⁶ ¹⁷exhalations & impure vapors, which riſe vp in¹⁸¹⁷ their gingered brefts & ſpiced ſtomacks? &,

² choller E, F. ³ together E, F. ⁴ fairer complectioned *added in* B, E, F.

⁵ liued F. ⁶ fared F. ⁷ contrary B, E, F. ⁸ the *not in* F.

⁹—⁹ hard of digestion, another light F.

† leaf 62. The decay of daintie feeders. B.

¹¹ repugnacies F. ¹² contrary A. ¹³—¹³ *not in* F.

¹⁵ stomackes F.

¹⁶ of the B, E, F.

¹⁷—¹⁷ the filthy vapours and ſtinking fumes which riſe from F.

¹⁸ from B, E.

fumyng vp to the hed, they¹ mortifie the vitall spirits & intellectiue powers. ²dooth not² the whole body become³ purfie & corpulent, yea, somtimes decrepit therwith,⁴ & ful of all filthy corruption? *The Lord keep his chosen from the tasting therof.*⁵

⁶Sp. You spake of drunckenes, what say you of that?

⁷Phi. I say that it is a horrible vice, & too too much vsed in <sup>[7 leaf 62, back.
B.†]</sup> *Ail[gn]a*. Euyer cuntry, citie, towne, village, ⁸& other,⁸ hath⁹ abundance of alehouses, tauerns, & Innes,¹⁰ which are so fraughted¹⁰ with mault-wormes, night & day, that you would wunder to se them. You shal haue them there fitting at the wine and goodale all the day long, yea, all the night too,¹¹ peraduenture¹² a whole¹² week togither, so long as any money is left; swilling, gulling, & carowsing from one to another, til neuer a one can speak a redy woord. Then, when with the spirit of the buttery they are thus poffeffed, a world it is to consider their gestures¹³ & demenors,¹⁴ how they stut and ftammer, fagger & reele too & fro like madmen: ¹⁵some vomiting, spewinge, & disgorging their filthie stomacks; other some¹⁶ (*Honor sit auribus*)¹⁶ piffing vnder the boord as they sit, & which is most horrible, some fall to swering, cursing, & banninge, interlacing their speeches with curious tearms of blasphemie, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the godly eares¹⁷ present.¹⁸

Sp. But they wil say, that god ordained wines & strong drinks to cheer the hart & to sustaine the body¹⁹; therfore it is lawful to vse them to that end.

Philo. Meats (moderately taken²⁰) corroborate²¹ the body, refresh the arteries, & reuiue the spirits, making them apter, euery member, to doo his office as god hath appointed²²; but being immoderately taken

The beastly vice of drunkenes frequented in Ailg[na].

[¹⁵ sign. I 4. A.]

The spirite of the buttery is drunknes and excesse.

The lothsome qualities of those that be drunke.

[²¹ leaf 63. B.†]

¹ they not in B, E, F.

²—² in so much that F.

³ becommeth F.

⁴ withall F.

⁵ *A new chapter-heading in B and E here* :—Drunkennesse in Ailgna.

⁶ *heading in F* :—Drunkennesse in England.

* leaf 62, back. The beastly vice of drunkennesse. B.

⁸ and other places B, E, F.

⁹ haue F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ in them, which are haunted F.

¹¹ too not in F.

¹²—¹² all the F.

¹³ their countenances added in F.

¹⁴ one towardes an other, and towardes every one els, added in B, E, F.

¹⁵—¹⁶ not in F. ¹⁷ hearers B, E, F. ¹⁸ present not in E, F.

¹⁹ body withall B, E, F. ²⁰ by the blessing of God F.

† leaf 63. The discommodities of drunkennes. B.

²² them added in E, F.

The transfiguration of those that be drunke.

(as commonly they be), they are instruments of damnation to the abusers¹ of the same,¹ & noorish not the body, but corrupt it rather,² & casteth² it into a world³ of deseases. And⁴ a man once drunk with wine or strong drink, rather resembleth a brute beaste then a christian man; for doo not his eies begin to stare & to be red, fiery & blered, blubbering foorth seases of teares? dooth he not frothe & fome at the mouth like a bore? dooth not his tung faulter and stammer in his mouth? dooth not his hed seeme as heuie as a milftone, he⁵ not being able⁶ to bear it vp? Are not his wits & spriets, as it were, drowned? Is not his vnderstanding altog[et]her decayed? doo not his hands, & all his body⁷, quiuer⁸ & shake, as it were, with a quotidian feuer?⁹ Besides these,⁹ it casteth him¹⁰ into a dropfie or plu¹¹refie, nothing so soon; it infeebleth the finewes, it weake[n]eth the natural strength, it corrupteth the blood, it disolueth the whole man at the length, and finally maketh him forgetful of him-self altogither, so that what he dooth being drunk, he remembreth not, being sober. The Drunkard, in his drunkennes, killeth his freend, reuileth his louer, discloseth secrets, and regardeth no man: he either¹² expelleth all feare¹³ of god out of his minde, all loue of his freends &¹⁴ kinffolkes, all remembrance of honestie, ciuilicie, & humanitie; so that I will not feare to call drunkards beasts, and no men; and much wurffe then beasts, for beasts neuer exceed in¹⁵ such kind of exceſſe or superfluitie, but alway *modum adhibent appetitui*,¹⁶ they measure their appetites by the rule of necefſie; which, would God wee would doo.

Spud. Seeing it is so great an offence before God, I pray you show me some testimonies of the holy Scripture against it; for whatsoeuer is euil, the woord of God, I doubt not, reproueth the fame.

Philo. It feemeth you haue not read the holy scripture very much, for if you had, you should haue found it not only spoke against, but also throwen down eu'en to hel: for proof whereof, of infinit places I

^{1—1} thereof E, F. ^{2—2} castyng B, F. ³ sea F.

⁴ besides E, F. ⁵ he not in E, F. ⁶ beeing not able F.

⁷ euirate added in B, E; tremble F. ⁸ quauer F.

^{9—9} not in E, F. ¹⁰ also added in E, F. ¹² vtterly E, F.

† leaf 63, back. Drunkardes worse then Beasts. B.

¹⁴ and not in B. ¹⁵ in any B, E, F.

¹⁶ appetitui F; appetitum A, with m altered by the pen to i.

wil recite a few. The Prophet *Esaias* thundereth out against it, saying, *ve qui consurgitis mane ad elrietatem sectandam*: ‘¹Wo be to them that ryse earlie to followe drunkenesse, wallowing therein from morning to night, vntill they be set on fire with wyne & strong drinke. Therfore gapeth hell, & openeth her mouth wyde, that the glory, multitude, and welth of them that delight therin, may go downe into it,’ saith the Prophet. The prophet *Hoseas* faith, *fornicatio, vinum et mustum auferunt² animum*. Whordome, wyne, ³& strong drinke, infatuat the heart of man.

The Prophet *Ioel* biddeth all Drunkards awake,⁴ saying, ‘weepe *Ioel 1.5* and howle, you winebibbers, for the wickednesse of destruction that shall fall vpon you.’

The Prophet *habacuck* soundeth a most dreadfull alarme not only to all Drunkards, but also to all that make them drunken, saying, ‘wo be to him that geueth his Neighbour drinke till he be drunke, that thou mayst see his priuities.’ *Salomon* saith, ‘wyne maketh a Man to be scornfull, and strong drinke⁶ maketh a Man vnquiet: who so taketh pleasure in it, shall not be wife.’ In an other place, ‘keep not companie with wynebibbers and riotous Persons, for such as be Drunkards shal come to beggerie.’ In the xxij⁷ of his Prouerbes he saith: ‘To whome is woo? To whome is forow? to whome is strife? to whome is murmuring? to whome are wounds without cause? and to whome are red eyes? Euen to them that⁸ tarie longe at the wyne, to them that go and seek mixt wyne.’ And, againe: ‘Looke not thou vpon the wyne when it is red, and when it sheweth his colour in the⁹ cup, or gooth downe pleasantlie, for in the end it will bite like a serpent, and hurt like a Cockatrice, or Basilicock, which slay¹⁰ or kill men with the poison of their fighte.’ Again, ‘it is not for Kings to drinke wyne, nor for Princes to drinke strong drinke.’ Our Sauiour Christ, ¹¹ in the gospell of *S. Luke*, biddeth vs take heed that we ‘be not ouercome with surffeting and drunknes and cares of this lyfe, least the day of the Lorde come vpon vs vnawares.’

*Paule*¹³ to the *Epheſians*, biddeth beware that we ‘be not drunk¹⁴ *Ephe. 5.15*

² auferent F. * leaf 64. Testimonies against Drunkards. B.

⁴ wayle E, F. ⁵ Joel 2 E. ⁶ wine F. ⁷ twenty and three F.

⁹ any B. ¹⁰ slea F. [†] leaf 64, back. Drunkennesse forbidden. B.

¹³ S. Paule B, E, F. ¹⁴ drunken F. ¹⁵ not in E, F.

*Esaia 5.
[F sign. I 5 A.]*

Testimonies
against drunk-
enesse out of
the word of
God.

*Hoseas c. 4.
[3 leaf 64. B.*]*

*Habacuck 2.
Proverb c. 20.
[Solomon agains-
t drunkenness.]*

Proverb 23.

*[Solomon against
drunkenness.]*

*Proverb 31.
[3 leaf 64, back.
B.†]*

Luc. 21.

[St Paul against drunkenness.] with wine, wherin is exceffe, but to be filled with the spirit.' The same apostle, in an other place, saith, *that* 'neither whoremonger, adulterer, Drunkard, glutton, ryotous person, nor such like, shal euer enter into the kingdome of Heauen.' By these few places, out of many, you may see the inormitie¹ of this vice, which is so much² euery where² frequented.

Spud. Let me intreate you to shew me some examples withall, wherby I may see³ what euill it hath done in all ages.³

Gene. 19.

[7 sign. 16. A.]

Examples
against drunk-
ennesse.

[§ leaf 65. B. ¶]

[Luc. 16. F.]

Luc. 16.

Luc. 16.

[¶ 16, back]
How farre
Drunkards are
estranged from
themselves.

⁴ *Philo.* Drunknes⁵ caused *Lot* to commit⁶ most shamefull⁶ incest with his owne two Daughters, who got them both with Child,⁷ he not perceiving it, neither when they lay downe, nor when they rose vp. See how drunkenesse afflotteth a man, depriuing him of all fence, reason, and vnderstanding.

Drunkenesse caused *Noah* to lye with his priuities bare in his Tabernacle, in fuche beastlie sorte as his wicked Sonne *Cham* iefted and scoffed at the same.

Thorow drunkenesse, *Holophernes*, that⁸ great and inuincible Monarche of the *Affyrians*, was ouercome by a Woman, hauing his head cut from his shouolders with a fauchone. Thorow drunkenesse, King *Herode* was brought to fuche ydiocie and foolishe dotage, that he caused the head of good *Ihon Baptifl* to be cut of, to satisfie the request of a dauncing strumpet. That riche *Epolo*, of whom⁹ *Luke* maketh mention, was for his drunkenesse and ryotous exceffe, condemned to the fire of Hel for euer; with many moe examples, which for shortnes I omit. Now, seeing than that drunkenesse is both offensiue to God, and bringeth such euills in this lyfe present, let vs, in the name of God, auoyde it as a most wicked thing and prenicious euill. For euery Drunkard is so farre estranged from himselfe, that as one in an extasie of mind,¹⁰ or rather in a playne Phrenfie, he maye not be said to be *sui animi compos*, or¹¹ a man of sounde wit, but rather a¹² very Bedlem, or muche worse, no Christian, but an Antichristian; no

¹ vnlawfulnes F.

²—² *not in F.*

³—³ the effectes thereof, and what punishment hath been shewed vpon the offendours herein in all ages. B, E, F; (*but F has therein.*)

⁴ heading in F :—Punishment of Drunkardes.

⁵ Drunkenesse B, E, F.

⁶—⁶ *not in F.*

[†] leaf 65. Examples against Drunkenesse. B.

⁹ Sainct added in B, E, F.

¹⁰ of mind *not in F.*

¹¹ or *not in B, E, F.*

member of Christ Iesus, but an impe of Sathan and a lymme of the Deuill. Wherfore, in the name of God, let vs auoyd al exceffe, imbrace temperancie and sobrietie, & receiue so much¹ meats and drinks¹ as may satisfie nature, not the infaciat appetits of our fleshly² desires; Knowing that, except the Lord blesse our meats and drinks within our bo³dies, and giue them power & strength to nourish and feede the same, and our bodyes their naturall powers, euery member to doo his office and dutie, our meates shall lye in our stomacks, fincking, smelling, and rotting, like filthie carion in a⁴ lothfom finck.⁵ So farre of ought we to be from abusing the good creatures of God by ryot, drunkenesse, or exceffe, that we ought neuer to take⁶ morsell of bread, nor sope of drinke, without humble thankes⁷ to the Lord for the same.⁸ For we neuer read that our Sauiour Christ euer eat or dranke, but he gaue thankes (or, as we call it, said grace) both before the receipt therof and after. This needed⁹ he not to haue done in respect of himselfe, but for our erudition¹⁰ & learning, according to this saying, *omnis Christi actio nostra est instructio*: Euery action of our Sauiour Christe is our example and instruction, to follow as neere as¹¹ we are able.¹² And thus much of drunkenesse, which god graunt may every wher be auoided.¹²

[¹³ Or if all that hath been saied hetherto,¹⁴ bee not sufficient to withdrawe vs from this beastly vice of dronkennesse: yet lette vs sette before our eyes this moste fearfull iudgement of God, executed vpon a sorte of dronkardes, the storie whereof is this. The eight day of February 1578 in the countrey of Swaben, there were dwellyng eight menne Citezens, and Citezens, sonnes, very riotously and prodigally inclined,¹⁵ the names of whom, for the better credite of the storie,¹⁶ I haue sett doun, viz. Adam Giebens, George Kepell, John Keisell, Peter Herisdorse, Jhon Waganaer, Simon Henrickes, Herman Fron, Jacob Hermans,¹⁸ all whiche would needes goe to the Tauerne, vpon the Sabbath daie in the mornynge verie earely, in contempt of

What if God
blesse not our
meats. [meat F
[3 leaf 65, back.
B.]

Getting of
thanks befor
meat &
after.

[A terrible
example of
Swabian
drunkards.]

[A most dread-
full example of
Gods iudgements
shewed vpon
certeine
Dronkardes
abusung the good
creatures of
God. E, F]
[¹⁶ leaf 66. B.]

¹—¹ not in B, E, F.

² greedy F.

* 1 leaf 65, back. Examples of thanksgivynge. B.

⁴ all E, F.

⁵ stinke F.

⁶ a added in F. ⁷ thankes geuing E; thankes giuing F.

⁸ before added in F.

⁹ need B, E, F.

¹⁰ example F.

¹¹ are (sic) F.

¹²—¹² not in B, E, F.

¹³ From here to l. 23, p. 114, added in B, E, F. ¹⁴ heretofore F. ¹⁵ giuen F.

+ leaf 66; no head-line B, E, F have The propertie of a good hoste.

¹⁶ Harmans F.

112 The propertie of a good hoste. The Anatomie

[This page not
in A.]

[The propertie
of a good
Hoste. E, F.]

[A caueat for
cursers and
banners. E, F.]

[⁴ leaf 66, back.
B.†]

[The desperate
securtie of
Dronkerdes. E,
F.]

[The deuilles
rewarde to his
darlinges the
Dionkardes. E,
F.]

[the Lorde and his Sabbath. And commyng to the houfe of one Anthonie Hage, an honest, godlie man, who kepte¹ a Tauerne in the same Toune, called for burnte Wine, Sacke, Malmetie,² Hipocras, and what not. The hoste tolde them, that thei shold haue none of all these, before the diuine seruice and the³ sermon tyme were paste, and councelled them to goe heare the sacred woerde of God preached. But thei (faue Adam Giebins, who aduised them to heare the Sermon, for feare of Gods wrathe) denied, saiyng: That thei lothed that kind of exercise. The good hoste, neither giuyng them any Wine hymself, nor sufferyng any other, went to the Sermon, as duetie did binde hym, who beyng gone, thei fell to cursyng, bannynge, and fwearyng, wishing that he might breake his necke, or euer he came againe from the Sermon; and bruyting forthe into these intemperate speeches, "the Deuill breake our neckes, if wee departe hence this daie, either quicke or dedde, till wee haue had some wine!" Straight waie, the Deuill appered vnto them, in the likeneffe of a yong manne, bryngyng in his hande, a Flagon of wine, and demaundyng of them, why⁴ thei caroused not, he dranke vnto them, saiyng: "Good fellowes, bee merie, for ye shall haue wine inough, for you feeme lustie laddes, and I hope you will paie me well," who inconsiderately answere, that thei would paie hym, or els thei would guage their neckes, yea their bodies and soules, rather then to faile. Thus thei continued swillyng, gullyng, and carousyng so long, as till one could not⁵ fee an other. At the last the deuill their hoste, tolde them, that thei must needes paie the shotte, whereat their hartes waxed cold. But the Deuill comfortyng them, saied: "Bee of good cheare, for now muste you drinke boilyng Lead, Pitche, and Brimstone with me in the pit of helle for euermore": Hereupon⁶ immediatly he made their eyes like flames of fire, and in bredth as broad as Saucers. Then beganne thei to call for mercie, but it was to late. And ere thei could call againe for mercie and grace, the Deuill preuented them, and⁷ brake their neckes a sonder, and threwe moste horrible flames of fire, flashing⁸ out of their mouthes. And thus ended these seuen dronkardes, their miserable daies, whose Judgement I leauue to the Lorde. The other Adam Gibiens, wh-

¹ keep F.

² Malmsie F.

³ the *not* in F.

† leaf 66, back. *No head-line.* B.

⁵ scarcely in E, F.

⁶ Heeeupon (*sic*) F.

⁷ and *not* in E, F.

⁸ flashing *not* in F.

[councelled them before, to go to¹ heare the Sermon, hauyng some sparkes of faith in hym, was preferued from death, by the greate mercie of God, and greatly repented his former life, yeldyng praiſe vnto God for his deliuernace. Thus haue I *in sempiternam rei me-*
² *moriām*, faithfully recorded the Storie of theſe eight dronkardes, and of their fearfull ende, taken out of the³ Dutche coppie printed at Amſterdam, and at Straesburche,⁴ for a caueate to all Dronkardes, Gluttons, and Riotous perſones throughout the whole worlde, that thei offend not the Lorde in the like kinde of offence.

An other like example of Gods Diuine Justice, shewed vpon twoo blaſphemous Dronkardes in Almaine, in the Toune of Nekerhofewe, chaunced the fourth daie of July 1580, the truthe whereof is as followeth. Theſe twoo Dronken verlettes, traueilyng by the waie, came into an Inne, and called for bread and wine: The Hoste with ſpeeđe brought them verie good; but thei diſlikyng the Wine, for the newneſſe thereof, commaunded better Wine to bee brought; ſo in fine thei had bothe newe, and old, good ſtore. Thus ſatte thei ſwillyng, and carouſyng one to an other, till thei were bothe as dronke as Rattes.⁵ Then one of them powryng forthe wine, caroused to his fellowe, the other pledgyng hym, asked to whom he ſhould drinke: quothe this verlet "drinke to GOD": he hearyng that, poured forthe wyne alſo,⁶ and dranke to God. This dooen, he asked his companion of whiche wine God ſhould pledge hym, of the newe, or of the old. He anſwered "of whether thou wilte." Then he, takyng the newe wine in his hande, filled the Cuppe therewith, and reaching forthe his arme, as high as he⁷ could, as though God ſhould haue pledged hym in deede, ſaid these wordes: "God, I would faine knowe, what wine thou loueft beſte: this newe wine is good inough, and too good for thee; if thou haddeſt⁸ ſent better, thou ſhouldeſt haue had better; but ſuche as it is, take it, pledge me quickly, and carouse it of euery ſope, as I haue doen to thee, if not, thou doest me wrong." Hauyng thus ſtretched forthe his arme with the Cup of wine, and withall hauyng vttered forthe theſe wordes, the Lorde proceadeth in Judgemente againſte

*[This page not
in A.]*
*[The mercy of
god in ſaving of
Adam Gibiens.
F.]*

[leaf 67. B.]*

*[An example of
Godes wrathe
and ſeuere
iusteſe executed
vpon 2 Dronk-
ardes in
Almaine. E, F.]*

*[A caueat to
blaſphemers, and
contemners of
the maieſtie of
God. E, F.]*

*[leaf 67, back.
B †]*

*[Beholde the
blaſphemie of
this deuill, and
feare. E, F.]*

¹ to *not in* F.

* leaf 67. No head-line. B. E, F have An example of God's wrath.

³ a in E, F.

⁴ Straesburcht F.

⁵ Swine F.

⁶ also *not in* E, F.

⁷ leaf 67, back. No head-line. B. ⁸ hadſt F.

[This page, to L.
23, not in A.]
[The Lord
strikes the
blasphemous
drunkard.]

[hym : causyng his arme to stande stedfaſt and vnmoueable, ſo as he was not able to pull it to hym, nor to ſtere his bodie out of the place. And in this agonie he remained,¹ his countenaunce not changed, but roulyng his eyes to and fro, fearfull to beholde. And as for breathe, there was none perceived to come forthē of hym, nor yet to ſpeake one worde he was² able: and yet for all that, ſeemed to every one to be a liue. After this the people affaied to remoue hym from that place, but³ could not by any strength. In the ende thei tyed Horfes to hym, to drawe hym thence, but thei could not once ſtere hym. Then thei affaied to burne the houſe, and hym withall, but no fire would once take holde of the houſe: wherefore, when thei ſaw e all their waies and deuifes to be fruſtrate, perfwadyng themſelues, that God had made hym a ſpectacle to all dronkards, thei furceafeſd⁴ their attemptes, and wished the wil of the⁵ Lorde to bee doen. And in this place, and in the ſame pitifulle caſe you haue heard, ſtandeth this blaſphemous villain to this daie, vnmoueable till it please the Lorde, in the bowels of his mercie, to release hym. Whose bleſſyd will bee fulfilled for euer. The other Dronken beaſt his companion, thei hanged vpon a Gibbete, before the dore of the ſame houſe, as he well deserued! Thus hath the Lorde in all ages, and at all tymes, puniſhed this horriblie vice of Dronkenneſſe, which God graunte euery true Christian⁶ maie auoide, for feare of Gods vengeance. *Added in B, E, F.*]

[Oh fearefull
iudgement of
God, yet moſt
iust puniſh-
mente. E, F.]

[§ leaf 68. B.]

[? sign I 7. A.]

[England,]
Ailgna a fa-
mous Yland.¹⁰

⁷ Spud. ⁸ Shew mee I pray,⁹ the ſtate of that Cuntrey a little further: is it a welthie Countrey with-in itfelue, or otherwyſe poore and bare?

Philo. It is a moſt famous Yland, a¹¹ fertile Cuntrey, &¹² abounding with all maner of ſtore, both¹³ of riches, treasure, &¹⁴ all things els whatſoeuer; but as¹⁵ it is a¹⁶ welthie and riche Countrey,¹⁶ ſo are the inhabitaunts, from the highest to the lowest, from the priēt to the populaſe¹⁷ forte, euē all in generall, wonderfullly inclyned to couet-

¹ a long time after B, E, F. ² was not F. ³ but they F.

⁴—⁴ their enterpriſes any further F. † leaf 68. *No head-line.* B.

⁶ man added in E, F.

⁸ In B, E, and F this begins a fresh chapter, headed:—Couetousneſſe in Ailgna.

⁹ pray you B, E, F. ¹⁰ This ſide-note not in B, E, F.

¹¹ and E; and a F. ¹² & not in E, F. ¹³ as well F. ¹⁴ as of F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ the countrey is E, F. ¹⁶ Countrey not in E, F. ¹⁷ inferior F.

ousnes and ambition; which thing whilest they follow, they can neuer be satissified, for, *crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*: The loue of mony doth by so much the more increase, by how much more the monie it ¹felfe doth increase; and the nature of a couetous man is such that *tam deest quod habet, quam quod non habet*: as well that thing which he hath, as *that* which he hath not, is wanting vnto him.

[Englishmen covetous.]

A ²couetoufe man may ³wel be compared to Hell, which euer gapeth and yawneth for more, and is neuer content with inough: For right as Hell euer hunteth after more, so a couetous man, drowned in the ⁴quagmire or plash of auarice and ⁴ambition, hauing his *summam*⁵ *volutatem* reposed in momentaine⁶ riches, is neuer content with inough, but still thirsteth for more, much like to a man fiche of the ague, who, the more he drinketh, the more he thursteth; ⁸the more he thursteth, the more he drinketh⁸; the ⁹more he drinketh, the more his disease increaseth. Therfore I hould it true which is writ, *burfa auari os est diaboli*; the powch of a rich couetous Man is the mouth of the deuill,

The nature of a couetous man.
[¹ leaf 68, back.
B.*]

The insatiable desire of a couetous man.

[⁷ I 7, back]

The purse of a rich Man.

which euer is open to receiue, but alway shut to giue.

Spud. But they will easilly wipe away this blot, ¹⁰namely in saying,¹⁰ are we not bound to prouide for our selues,¹¹ our wyues, our children, & famelie? Doth not the Apostle hold him for an infidell and ¹²a dene- ger of the faith, who prouydeth not for his Wyfe and Family? ¹³Is it not good to lay vp somthing against a stromie day? wherfore they wil rather deeeme themselues good husbands,¹³ than couetous or am- bicious persons.¹⁴

Philo. Euery Christen Man is bound,¹⁶ in conscience before God, to prouide for their¹⁷ houshould & Family, but yet so as his immoderat care surpassee not the bands,¹⁸ nor yet¹⁹ transcend²⁰ the limits, of true Godlynes. His chiefeſt truſt & care is to reſt onely in the Lord, who

[¹⁵ leaf 69. B.†]

How farre euery Man is bound to prouide for his Famelie.

* leaf 68, back. The nature of a couetous man. B.

² Therefore may a E, F.

³ may not in E, F.

⁴—⁴ quauemire of auarice and plashe of B, E, F; after and F adds plunged in the.

⁵ summum F.

⁶ momentary F.

⁸—⁸ not in E, F.

⁹ and the E, F. ¹⁰—¹⁰ for B, E, F. ¹¹ (saie thei) added in B, E, F. ¹² or F.

¹³—¹³ And therefore herein we shew ourselues rather good housbandes, careful, and obedient Christians, B, E, F.

¹⁴ This I haue heard them pretend for themſelues added in B, E, F; E has This exception have I; F has haue I, and alleadge for pretend.

+ leaf 69. Moderate care allowable. B.

¹⁶ bound indeed B, E.

¹⁷ his B, E, F. ¹⁸ boundes F. ¹⁹ yet not in B, E, F. ²⁰ not the B, E.

Immoderate
care for riches
reproached.

[³ sign. I 8. A.1]

Land-Lords
racke their
tenantes.
[⁸ leaf 69, back.
B.†]

Inclosing of
commons
from the
Poore.

[¹² I 8. back]

["Take heed you
Rich, who poll
and pill the
Poor !"]

giueth liberally to euery one that asketh of him in verity & truth, & reprocheth no man; & withall he is to vse such ordinarie meanes as God hath appointed ¹to the performaunce¹ of the same. But so farre from couetousnes, & from immoderate care, wold the Lord haue vs, ²that we ought not this day to 'care for to morow, for (faith he) sufficient to the day is the trauail of the same. After all these ³things (with a distrustfull & inordinat care) do the heathen seek, who know not God,' faith our Sauiour chrift; 'but be you not like to them.' And yet I say, as we are not to distrust the prouidence of God, or despaire for any thing, so are we not to presume, nor yet to tempt the Lord our God, but to vse such ⁴secundary⁵ and infstrumental⁴ meanes as he hath commaunded and appointed, to *that* end & purpose to get our owne lyuing & maintenance withall. But this people, leauing these Godly meanes, do all runne headlong to couetousnes & ambition, attempting all waies, & assaying al meanes, possible to ⁶exaggerat & ⁶heap vp riches, ⁶*that* ⁷thick clay of damnation, to themselues for euer. ⁶ So (likwise) Land⁸lords make marchandise of their pore tenants, racking their rents, raifing their fines & incommes, & setting them so straitely⁹ vpon the tenter hookes, as no man can lyue on them. Besides that, as though this pillage & pollage were not rapacious enough, they take in and inclose commons, moores, heaths, and other common pastures, wher-out the poore commonaltie were wont to haue all their forrage¹⁰ and feeding for their cattell, & (which is more) corne for them selues to lyue vpon: all which are now in most places taken from them by these greedye Puttockes, to the great impouerishing and vtter beggering of¹¹ whole townes and parishes, whose tragicall cries and incessant ¹²clamors haue long fince pearced the Skyes, and presented them-selues before the Maiesty of God, saying,¹³ how long, Lord, how long wilt thou deferre to reuenge this villanie of¹⁴ thy poore Sainctts and vn-worthie¹⁵ members vpon the earth? Take heed, therfore, you riche men, that poll and pill the poore, for the bloud of as manye as miscarie any maner of way thorow your iniurious exactions, finister¹⁶ oppref-

^{1—1} for the getting F. ² to be added in F. ^{4—4} ordinary F.

⁵ causes added in E. ^{6—6} not in F. ⁷ the B, E.

† leaf 69, back. Inclosures in Ailgna. B.

⁹ straight B, E, F. ¹⁰ prouision F. ¹¹ of many B, E, F.

¹³ cryng B, E, F. ¹⁴ doen to B, E, F. ¹⁵ seelie E; silly F.

¹⁶ biting F.

sions, and indirect dealings, shall be ¹ powred vpon your heads ¹ at the great daye of the Lord. Cursed is he (faith our Sauiour Christ) that offendeth one of these little ones: it were better that a milstone were hanged about his neck, & he cast into the middest of the sea. Christ ² so entierely loueth his poore members vpon earth, that he imputeth the contumely which is done to anie one of them, to be done to himselfe, and will reuenge it as done to himselfe. wherfor God giue them grace to lay open their inclosures againe, to let fall their rents, fines, incommes, and other impositions, wherby God is offended, their ³ poore Brethren beggered, &, I feare mee, the whole realme will be brought to vtter ruine & decay, if this mischiefe be not met withall, and incountred with verie shortlie. For these inclosures be the causes why rich men eat vp poore men, as beasts doo eat grasse: These, I say, are the ⁴ Caterpillers and deuouring locustes that maffacre the ⁵ poore, & eat vp the whole realme to the destruction of the same: *The Lord remooue⁶ them!*

Vpon the other fide, the Lawyers, they ⁷ goe ruffling ⁷ in their filks, velvets, and chaines of Gold: they build gorgeous howfes, ⁸ sumptuous edefices, ⁸ and stately turrets: they keep a port like mightie potentates; they haue ⁹ bands and retinewes of men attendant vpon them daylie; they purchase castels & towers, Lands and Lordships, and what not? And all vpon the polling and pilling of the poore commons.

They haue so good consciences that all is fish that comes to the net; thei refuse nothing that is offred; and what they do for it in preferring their Poore clients cause, ¹⁰ the Lorde kno¹¹weth, and one day they shall finde it. If you haue *argent*, or rather *rubrum vnguentum*, I dare not say Gold, but red oyntment to grease them in the fist withall, than your sute shall want no furtherance; but if this ¹² be wanting, than farewell clyent; he may go shooe the goode for any good succeſſe he is like to haue of his matter: without this, sheriffes & Officers wil returne writs with a *tarde venit*, or with a *non est inuentus*, smally to the poore mans profit. ¹³ So long as any of this ointment is dropping,

Inuriie to
Christ his
members is
injury to
Christ.
[² leaf 70. B.*]

Inclosures

[⁵ sign. K 1. A.]

Lawyers
ruffling † in [¹⁰
A.] poore Mens
riches. [¹¹ rufe F.]

[¹¹ leaf 70, back.
B †]
Oyntment to
greeſe lawyers
in the fist
withall.

^{1—1} required at your hands F.

* leaf 70. Inclosures vndoe the Poore. B. E also has Lawyers ruffling in.

³ the B, E, F.

⁴ the *not in* F.

⁶ amende B, E, F.

^{7—7} ruffle it out B, E, F.

^{8—8} *not in* F.

⁹ there bandes E; (their F.)

¹⁰ causes B, E, F.

‡ leaf 70, back. Powlyng Lawyers, in Ailgna. B.

¹² this liquor B, E, F.

¹³ But so B, E, F.

[^x K 1, back]
The pretensed
excuse of
Lawers when
their clients
haue loost
their plees.

The slightie
practises of
lawers.

[^y leaf 71. B.]

The fraudu-
lent dealing of
merchant
Men.

Artificers.

[^z sign. K 2. A.]

Great dearth
in plenty of all
things.

they wil bear him in hand his matter is good and iuft; & all to keep him in vre, till all be gon; and than will they tell him his matter is naught: and if one afke them ¹why they tould not their clients so in the beginning? they will answere, I knew not so much at the first, the fault is in himselfe; he tould me the best, but not the worst; he shewed mee not this euidence & that euidence, this presidenc & that presidenc, ² turning al the fault vpon the suggeſter; wheras the whole fault indeed is in himselfe, as his own conſcience can bear him witneſſe.

In preſence of their clients they will be ſo earnest one with another, as one (that knew not their flaightes wold thinke they would go together by the eareſ³); this is⁴ to draw on their clients withal; but immeadiatly after, their clients being⁵ gon, they laugh in their fleeues to ſee how pretily they⁶ fetch in ſuch ſom'mes of money; and that, vnder the preſence of equitie and iuſtice. But though thei can for a time (*prefigiatorum instar⁸*), like cunning deceiuers, caſt a miſt before the blind world, yet the Lord, who ſeeth (⁹ſuborned by none⁹) the ſecrets of all harts, shall make them maniſt to al the world, and reward them according to their doings. The¹⁰ merchant men, by their marting, chaffering and changing, by their counterfaſt balances & vntrue waights, and by their ſurprizing of their wares, heap vp infinit treasures. ¹¹The Artificer¹¹ & Occupyers, euē all in generall, will not ſell their wares for no¹² reaſonable price, but will¹³ ſweare & teare pittifullly, that ſuch a thing coſt them ſo much, & ſuch a thing ſo much, wher¹⁴as they ſwear as falſe as the lyuing Lord is true. But one day let them be ſure that the Lord (who faith ‘thou ſhalt not ſweare at all, nor deceiu thy Brother in bargaining’) will reuenge this villanie done to his Maieftie.

¹⁵ Into ſuſh a¹⁵ ruinous eſtat hath couetoufnes now brought that Land, that in plentie of all things there is great¹⁶ ſcarſitie and dearth of all thinges. So that that which might haue been bought heretofor, within this twentie or fourtie Yeers, for twentie ſhillings, is now

² this Writing and that Writing added in F. ³ earers (*sic*) F.

⁴ instead of a ſhoyng horne added in E, F. ⁵ bee B, E, F.

⁶ they can E, F. ⁷ leaf 71. What maketh thyngeſ deare. B.

⁸ more for instar B, E, F. ^{9—9} not in F.

¹⁰ Vpon the other ſide, for the F. ^{11—11} Artificers B, E, F.

¹² any F. ¹³ will not in E, F. ^{15—15} Yea, into ſuſh such F.

¹⁶ great not in F.

worth twentie nobles, or xx pound.¹ That which than was worth twentie pound is now ²worth a C. pound, and more: Wherby the rich Men haue so balaunced their chefts with Gold and siluer, as they cracke againe. And to such exceſſe is this couetousnes growne, as euery one *that hath money* will not ſtick to take his neighbors house ouer his head, long before his yeers be expired: Whertherow ³many a poore man, with his wyfe, children, & whole famelie, are forced to begge their bread all ⁴their dayes ⁴after. Another forte, who flow in welth, if a poore man haue eyther house or Land, they will neuer ref vntill they haue purchased it, giuing him not the thirde parte of that it is worth. Befides all this, ſo desperately giuen are many, that for the acquiring ⁵ of siluer and Gold, they will not ſ[t]icke to imbrew their hands, and both ⁶their armes, in the blood of their ⁷owne Parents and Freends moft vnnaturally. Other ſome will not make any conſcience to ſweare and forſweare themſelues ⁸for euer,⁸ to lye, diſemble, and deceiue the deeref frends they haue in the world. Therfore the heathen Poet, *Virgill*, ſaid very well, *O sacra auri fames, quid non mortalia pectora cogis*: Oh cursed deſire of gold, what miſchief is it but thou forceſt Man to attempt it for the loue of thee! This immoderat thirſt of Gold & monie bringeth an infinit number to shamefull end; ſome as homicides ⁹for murthering and ¹⁰killing; ſome ¹¹as latrones, ¹¹for robbing & ¹²ſtealing: ſome for one thing, ſome for another; ¹³So that ſurely I think ¹⁴maior eſt numerus Hominum, ¹⁴quos dira auaritiae pefſis alſorpit, quam quos gladius vel enſis perforauit: ¹⁵the number of thoſe ¹⁵whom the peſtilence of auarice hath fwallowed vp, ¹⁶is greater ¹⁶than the number of thoſe whom the fword hath deſtroyd. The Lord affwage the heat ¹⁷hereof with the oyle of his grace,¹⁸ if it be his good pleaure and wil!

Spud. If I might be ſo bold, I wold requeſt you to ſhew me, out of the word of god, where this ſo deteſtable a vice is reproued.

¹ pounds F. * leaf 71, back. Greedie couetousnesſe in Ailgna. B.
³ Whereby E; Wherby F. ^{4—4} the dayes of their liues F. ⁵ getting F.

⁶ bathe B, E, F. ^{8—8} not in F.
^{9—9} as we ſee dayly, ſome are hanged F. ¹⁰ ſome for *instead of* and F.

^{11—11} not in F. ¹² ſome for *instead of* & F.

† leaf 72. Testimonies againſt Couetousnes. B.

^{14—14} the number of men is greater B, E, F; F has to be for is.

^{15—15} not in B, E, F. ^{16—16} not in B, E, F. ¹⁷ raging heate F.

¹⁸ gracious mercy for grace F.

Taking of
houſes ouer
Mens heads.

The desperat
desire of Men
to get money.

[7 K 2, back]

Many brought
to ruſfull end
thorow
meanes of Gold
and siluer.

[13 leaf 72. B. t]

Math. 6.
Testimonies
out of the
word of God
against coue-
tousnes.

[² sign. K 3. A.]

Luc. 6.
Math. ix.³

[Bible bits
against covet-
ousness.]

[⁵ leaf 72, back.
B.†]

1 Timo. vi.

Psalm 39.

Proverb 1.
Proue. xxvii.

[⁹ K 3, back]

Mat. 5.
Luc. 6.

Philo. Our Sauiour Christ Iesus, the ¹ Arch-doctor¹ of all truth, in his Euangely, the fixt of *Mathew*, faith, ‘Be not carefull for to morow day, for the morow shall care for it selfe.’

Againe, ‘be not carfull for Apparell, what ²you shall put on, nor for meat what you shall eat, but feeke you the Kingdome of Heauen, & the righteousnes therof, and all these things shal be giuen vnto you.’ He charged his *Disciples* to be so farre from couetousnes, as not to cary two coates with them in their iorneys, nor yet any money in their purses. He tould his *Disciples* another time, ftryuing which of them should be the greatest, that he who wold be the greatest, must descend⁴ to be feruant of all. When the people wold haue aduaunced him to haue beene King, he refused it, and hid him self. He telleth vs, we ‘cannot serue two Maisters, God & Mammon’: he biddeth vs ‘not to set our minds vpon couetousnes’; inferring that ‘wher ⁵our riches be⁶, there will our harts be also. He saith, ‘it is harder for a rich Man (that is, for a Man whose trust is in⁷ riches,) to enter into the Kingdome of God, than for a Camell to go thorow the eye of a needle.’ The Apostle biddeth vs, ‘if we haue meat &⁸ drinke and clothing, to be content, for they that will be rich (faith he) fall into diuerse temptations and snares of the Deuill, which drowne Men in perdition.’ *David* saith, ‘Man disquieteth him selfe in vaine heaping vp riches, & cannot tell who shall posseffe them.’ *Salom[on]* compareth a couetous man to him *that murthereth & sheadeth innocent bloud*. Againe, ‘Hell and destruction are neuer ful, so the eyes of Men can neuer be ⁹satisfiied.’ The Apostle *S. Paule* saith, ‘neither Whormongers, Adulterers, nor couetous persons, nor Extortioners shal euer enter into the Kingdom of Heauen.’ And saith further, *that* ‘the loue of monie is the root of al euil.’ Christ biddeth vs ‘be¹⁰ liberal & lend to them that haue need, not looking for any restitution again; & neuer to turn our face away from any poore man, & than the face of the Lord shal not be turned away from vs.’ By these few places it is manifest how farre from al couetousnes the lord wold haue al christians¹¹ to be.

^{1—1} teacher F.

³ E has Math. 9; F has no figure.

⁴ humble F.

[†] leaf 72, back. Punishment of Couetousnesse. B.

⁶ is B. F.

⁷ in his F.

⁸ & not in F.

¹⁰ to be F.

¹¹ his children F.

Spud. Be their any examples in¹ scriptures to² shew foorth the punishmentes of the same, in⁴flicted vpon the Offenders therin?²

[4 leaf 73. B.]

Philo. The Scripture is full of such fearful examples of the iust iudgements of God powred⁵ vpon them that haue offended herein; Wheroft I will recite three or four, for the satififying of your Godly⁶ mind. *Adam* was cast out of Paradice for coueting that fruit which was inhibited him to eat. *Gieſe*,⁷ the Seruant of *Elizeus* the Prophet, was smitten with an incurable leproſie, for that he, to ſatisfie his couetous desire, exacted gold, filuer, &⁸ riche garments, of *Naaman*, the K. of *Siria* his feruant. *Balaam* was reprooued of his affe for his couetousnes in going to curse the Children of *Iſrael* at the request of K. *Balac*, who promised him abundance of gold & filuer ſo to doo. *Achan*, the K., for couetousnes to haue pore *Naloſth* his viniard, flew him,⁹ and dyed after himſelfe, with all his progeny, a shamefull death. The Sonnes of *Samuel* were, for their infaciablie couetousnes, detained¹⁰ from euer inioying their Fathers kingdome. *Iudas*, for couetousnes of mony, foulde the Sauiour of the world, and betrayed him to the *Iewes*, but afterward dyed a miſerable death, his bellye burſting, & his bowels gushing out. *Ananias and Saphira* his wife, for couetousnes in concealing part of the price of their¹¹ lands from the apostles, were both slain, & died a fearful death. *Achan* was ſtoned to death, by the lord his commandement, for his couetousnes in flealing¹² gold, filuer, & Jewels at the ſacking of *Iericho*, & al his goods were burned preſently. Thus you ſee how for couetousnes of mony, in all ages, Men haue made ſhipwrack of their conſciences, and in the end, by the iuft iudgement of God, haue dyed fearful deaths; whose iudgments I leauue to the Lord.

Spud. Seeing that couetousnes is ſo wicked a fin, & ſo offendiuſe both to God & Man, & pernicious to the foule, I marueile what moueth Men to followe the ſame¹³ as they doo.

Ph. Two things¹⁴ moue men to affect mony ſo¹⁵ much as they

¹ in the holie E, F. (holy F.)

²—² of the Iuſtice of God, inflicted vpon them that haue offended herein F.

³ that E.

* leaf 73. Plagues for Couetousnesse. B.

⁵ executed F.

⁶ Godly not in F.

⁷ Gehesie F.

⁸ and other F.

¹⁰ restrained F.

† leaf 73, back. Vaine titles of [maister and E] worship in Ailgna. B.

¹² for F.

¹³ ſo much added in F.

¹⁴ in my iudgement, added in B, E, F; (F adds doe.)

¹⁵ ſo ſo A.

The punishment
ment of coue-
tousnes ſhew-
ed by exam-
ples.

4 Reg. 5.

Num. 22.

[Bible examples
of punishments
for covetousness]

[P sign. K 4. A]

Sa. viii.

Act. v.

[¹¹ leaf 73, back
B.]

[God's judg-
ments on covet-
ous men.]

What make
Men to affect
money.

[p K 4, back]

Euery Begger
almost is call-
ed Maister at
euery word.

[†* leaf 74. B.]

[Tituillers, that
is, flattering
fellows. E, F.]

Refusing of
vaine Titles.
[not in E, F.]

[†* sign. K 5. A.]

do : the one, for¹ feare least they shold fal into pouertie & beggery, (oh, ridiculous² infidelitie !) the other,³ to be aduanced & promoted to high dignities & honors vpon earth. And thei see the world is such, that he who hath moni enough shalbe *rabbied* & maistered at euery word, and withal saluted with⁴ ⁵the vaine title of⁶ ‘worshipfull,’ ⁷and ‘right worshipfull,’ ⁷ though notwithstanding he be a dunghill Gentleman, or a Gentleman of the first head, as they vse to terme them. And to such outrage⁸ is it growne, that now adayes euery Butcher, Shooemaker, Tailer, Cobler,⁹ Husband-man, ¹⁰and other¹⁰; yea, euery Tinker, pedler,¹¹ and swinherd, euery Artificer and other, *gregarii ordinis*, of the vilest sorte of Men that be, must be called by the vain name of ‘Maisters’ at euery word. But it is certen that no wyse Man will intitle them with any of these names, ‘worshipfull’ and ‘maister,’ (for they are names and titles of dignitie, proper to the Godly wyse, for some speciall vertue inherent¹², either els¹³ in respect of¹³ their birth, or calling, due vnto them) but such Tituillers, flattering Parasits, and glosing *Gnatoes* as flatter them, expecting some pleasure or benefit at their hands ; which thing, if they were not blowen vp with the bellowes of pride, and puffed vp with the wind of vainglori, they might easilly perceiue. For certen it is they do but mocke and flatter¹⁴ them with these titles, knowing that¹⁵ they deserue nothing¹⁶ lesse. ¹⁷ Wherfore, like good¹⁸ Recusants¹⁹ of that thing which is euill¹⁹,¹⁷ they should refuse those vainglorious Names, remembraunce the words of our sauour Christ, saying,²⁰ ‘be not called Maister,’ in token there is but one onely true Maister and Lord in Heauen; ²¹which only true Maister & Lord, *God graunt all other may followe, bothe in life and name, vntil they come to²² perfect men in Iesus Christ.*

Spud. The people beeing so set vpon couetoufnes, as I gather by your speeches they be, is it possible that they wil lend money without

¹ a for for F.

² distrustfull B, E, F.

³ other for desire B, E, F; (F has a for for)

⁴ by for with E, F.

⁵ Gentleman and added in F.

⁷—⁷ not in B, E, F.

⁶ extreme madnesse B, E, F.

⁹ cobler and B, E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ not in B, E, F.

[†] leaf 74. Vsurie in Ailgna. B. ¹² in them added in F.

¹³—¹³ for B, E, F. ¹⁴ floute E, F. ¹⁵ that not in E, F.

¹⁶ no F.

¹⁷—¹⁷ And therefore as wise men and fearing God F.

¹⁸ wyse E.

¹⁹—¹⁹ not in B, E, F.

²⁰ saying not in F.

²² to be E, F.

vsurie, or without some hostage, guage, or pawn? ¹ for vsurie followeth couetousnes, as the shadowe dooth the bodie.

[² leaf 74, back.
B.*]

Great Vsurie in Ailgna.

Philo.

It is as impossible for any to borrowe money there³ (for the most vsury. part), without vsurie⁴ & loane, or with-out some good hostage, guage,⁵ or pledge, as it is for a dead man to speak with audible voice.

Spud. I haue heard say that the positiuе and statute lawes there doo permit them to take vsurye, limitting⁶ them how much to⁷ take for every pound. The possitive Lawes.

Philo. Although the ciuile⁸ lawes (for the auoiding of further inconueniences) doo permit certain sommes of money to be giuen⁹ ouerplus, beyond or¹⁰ aboue the principall, for the loane of mony lent, yet are the vsurers no more¹¹ discharged from the gilt of vsurie before God therby, then the adulterous *Iewes* were from whordome, because *Moyses* gaue them a permisſiue law, for euery man¹² to put away¹³ their wiues¹³ that would, for¹⁴ euery light trifle.¹⁴ And yet the¹⁵ lawes there give no libertie to commit vsurie; but seeing how much¹⁶ it rageth, left it shoulde exceed, rage further, and ouer-flowe the banks of all reaſon and godlynes,—As couetousnes is a raging sea and a bottomleſſe pit, and¹⁷ neuer satiſſied nor contented,—they haue limited them¹⁸ with¹⁹ in certain meeres and banks²⁰ (to bridle the infatiable desires of ¹⁹ leaf 75. B.†) couetous men), beyond the which it is not lawful for any to go. but this permission of the lawes argueth not that it is lawful to take vsury, no more (I say) then the permiflion of *Moyſes* argued that whordome & adulterie is²¹ lawfull & good, because *Moyſes* permitted them to put away their wiues for the auoiding of greater euil²²: for, as christ said to the *Iewes*, ‘from the beginning it was not so,’ so say I to these vsurers, from the beginning it was not so, nor yet ought²³ so to be.²³ The lawes of Ailgna permit no vsury.

¹ I thinke not, added in B, E, F.

* leaf 74, back. Lawes allowe no Vsurie. B. ³ in England F.

⁴ interest added in E, F. ⁵ pawne added in F. ⁶ appointing F.

⁷ they shall E, F. ⁸ Statute F. ⁹ & taken added in F.

¹⁰ and E, F. ¹² one F. ^{13—13} his wife E, F.

^{14—14} any light offence E, F. ¹⁵ positive lawes E, F. ¹⁶ farre F.

¹⁷ and not in E, F. ¹⁸ it E, F. † leaf 75. Vsurie vnlawfull. B.

²⁰ boundes F. ²¹ was then E, F. ²² euils F. ^{23—23} to be so F.

Spud. If no interest were permitted, then¹ no man would lend, & then how should the poor doo? wherfore the lawes, *that* permit some small ouer-plus therin, doo very wel.²

Philo. ³ *Non faciendum est malum, vt inde veniat bonum:* we must not doo euil, that good may come of it. yet the lawes, in permitting ⁴certain reasonable gain to be receiued for the loane of money lent, lest otherwise the poore should quaille⁵ (for without some commoditie the rich would not lend,) haue not doone much amisse; but if they had quite cut it of, and not yeelded at all to any such permission, they had doon better. But heerin the intent of the lawe is to be perpended,⁷ which was to impale within the Forrest, or park, of reasonable and conſcionable gain, men who cared not how much they could extorte out of poore-mens hands for ⁸the loane of their money lent, and not to authorise any man to commit vsurie, as though it were lawful because it is permitted.

Therfore thoſe that ſay that the lawes there doo allow of vsury, & licence men to commit it freely, doo flaunder the lawes, & are worthy of reprehencion; for though the lawes ſay, ‘thou ſhalt not take aboue ij.s. in the pound, x.li. in a hundred,’ ⁹and ſo ſo¹⁰ foorth,⁹ Dooth this prooue that it is lawful to take ſo much, or rather *that* thou ſhalt not take more then *that?* If I¹¹ ſay to a man,¹¹ ‘thou ſhalt not giue him aboue one or two blowes,’¹² dooth this prooue *that* I licence him to giue him one or two blowes, or rather that he ſhal not giue him any at al, or if he doo,¹³ he ſhal not exceed or paſſe the bands¹⁴ of reſonable meſure? ſo this law dooth but mitigate the penalty, for it ſaih that the party that taketh but¹⁵ x.li, for the vſe of an C.li, loſeth but the x.li, not his principal.

Forbidding to outrage in mischeef[§] is not^t permission to comit mischeef
[§ mircheef A.
t no F.]

[¹⁶ K 6, back]

¹⁶ *Spud.* Then I perceiue, if Vsury be not lawful by the lawes of the Realm, then is it not lawful by the lawes of God.

¹ then not in E, F.

² in my opinion added in E, F; (F has mine for my)

³ The Apostle teacheth vs added in B; The Apostle sayth, E, F.

⁵ vtterly be distressed F. ⁶ not added in B, E, F. ⁷ considered F.

[†] leaf 75, back. Vsury vnlawfull by Gods lawe. B.

^{9—9} &c. F.

¹⁰ ſo for ſo ſo B, E.

^{11—11} ſee a man will needes fight with another, a (*sic*) I hauing authority ouer him, ſay vnto him F.

¹² at the moſt added in F.

¹³ that added in E, F.

¹⁴ bounds F.

¹⁵ aboue B, E, F.

Philo. You may be sure of that ; For our Sauiour Christe willeth vs to be so far from couetousnes and vsury, as he saith, “ giue to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow turn not thy face away.” Againe,¹ “ Lend of thy goods to them who are not able to pay thee again, and thy reward shalbe great in heauen.” <sup>Math. 5, 5.
Luc. 6.</sup> If wee must lend our goods, then, to them who are not able to pay vs again, no, not so much as the bare thing lent, where is the interest, the vsurie, the gaine, and ouer-plus which we fish for so much ? Therfore our Sauiour Christe saith, *beatius est dare, potius³ quam accipere :* It is more blessed to giue, then to receiue. In the 22. of *Exodus*, *Deut.* 24, 23, *Leuit.* 25, *Nehe.* 5, *Eze.* 22, 18, & many other places, we are forbidden to vse any kinde of vsury, or interest, or to receiue again any ouer-pluss besides the principall, either in money, corne, wine, oyle, beastes, cattel, meat, drink, cloth, or any thing els what soever. *David* asketh a question of the Lord, saying, *Lord, who shall dwell in thy Tabernacle, and⁵ who shall rest in thy holy hil?* wherto he⁶ giueth the solution him self,⁸ saying, ‘euen he that leadeth an incorrupt life, & hath not giuen his mony vnto vsurie,⁹ nor taken reward against the innocent : who so dooth these things shall neuer fall.’ In the 15 of *Deut.* the Lord willeth vs not to craue again the thing we haue lent to our neighbor, for it is the Lords free yeer. If it be not lawful (then) to aske again that which is lent (for it is not the law of good conscience for thee to exact it, if thou be abler to beare¹⁰ it then the other¹¹ to pay it,) much lesse is it lawful¹² to demaund any vsury or ouer-plus. And for this cause the Lord saith, ‘let there be no begger amongst you, nor poore person¹³ amongst the Tribes of *Israell.*’ Thus, you see, the woord of God abandonneth vsurie euen to hel ; and all writers, bothe diuine and prophane, yea, the very heathen people, moued onely by the instinct of nature and rules of reason, haue alwaies abhord it. Therfore *Cato*, beeing demaunded what vsurie was, askid againe, ‘what it was to kill a man?’ making vsurie equiualent with murther : And good reason, for he that killeth a¹⁴ man, riddeth

The word of
God against
vsurie
[² leaf 76. B.*]

⁴ Exodus 20.
Deut. 24, 23.
⁵ Leuit. 25.
⁶ Nehe. 5.
Ezech. 22, 18.⁴

Psalm 15.⁷

[⁹ sign. K 7. A.]

when it is not
lawfull to aske
again our
goods lent.

[¹³ leaf 76, back.
B.†]

Hethen men
against vsury
and interest.
[intestest A.]

¹ And againe F. * leaf 76. The word of God against Vsurie. B.

³ potius not in F. ^{4—4} not in F. ⁵ or B, E, F.

⁶ or rather the holy Ghost in him added in F. ⁷ Psalm 25 in A ; 16 in F.

⁸ him-self not in F. ¹⁰ forbear F. ¹¹ other is E, F.

¹² for thee added in F.

† leaf 76, back. Vsury equall with Murther. B.

¹⁴ a a (sic) A.

him out of his paines at once; but he that taketh vsury, is long in butchering his pacient, suffering¹ him by little & little to languish, and fucking out his hart² blood, neuer leaueth him so long as he feeleth any³ vitall blood (that is lucre and gaine) comming foorth of³ him. The Vsurer killeth not one but many, bothe Husband, Wife, Children, seruants, famelie, and all, not sparing any. ⁴ And if the poore man haue not wherewith to pay, as wel the interest as the principall, when souer this greedy cormorant dooth demaund it, then sute shalbe⁵ commenced against him; out go butter-flies and wrats, as thick as haile; so the poore man is apprehended and brought *coram nobis*, ⁶ and beeing once conuented, iudgement condemnatorie and⁶ diffinitiue sentence proceedeth against him, compelling him to pay, aswel the vsury & *the*⁷ loane of the money, as the money lent. But if he haue not to satissie aswel the one as th' other, ⁸ then to *Bocardo* goeth he as round as a ball, where he shalbe sure to lye vntil he rotte,

vsury equall
with murther.

[⁴ K 7, back]

Sute com-
menced
against him
that is not
able to pay
aswel the
Vsury as the
Principall.

[³ leaf 77. B.t]

To prison with
him that can-
not pay the
vsury.

No mercy in
imprisoning of
poor-men for
vsury.

[¹⁰ sign. K 8. A.]

No crueltie to
be shewed, but
mercy and
compassion
ought to be
extended.

one peece from an other, without satissfaction bee made. Oh, cursed Caitiue! no man, but a deuil; no Christian, but a cruel *Tartarian* and mercifleſſe *Turck*! dareſt thou look vp toward heauen, or canſt thou hope to be ſaued by the death of Chrifte, that ſufferest thine owne flesh and blood, thine owne bretheren & fifters in the Lord, and, which is more, the flesh and blood of Christ Iefus, veffels of faluation, coheirs with him of his ſuperiall⁹ kingdom, adoptiuefonnes of his grace, & finally saints in heauen, to lye and rot in prison for want of payment of a little droffe, which at the day of dome ſhall beare witneſſe againſt thee, gnaw thy flesh like a canker, and condemn thee for euer? The very ſtones of the prison¹⁰ walles ſhall riſe vp againſt thee, and condemne thee for thy crueltie. Is this loue? Is this charitie? is this to doo to others as thou wouleſt wiſh others to¹¹ doe to thee? or rather, as thou wouleſt wiſh the Lord to doe vnto thee? Art thou a good member of the bodie, which not onely cutteſt of thy ſelfe from the vine, as a rotten braunch and void lop, but alſo heweft off other members from the ſame true vine, Chrifte Iefus? No, no;

¹ causing F.

² vitall F.

^{3—3} life in him or any more gaines comming from F.

⁵ is B, E, F.

^{6—6} then presently E, F.

⁷ the *not in* F.

[[†] leaf 77. Imprisonyng for debt cruell. B.

⁹ supernall B, E, F.

¹¹ to *not in* F.

thou art a member of the Deuil, a limme of Sathan, and a Childe of perdition.

Wee ought not to handle our bretheren¹ in such forte for any worldly matter whatsoeuer. Wee ²ought to shew mercie and not <sup>* leaf 77, back.
B.†]</sup> crueltie to our bretheren, to remit trespasses and offences, rather then to exact punishment; referring all reuenge to him who faith, *Mihi vindictam, et ego retriluam*: Vengeance is mine, and I wil rewardre (faith the Lord).

Beleeue mee, it greeueth mee to heare (walking³ in the streats) the pitiful cryes, and miserabel complaints of poore prisoners in durance for debt, and like so to continue all their life, destitute of libertie, meat, drink (though of the meanest forte), and cloathing to their backs, lying in filthie strawe, and ⁴lothsome dung,⁴ wurfle then anie Dogge, voide of all charitable consolation and brotherly comfort ⁵in [§ K 8, back] this World, wishing and thyrsting after death to set them at libertie, and loose them from their shackles, giues, and yron bands.

The pitiful
crying of
Prisoners in
prison for
dept.

Notwithstanding, some⁶ mercileffe tygers are growen to such barous crueltie that they blush not to say, “tush! he shall either paye mee the whole, or els⁷ lye there till his heels rot from his buttocks; and before I will release him, I will make dice of his bones.” But take heed, thou Deuill (for I dare not call thee a Man⁸), left the Lord say to thee, as he said⁹ to that wicked Seruant (who hauing great sommes forgiuen him, wold not forgiue his Brother his small debte, but, catching him by the throte, said, ‘pay that thou oweſt’), bind him hands and feet, and cast him into vtter Darknes, wher shall ¹⁰be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

A tygerlike
tyrannicall
saying.

Math xviii.
Marc xi.

An Vsurer is worse than a Thief, for the one stealeth but for need, the other for couetousnes and exceſſe¹¹: the one stealeth but in the night commonly; the other daylie and hourelly, night and daye, at all times indifferently.

[¶ leaf 78. B.†]

An Vsurer
worse than a
Thief. [not in E]

An Vsurer is worse than a Iew, for they, to this daye, will not take anye vfurie of their Brethren, according to the lawe of God.

They are worse than *Iudas*, for he betraied Christ but once, made

¹ brethren (*sic*) F. * leaf 77, back. The tyranny of Vsurers. B.

³ as I walk F.

⁴—⁴ stinking litter F.

An Vsurer
worsē † than a
Iew. [‡ worse
B, E, F.]
An Vsurer
worsē § than
Iudas. [§ worse
B, E.]

⁶ these B, E, F.

⁷ he shal added in F.

⁸ Christian B, E, F.

⁹ did F.

[†] leaf 78. Vsurers worse then the Deuill. B.

¹¹ lucre F.

128 Scriueners, Inſtruments of vſurie. The Anatomie

reſtitution, and repented ¹ for it¹ (though his repen‐tance ſprang not of faith, but of deſpaire), but theſe Vſurers betray Chriſt in hiſ members daylie and hourly, ² without any remorse or reſtitution at all.

[² ſign. L 1. A.]

Vſurers wурſſe
then Hel.

An Vſurer
wурſſe then
Death.

An vſurer
wурſſe then the
Deuile.

The ſayings of
Godly Fathers
and Writers
againſt vſury.

[⁴ leaf 78, back.
B.†]

Vſurers pun‐
ished ⁵ with
ſundry tor‐
tures.⁶

Scriueners the
Diuels agents
to ſet forward
Vſerie.

[⁷ L 1, back]

They are wурſſe then hel it ſelf, for it puniſheth but only the wicked and reprobate, but the Vſurer maketh no diſference of any, but puniſheth all alike. They are crueller then death, for it deſtroyeth but the body and goeth no further, but the vſurer deſtroyeth both body & foule for euer. And, to be bref, the Vſurer is wурſſe then the Deuile himſelf, for the Deuill plagueth but onely thoſe that are in hiſ hands, or els thoſe whome God permitteth him; the Vſurer plagueth not onely thoſe that are within hiſ iurifdiſtion alredy, but even all other, without permiffion⁸ of any. Therfore, faith Ambroſe, if any man commit vſurie, it is extortion, rauin, & pillage,⁴ and he ought to dye. Alphonſus called vſury nothing els then a life of death. Lycurgus banished all kind of vſury out of hiſ lands. Cato did the ſame. Ageſilaus, Generall of the Lacedemonians, burned the Vſurers bookeſ in the open market places. Claudius Vſpatiannus, and after him Alexander Seuerus made ſharpe lawes againſt vſury, and vtterly extirped the ſame.⁵ Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, and generally, all writers, bothe holy and prophane, haue sharply inueighed againſt this deuouring canker of vſury; & yet cannot we, that fain would be called christians, auoid it. And if it be true that I heare⁷ ſay, there be no men ſo great doers in this noble facultie and famous ſcience as the Scriueners be: For it is ſayd (and I feare me too true) that there are ſome to whome is committed⁸ a hundred or two of poundes,⁸ of⁹ ſome more, of⁹ ſome leſſe, they puttinge in good ſureties to the owners for the repayment¹⁰ of the same againe, with certaine allowance for the loane thereof; then come there poore men to them,¹¹ deſiring them¹¹ to lend them ſuche a ſom of money, and they wil recompence them at their owne deſires, who making refuſall at the firſte, as though they had it not (to acuate¹² the minds of the poore petitioners withall¹³), at laſt they lend them how much they deſire,

^{1—1} not in E, F.

³ compassion B, E, F.

† leaf 78, back. Scriueners instruments of Vſurie. B.

^{5—6} sundry wayes F.

⁵ out of their dominions added in F.

^{8—9} to in B, E, F.

^{8—8} an hundred pounds or two F.

^{11—11} with request F.

¹⁰ payment F.

¹³ you must vnderſtande added in B, E, F.

¹² whette F.

receiuing of the poore men what interest &¹ assurance they lust² themselues, and³ binding them, their lands, ⁴Goodes, and all, with ¹⁴ leaf 79. B.* forfaiture thereof if they fayle of payment : where note, by the way, the Scriuener is the Instrument wherby the Diuell worketh ⁵the frame⁶ of this ⁷wicked woorke of Vsurie, hee beeing rewarded⁷ ⁵with a good fleece for his labour. For firste, he hath a certaine allowance of the Archdiuel⁸ who owes the money, for helping him to such⁹ vent for his coyne : Secondly, he hath a greate deale¹⁰ more vsurie to himselfe, of him who boroweth the money, ¹¹than he alloweth the owner of the mony¹¹: And, thirdly, he hath not the least part for making the writings betwene them. ¹²And thus the poore man is so implicate¹³ [sign. L 2. A.] and wrapped in on euerie fide, as it is impossible for him euer¹⁴ to get out of the briers¹⁵ without losse of all that euer hee hath, to the very skin. Thus the riche are inriched,¹⁶ the poore beggered, and Christ Iesus dishonored euerie way, God be mercifull vnto us ! ¹⁷*De his hactenus*¹⁷.

The Scriuiners
fleece or pit-
taunce for his
paynes.

[¹⁸Greate Swearyng in Ailgna.

[This chapter
not in A.]

Spud.

What is the ¹⁹qualitie,²⁰ and ¹⁹naturall disposition²¹ of this people ? Are thei not a verie godlie, religious, and faithfull kind of people : For the saiyng is, that the woerde of God, and good Religion, florisheth in that lande, better then in the greatest parte of the worlde besides. And I am fullie perswaded, that where the woerde of God is truely prached and his Sacramentes duely ministered (all whiche thei ²²haue) there must all thynges needs prosper, and goe forwarde ; wherefore I desire to knowe your iudgement, whether all these thinges be so, or not.

[Gods word
florisheth in
England, but the
people are
wicked still. E,
F.]
[²² leaf 79, back.
B.+]

¹ and also E, F.

² list B, E, F.

³ both E, F.

* leaf 79. Great swearyng in Ailgna. B.

^{5—6} this laudable woorke, rewarding his Vassall F.

⁶ effecte E.

^{7—7} laudable woorke, rewarding his vassall, B, E.

⁸ master deuil F.

⁹ such *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁰ deale *not in* F.

^{11—11} *not in* B, E, F.

¹³ intangled F.

¹⁴ hardly F.

¹⁵ againe added in F.

¹⁶ inriched (*sic*) F.

^{17—17} *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁸ This chapter, not in A, is added in B, E, & F. ^{19—19} *not in* F.

²⁰ Inclination, *added in* E.

²¹ dispositistion (*sic*) F.

+ leaf 79, back. Hipocrisie vnder the cloke of Christianity. B. E has:
The disposition of Englishmen.

[This page not
in A.]

[The naturall
disposition of
Englishmen.
E, F.]

[Great wicked-
nesse committed
vnder the cloke
of the gospell.
E, F.]
[5 leaf 8o. B.†]

[Papistes suf-
fered in England
with too much
lenitie. E, F.]

[Papists living
in prison lyke
Princes. E, F.]

[*Philo.* The worde of God is truely and sincerenly preached there, and his Sacramentes duely¹ and purely administred, as in any place in all the worlde²; no man can deny it; and all thynges are pretelie³ reformed, accordyng to the prescripte of Gods woerde, sauyng that a fewe remnantes of superstition doe remaine behinde vnremoued, which I hope in tyme will bee weeded out, by the fickle of Gods woerde. And as concernyng the nature, propertie, and disposition of the people, thei bee desirous of newfangles, praiyng thynges past, contemnyng thinges present, and couetyng after thynges to come. Ambicious, proude, light, and vnstable, ready to bee caried awaie with euery blaste of Winde. And whereas you aske me, whether thei bee religious: I answere. If Religion consist in wordes onely, then are thei verie religious; but otherwise, plaine irreligious. Thei heare the woerde of God sereouslie, night & daie (a blessed exercise doubtlesse) flockyng after sermons from place to place, euerie hower almooste: thei receiue the Sacramentes duely, and thei behauie themselues⁴ in all thinges verie orderly, to the worlde. But a greate sorte plaie the Hipocrites herein egregioufie; and vnder this cloke of Christianitie, and profession of the Gospell, thei commit all kinde of De5uillrie, purchasing to themselues the greater damnation, in that thei make the worde of God, a vizard⁶ to couer their abhominations withall. And as for Sectes, Schismes,⁷ and fundrie factiōns, thei want none amongst them. But especially Papistes, and professors of Papisme, are suffred with too much lenitie amongst them. These sedicious Vipers, and pitonicallyall Hidraes, either lurke secrety in corners, seducyng her Maiesties Subiectes, and withdrawyng their hartes from their soueraignes obedience, or els walk openly, obseruyng an outward *decorum*, and an order as others doe; and then maie no man faie 'blacke is their eye,' but thei are good Protestants. And if the worst fall, that thei be espied, & found rancke Traitours (as all Papistes bee) yet shall thei be but committed to Prison, where thei liue like yong Princes, fed with all delicate meates, clothed in sumptuous attire, and flowing in⁸ gold and siluer. And no maruell, for euery one is suffered to come to

¹ sincerely F.

² besides added in E, F.

³ well added in E, F.

⁴ themselued (*sic*) F.

⁵ leaf 8o. The libertie of Papists in Ailgna. B.

⁶ or cloak added in F.

⁷ Errors, added in E.

⁸ abundance of added in F.

[them that will, and to bring them what¹ thei list. Thei haue their libertie at all tymes, to walke abroade, to sporte, and pastyme themselfes, to plaie at Cardes, Dice, Tables, Bowles, and what thei will : so that it were better for them to be in prison then forth. Alas, shall we suffer these sworne enemies of Gods glorie, of Christes Gospell, and holy Religion, to haue this freedome amonkest vs ? This maketh them obſtinate, and incorrigible²: this hardeneth their ³ hertes ; and this⁴ maketh many a Papist moe then would be, if due correction⁵ were executed.⁶ But to returne againe to my former discourse. They are also inconstant, arrogant, vainglorious, hautie mynded, and aboue all thynges inclined to swearyng, in so muche, as if thei speake but three or fower wordes, yet must thei needes be interlaced with a bloudie othe or two, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the hearers.]

*[This page not
in A.]*

*[Exercises of
Papists in
Prisons in Eng-
land. E, F.]*

*[3 leaf 8o, back.
E.]*

*[Great swearing
in England.
E, F.]*

Spud. Why fir ? Is it so greate a matter to sweare ? Doeth not the worde of God saie, thou shalt honour me, and sweare by my name, & those that sweare by me shall bee commended ? These places and⁷ the like, me thinke, dooe sufficiently proue, that it is lawfull to sweare at all tymes, doe thei not so ?

Philo. Nothyng leſſe : For you must vnderſtand that there be two maner of ſwearinges⁸ : the one Godly, the other vngodly : the one lawfull, and the other damnable. The Godly ſwearyng, or lawfull othe, is when we be called by the Magiftrates, and those that be of authoritie, in any doubtfull matter, to depose a truthe; and is to be doen in this order. When any matter of controuersie happeneth betwixt man and man, vpon any occaſion whatſoever, and the truthe thereof can not by any meanes poſſible be ſifted out, otherwise then by an othe: then thou, beyng called by the lawful Magiftrate, and commaunded vpon thy allegiance to confeſſe what thou knowest, thou maiest, and oughteſt to depose the truthe, by the inuocation and obteſtation of the name of God. And in this doyng, thou honourefſt God. But beware that thoſe things which thou ſweareſt be true, or els thou makeſt God a lier (whoſe name thou calleſt to witneſſe)]

*[Two kinds of
swearing.]*

*[When, and how
it is lawful to
sweare. E, F.]*

[3 leaf 8x. B.]

¹ what maintenance F.

² vnreclaimable F.

* leaf 8o, back. How a man ought to sweare. B.

⁴ this not in E.

⁵ punishment F.

⁶ vpon them added in F.

⁷ with E, F.

⁸ or othes added in E, F, and p. 140, 142, 144.

† leaf 81. Swearyng forbidden by God. B.

[This page not in
A.]

[The daunger of
a false othe.
E, F.]

[A wicked kind
of swearing.
E, F.]

[thou desirest hym to powre his wrath vpon thee, thou periurest thyself, and purchasest eternall damnation. The other vngodly and damnable kinde of fwearyng, is, when wee take in vaine abuse, and blasphemē, the sacred name of God in our ordenarie talke, for euery light trifle. This kinde of fwearyng is neuer at any tyme vpon no occation to be vsed; but the counsell of our Sauiour Christ is herein to be obeyed, who saith: "Sweare not at all, neither by heauen, for it is his Seate: neither by the earth, for it is his Footestoole: neither by Jerusalem, for it is the Citie of the great King: neither shalt thou fweare by an heire of thy¹ head, because thou canst not make one heire white or blacke: But let your communication be yea, yea: nay, nay," that is: yea in harte, and yea in mouthe: nay in harte, and nay in mouthe: "for whatsoeuer is more then this commeth of euill." That is, of the Deuill, saith our Sauiour Christ.

Spud. I perceiue by your reas ons, that fwearyng is a thynge more daungerous then it is taken to bee: and therefore not to bee suffered in a Chriftian Commonwealth.

[¹ leaf 8x, back.
B.]

[Sundry kinds of
othes, with their
effectes. E, F.]

[Swearing taken
for a vertue in
England E, F.]

Philo. A true othe is daungerous, a false othe² is damnable, and no othe is sure. To fweare before a lawfull Judge, or otherwise priuately, for the appeasing of controuersies, callyng the name of God to witnesse in truthe and veritie, is an honour, and a true seruice doen to the Lorde: for in these causes the Apostle biddeth that an oth may make an ende of all controuersies and troubles. But the other kinde of fwearyng in priuate and familiar talke, is most damnable; and therefore saith Salomon: "A man that is giuen to muche fwearyng shall bee filled with iniquitie, and the plague of God shall neuer goe from his house." And yet notwithstandingyng this, it is vsed and taken there for a vertue. So that he that can lalhe out the bloudiest othes, is coumpted the brauest fellowe: For (faie thei) it is a signe of a coragious harte, of a valiaunt stomacke, & of a generofeous, heroicall, and puissant mynde. And who, either for feare of Gods Iudgements will not, or for want of practise cannot, rappe out othes at euery word, he is counted a Daftard, a Cowarde, an Affe, a Pesant, a Clowne, a Patche, an effeminate person, and what not that is euill. By continuall vse whereof, it is growne to this perfection, that at euery other worde, you shal heare either woundes, bloud, fides, harte,

¹ thine F. [†] leaf 81, back. The horrible vice of swering in Ailg. B.

[nailes, foote, or some other parte of Christes blessed bodie,¹ yea, sometymes no parte thereof shalbe left vntorne of these bloudie Villaines. And to fweare by God at euery worde, by the World, by S. Jhon,² by S. Marie, S. Anne, by Bread and Salte, by the Fire, or by any other Creature, thei thinke it nothyng blame worthie. But I giue all bloudie Swearers (who crucifie the Lorde of life afresh, as the Apostle faith, as muche as is in their power, and are as giltie of his Death, Passiōn, and Bloud-sheddyng, as euer was *Iudas* that betrayed hym, or the cursed *Iewes* that crucified hym) to vnderstande, that to fweare by God at euery woorde, is the greatest othe that can bee. For in swēaryng by God, thou swearest by God the Father, by God the Sonne, and by God the holie Ghost, and by all the whole diuine Nature, Power, dieitie,³ and essence. When thou swearest by Gods harte, thou swearest by his mysticall wisedome. When thou swearest by his bloud, thou swearest by his life. When thou swearest by his feete, thou swearest by his humanitie. When thou swearest by his armes, thou swearest by his power. When thou swearest by his finger, or tung, thou swearest by the holie Spirite. When thou swearest by his nosethrells, thou swearest by his inspirations. When thou swearest by his eyes, thou swearest by his prouidence. Therfore, learne this, and beware of swēaryng, you bloudie Butchers, leaſt God destroye you in his wrathe. And if you fweare by the Worlde, by S. Ihon, Marie, Anne, Bread, Salt, Fire, or any other Creature that euer God made, whatſoever it be, little or muche, it is horrible Idolatrie, and damnable⁴ in it ſelf. For if it were lawfull to fweare at euery⁵ woorde for euery trifle, yet it were better to fweare by GOD in a true matter, then by any Creature whatſoever. Beaufe, that, that⁶ a man sweareth by, he maketh (as it were) his God of it, callyng hym⁷ to witneſſe, that, that thyng which he speaketh is true. All which thinges duely confidered, I am fully perſwaded, that it were better for one to kill a man (not that Murther is lawful, God forbid!) then to fweare an othe. And yet swēaryng is of ſuche ſmall moment in Ailgna, as I heare ſay (and I feare me too true), there are many that

[This page not
in A]

[² leaf 82. B.*]
[Not lawfull to
ſwear by any
creature. E, F.]

[How dangerous
it is to ſwear by
anything. E, F.]

[To ſwear by
any creature is
idolatrie. E, F.]

[⁴ leaf 82, back.
B, F.]

[False swearers
ſ in England for
money. E, F.]

¹ sworne by, added in E, F.

* leaf 82. Horrible swearing in Ailgna. B.

³ Deity F. [†] leaf 82, back. False Swearers for money in Ailg. B.

⁵ each E, F.

⁶ which in E, F.

⁷ it E, F.

⁸—⁸ for money in England F.

[This page not
in A.]

[Swearers are
very Devils.]

[A lawe for
swearers. E, F.]
[6 leaf 83. B.†]

[for money will not sticke to fweare any thing, though neuer so false, and are wel enough knowne, and discerned from others by the name of Jurors: thei maie be called Libertines, or Atheistes, naie, plaine denegars of¹ the faithe, and very Deuilles incarnate. Was² there euer any Deuilles that would abdicate³ themselues to eternall damnation for money, as these villaines dooe sell their bodies and soules to eternall destruction for filthy droffe and muck of the world? Shall wee suffer this villanie to bee doen to our God, and not⁴ punishe it? God graunt there maie some Lawe be enacted for the suppreffion of the same. For now no man by any lawe in force may rebuke any⁵ man for fwearyng, though he teare the Lordes bodie, and blasphemē bothe Heauen and Earth neuer so much. The Magistrates can not compell them to keepe silence, for if thei doe,⁶ thei will be readie to laie their Daggers vppon⁷ their faces. So that by this impunitie, this horrible vice of fwearyng is suffered still to remaine without al controlement, to the great dishonour of God, and nourishyng of vice.

Spud. What kinde of punishment would you haue appointed for these notorious bloudy swearers.

[Punishment
due for
swearers. E, F.]

Philo. I would wiſhe (if it pleased God) that it were made death: For wee reade in the Lawe of God, that whosoeuer blaſphemed the Lord, was preſently ſtoned to deathe, without all remorse, which law iudicall standeth in force to the worldes ende. And ought not we to be as zealous for the glorie of God, as the people were then? Or if this bee iudged too ſeuere, I would wiſhe they might haue a peece of their tongues cut of, or looſe ſome ioynt: If that bee too extreeme, to be feared in the fore head or cheeke with a hot Iron, ingrauen with ſome pretie⁸ pozie, that thei might be knowne and auoyded. Or if this be too ſtrict, that thei might bee banished their native Country, committed to perpetuall priſon, or els to bee whipped, or at leaſt, forfaite for euery othe, a certaine ſomme of money, and to bee committed to Warde, till the money be paied. If any of theſe Godly Institutions were executed ſeuereley, I doubt not, but all curſed fwearyng would vaniſh away like⁹ ſmoke. Then ſhould God be¹⁰ glorified,

¹—¹ reprobates concerning F.

² Were F.

³ and abandone added in E, F.

⁴ not to E, F.

⁵ a in E, F.

† leaf 83. Punishment of Swearers. B.

⁷ on E, F.

⁸ pretie not in F.

⁹ like a F.

¹⁰ to be F.

¹⁰ to be F.

[and our Consciences made¹ cleane against the ²greate³ fearfull daie of
the Lorde appeare.

*[This page not
in A.]*
*[² leaf 83, back.
B.]*

Spud. If swearing and blaspheming of God's name be so
hainous a sinne, it is likely, that God hath plagued the vfers therof
with some notable punishment,⁴ whereof I pracie you shew me some
examples.

Philo. I could shewe most straunge and fearfull iudgements of
God, executed vpon theſe cursed kinde of Swearers in all ages: but
for breuite sake, one or two ſhall ſuffice. There was a certayne yong
man dwellyng in Enlocnillshire⁵ in Ailgna, (whose tragicall diſcourse
I my ſelf penned about two yeares agoe,⁶ referring you to the ſaid
booke for the further declaration therof) who was alwaies a filthie
Swearer: His common othe was by 'God's bloud.' The Lorde will-
yng his conuerſion, chaſtified him with fickneſſe many times to leauē
the ſame, and moued others euer to admoniſh him of his wickedneſſe:
but all chaſtimentes and louyng correſtions of the Lorde, al freendly
admoniſtions, and exhortations⁷ of others, he vtterly contemned, ſtil per-
ſeuering in his bloudie kinde of ſwearyng. Then the Lord, ſeing that
nothing would preuaile to winne him, arēteſt hym with his Sargeant
Death: Who, with ſpeeđe laied holde on hym, and caſt hym vpon
his Death bed, where he languiſhed a great while, in extreeme
miferie, not forgettyng to ſpewe out his olde vomite of Swearyng.
At the laſt, the people perceiuing his ende to approach,⁸ cauſed the
Bell to toll. Who, hearyng the Bell toll for him, riſhed vp in his bed
very vehemently, ſaiyng: "Gods bloud, he ſhall not haue me yet:"
with that, his bloud gushed out, ſome at his toes endes, ſome at his
fingers endes, ſome at his wrifteſ, ſome at his noſe and mouth, ſome
at one ioint of his body, ſome at an other, neuer ceaſing till all the
bloud of⁹ his bodie was ſtremed forthe: and thus ended this bloudie
Swearer his mortall¹⁰ life, whose Iudgement I leauē to the Lord.

There was alſo an other, whom I knewe my ſelf for a dozen or
ſixteeene yeres together, dwellyng in Erichſſehcſhire,¹¹ in a Towne

*[God's judgments
on Swearers.]*

*[Lincolnshire in
England.]*

*[A moſt fearefull
example of God †
wrath ſhewed
vpon a filthy
cursed swearer.
E, F.]* *[If gods in
F.]*

*[Death, the
Lords ex-
ecutioner. B, F.]*

[⁸ leaf 84. B.]

*[A moſt dread-
full end of a
swearer. E, F.]*

¹ kept E; kept F. * leaf 83, back. Examples againſt ſwearyng. B.
² and added in E, F. ⁴ in all ages added in F. ⁵ Lincolnshire F.
⁶ in verſe added in F. ⁷ exhortation F.
⁸ leaf 84. Two Swearers in Ailgna. B. E has: A moſt dreadfull end of a
swearer.

⁹ in F.

¹⁰ cursed F.

¹¹ Cheshire E, F.

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[This page, to 21, not in A.]
[Congleton in Cheshire.]

[The fearefull death of another swearer. E, F.]

[⁴ leaf 84, back. B f]
[London.]
[The example of a woman forswearing her selfe. E, F.]

called Notelgnoc,¹ whose vſuall and common oth was euer to fweare, by Gods Armes: But in the ende, his arme being hurte by a knife, could neuer be healed by no kinde of meanes, but ſtill wranckled² and feſtered from daie to daie, and at the laſt ſo rotted, as it fell awaie by peecemeale, and he himſelf through anguifh and paine thereof dyed ſhortly after. Thus the Lord God plagued both the one and the other, in the fame thinges wherein thei had offendēd, that the punishment might be like to the offence. For as the one offendēd through fwearyng by his bloud, ſo the Lorde puniſhed hym with bloud. And as the other offendēd in fwearyng by his armes, ſo the Lorde plagued hym in his arme alſo. As he puniſhed³ the riche Glutton in Hell by the tongue, for that he had offendēd in the fame by taſtyng of delicate ⁴meates. There was alſo a woman in the Citiſe of Munidnol⁵ in Ailgna, who, commyng into a ſhoppe to buye certaine Marchaundize, forſware her ſelf; and the excrementeſ whiche naturally ſhould evacuate⁶ downewarde, came forthe at her mouthe, and ſhe dyed miſerablie. With infinite⁷ like exampleſ⁸ of God's wrath and heauie iudgementeſ, executed vppon this wicked broode of Swearerſ, whiche if I had tyme and leaſure, I could rehearſe. But contentyng my ſelf to haue ſaied thus muche, I will proceede to other matterſ no leſſe needeſfull to be handled.]

Spud. Hauing (by the grace of Christe) hytherto ſpoken of fundrie Abufeſ of that countrie, let vs proceed a little further. howe doe they ſanctifie⁹ and keepe the Sabaoth day? In godly Christian exerciſeſ, or els in prophane paſtimeſ and pleaſureſ?

The Maner of ſanctifyng the Sabaoth in Ailgna.

Philo.

THE Sabaoth day, of ſome is well ſanctified,¹⁰ namely in hearing the¹¹ Word of God read, preached, and interpreted in priuat and publicque Prayers, in ſinging of Godly Psalmeſ, in celebrating the ſacra-

¹ Congleton F. ² ranckled F. ³ puniſhed (*sic*) F.

⁴ leaf 84, back. The vſe of the Sabaoth in Ailgna. B.

⁵ London F. ⁶ haue diſcended F. ⁷ the added in E, F.

⁸ examples in F.

⁹ sanctisie A.

¹⁰ ſanctified A; obſerued E; obſerued, as F.

¹¹ the blessed B, E, F.

ments, & in collecting for the poore & indigent; ¹ which are the true [leaf 85, back. A.] vses and ends wherto the Sabaoth was ordained. But other some spend ²the Sabaoth day (for the most part) in frequenting of baudie [leaf 85, B.+] Stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of mis-rule (for so they call a certaine kinde of play which they vse), ³May-games, Church-ales, feasts, and wakeefses: in piping, dauncing, dicing, carding, bowling, tenniffe playing; in Beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and such like; In keeping of Faires and markets on the sabaoth; In keeping⁴ Courts and Leets; In foot-ball playing, and such other deuiliſh pastimes; ⁵reading of laciuous and wanton bookeſ, and an infinit number of ſuch like praſtices and prophane exerciſes vſed vpon that day, wherby the Lord God is diſhonoured, his Sabaoth violated, his woord negleſted, his sacraments contemned, and his People meruelouſly corrupted and caryed away from true vertue and godlynes. ⁶*Lord, remoue these exerciſes from thy Salaoth!* ⁶

Prophane
exercises vpon
the Sabaoth
day
[Fairs, football-
playing and
other profanities
on the Sabbath-
day.]

Spud. You wil be deemed too too *Stoicall*, if you ſhould reſtrain men from theſe exerciſes vpon the Sabaoth; for they ſuppoſe that that day⁷ was ordained and conſecrate to that end and purpoſe, only to vſe what kinde of exerciſes they think good themſelues: & was it not ſo?

Phi. After that the Lord our God had created the world, and all things therin contained, in ⁸fix dayes, in the ſeuenth day he reſted from all his woorks (that is, from creating them, not from ⁹gouerning them) and therefore hee commaunded *that* the ſeuenth day ſhould be kept holy in all ages to the end of the world: then, after that in effect 2000 yeeres, he iterated this Commandement, when he gaue the law in mount *Horeb* to *Moyſes*, & in him to all¹⁰ the Children of *Israel*, ſaying, remember (forget it not) that thou keep holy the ſeuenth day, &c. If we muſt keep it holy, then muſt we not ſpend it in ſuch vain exerciſes as pleafe ourſelues, but in ſuch godly exerciſes as he in his holy woord hath commaunded. And (in my iudgement) the Lord our God ordained the ſeuenth day to be kept holy for fourre cauſes

[leaf 85, back.
B.+] When the
Sabaoth was
ordained.

* leaf 85. The prophanation of the Saboth. B. . . . ³ in added in E.

⁴ keepyng of B, E, F. ⁵ in added in B, E, F.

⁶—⁶ not in B, E, F.

⁷ is a day of liberty, and added in F.

† leaf 85, back. The Institution of the Sabaoth. B. (Sadaoth. A.)

¹⁰ call E, F.

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Wherfore the
Sabaoth was
instituted.

especially. First, to put vs in minde of his wunderful woorkmanship & creation of the world and¹ creatures besides. Secondly, *that* his woord (the Church assembling togither) might be preached, interpreted, & expounded; his sacraments ministred sincerly, according to the prescript of his woord, & that suffrages² & praiers, bothe priuat & publique, might be offered to his excellent Maiestie. Thirdly, for that euery christian man might repose himself from corporall labour, to the end they might *the better sustain* the trauailes of the week to ensue³; and also to *the end that* all beasts & cattel, which the Lord hath made for mans vse, as helps & ⁴adiuements⁵ vnto him in his daylie affaires & busynesse, might rest and refresh them selues, the better to

[⁴ L 3, back. A.] ⁶go thorow in their traueiles afterward. For, as the hethen Man knew very wel, *sine alterna requie non est durabile quicquam*: Without some rest or repose, there is not any thing durable, or able to continue long.

[⁶ leaf 86. B.+] Fourthly, to thend it might be a typical figure or signitor⁷ to point⁸ (as it were) with the finger, and to cypher⁹ foorth¹⁰ and shadowe¹⁰ vnto vs that blessed rest & thryse happie ioye which the faithfull shall posseſſe after the day of judgement in the Kingdome of Heauen. Wherfore, seeing the Sabaoth was instituted for these causes,¹¹ it is manifest that it was not appointed for the maintenance of wicked and vngodly paſtymes, and vaine pleasures of the flesh; which God abhorreth, and all good men from their hartes do loth and deteste.

Punishment
for violating
the sabaoth.

Violaters of
the sabaoth.

The Man, of whome we read in the law, for gathering of a few ſmall ſtuckles vpon the Sabaoth, was ſtoned to death by the commaundement of God from¹² the Theator of Heauen.

Than, if he were ſtoned for gathering a few ſticks vpon the Sabaoth day, which in ſome caſes might be¹³ for neceſſities ſake, and¹⁴ did it but once, what ſhall they be, who all the Sabaoth dayes of their lyfe giue themſelues to nothing els but to wallow in all kind of wickedneſſe and finne, to the great contempt both¹⁵ of the Lord and his Sabaoth? And though they haue played the lazie lurdens al the

¹ and all other his B, E, F.

² orisons added in E, F.

³ following (*for to ensue*) E, F.

⁵ supportes F.

[†] leaf 86. Violaters of the Sabaoth punished. B.

⁷ vnto vs added in F.

⁸ poynt out F.

⁹ discipher F.

^{10—10} not in B, E, F.

¹¹ and to these endes added in B, E, F.

¹² soundyng from B, E, F.

¹³ lawfull added in F.

¹⁴ and yet E, F.

weke before, yet that day of set purpose they wil toile ¹ and labour, in contempt of the Lord and his Sabaoth. But let them be sure, as he that gathered sticketes vpon the Sabaoth was stoned for his contempt of the fame, so shall they be stoned, yea, grinded to peeces, for their contempt of the Lord in his Sabaoth.

The Iewes are verye strict in keeping their Sabaoths; in so muche as they will not dresse their meats and drinks vpon the same day, but set it on the tables *the day befor*. They go not aboue ij. miles vpon the sabaoth day; they ³ suffer not the body of any ⁴ Malefactor to hang vpon the gallowes vpon the Sabaoth day, with legions of such like supersticions. ^{[5] And whiche is most straunge, if any of them fall into any daunger, thei will not suffer any to labour for their deliuerie vpon that daie, for violatyng their Sabbaoth. So it chaunced that a certaine Iewe beyng in Ailgna, ⁶ by greate ⁷ casuallie fell into a Priuie vpon one of their Sabbaoth daies, and the people endeuouryng to helpe him forthe, he forbad them to labour about hym vpon the Sabbaoth daie, chosing rather to dye in that filthie stincking place, (as by the other morning he was dead indeed) then to breake or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth.^{5]} Wherin, as I do acknowledge, they are but too scrupelous, ⁸ and ouershoot the marke, so we are therin plaine contempteous and negligent, shooting short of the marke altogether. Yet I am not so strait laced, that ⁹ I would haue no kinde of worke done vpon that daye, if present necessitie of the thing require it (for Christe hath taught vs the Sabaoth was made for Man, not Man for the Sabaoth,) but not for euery light trifle, which may as well be done other dayes as vpon that day. And although *the day it self*, in respect of *the very*¹⁰ nature and originall¹¹ therof, be no better than another ¹²day, for there is no difference of dayes, except we¹³ become temporizers, all¹⁴ beeing alike good; yet because the Lord our God hath commaunded it to be sanctified & kept holy to him self, let vs (like obedient & obsequious Children) submit our selues to so loouing a Father; for els we spit against heauen, we striue against the stream,}

<sup>[The Iewes
very precise in
keeping²
sabaoth.]</sup>

<sup>[The English
Jew who died
in a privy, rather
than be pull'd
out on the
Sabbath.]</sup>

<sup>[⁹ leaf 87. B.†]
No work to be
done vpon the
sabaoth ex-
cept necessite
inforce it.</sup>

^[¹² L 4, back. A.]

* leaf 86, back. Strict observation of the Sabaoth. B.

² keepyng of B, E; keeping the F.

³ the F.

⁴ any felonie or B, E, F.

^{5—5} added in B, E, F.

⁶ England E, F.

⁷ greate not in F.

⁸ superstitious F.

[†] leaf 87. The true vse of the Sabaoth. B.

¹⁰ very not in E, F.

¹¹ originall not in F.

¹³ we wil B, E, F.

¹⁴ all times B, E, F.

and we contemn him in his ordinances. But (perchance) you wil aske me, whither the true vse of the Sabaoth consist in outward abstaining from bodilye labour and trauaile? I answere, no: the true vse of the Sabaoth (for Christians are not bound onely to the Cеремониe of the day,) consisteth, as I haue said, in hearing the woord of God truely preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil, in receiuing the sacraments (as feales of his grace towards vs), rightly administred, in vsing publique and priuate prayer, in thanksgiving to God for all his benefits, in finging of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations, in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes,¹ and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man. And yet, notwithstanding, wee must abstain from the one to attend vpon the other: that is, wee must refrain² all bodily labours, to the end that wee may the better be resiant at³ these spirituall exercises vpon the Sabaoth day.

[⁴ L 5. A] ⁴This is the true vse and end of the Lord his Saboth, who graunt that we may rest in him for euer!

Spud. Hauing shewed the true vse of the Saboth, let vs go forward to speke of those Abuses particularlye, wherby the Saboth of the Lord is profaned. And first to begin with stage playes and enterluds: What is your opinion of them? Are they not good examples to youth to fray them from finne?

Of⁵ Stage-playes, and Enterluds, with their wickednes.

Philo.

[⁶ Plays on religious subjects are sacrilegious.] ALL Stage-playes, Enterluds, and Commedies are either of diuyne or prophane matter: If they be of diuine matter, than are they most intollerable, or rather Sacrilegious; for that the blessed word of God is to be handled reuerently, grauely, and sagely, with veneration to the glorious Maiestie of God, which shineth therin, and not scoffingly, flowtingly, & iybingly, as it is vpon stages in Playes & Enterluds, without any reuerence,⁶ worship, or veneration⁷ to⁸ the same.⁹ the word of

[⁶ leaf 88. R.†]

* leaf 87, back. Stage plaies and Enterludes. B. ² refrain from B, E.

³ aboute B, E, F.

⁵ Of not in E, F.

† leaf 88. Warnynges to Players. B.

⁷ honour F.

⁸ at all doen to B, E, F.

⁹ For it is most certaine added in B, E, F.

Wherin the
true vse of the
Sabaoth con-
sisteth.

[⁵ leaf 87, back.
B.*]

[⁴ L 5. A]

[The abuses
whereby the
Sabbath is
profaned.]

our Saluation, the price of Christ his bloud, & the merits of his passion, were not giuen to ¹be derided and iested at, ²as they be in these filthie playes and enterluds on stages & scaffold,² or to be mixt and interlaced with bawdry,³ wanton shewes, & vncomely gestures, as is vied (euyer Man knoweth) in these playes and enterluds.⁴ In the fyrst of *Ihon* we are taught that the word is God, and God is the word: Wherfore, who so euer abuseth this word of our God on stages in playes and enterluds, abuseth the Maiesy of God in the same, maketh a mocking stock of him, & purchaseth to himselfe eternal damnation. And no marueil; for the sacred word of God, and God himselfe, is neuer to be thought of, or once⁵ named, but with great feare, reuerence, and obedience to the same. All the holy companie of Heauen, Angels, Archangels, Cherubins, Seraphins, and all other⁶ powers whatsoeuer, yea, the Deuills themselues (as⁷ *James* saith) doo tremble & quake at the naming of God, and at the presence of his wrath: and doo these Mockers and Flowters of his Maiesy, these difsembling *Hipocrites*, and flattering *Gnatoes*, think to escape vnpunished? beware, therfore, you masking Players, you painted sepulchres, you doble dealing ambodexters, be warned betymes, and, lik good computistes, cast your accompts⁸ before, what wil be the reward therof in the end, leaſt God destroy you in his wrath: abuse God no more, corrupt his¹⁰ people no longer with your dregges, and intermingle not his blessed word with ſuch prophane vanities. For at no¹¹ hand it is not lawfull to mixt ſcurrilitie with diuinitie, nor diuinitie with ſcurrilitie.

Theopompus mingled *Moyſes* law with his writinges, and therfore the Lord stroke him madd. *Theodicites* began the fame practise, but the Lorde stroke him blind for it; With many others, who, attempting¹² the like deuyſes, were al ouerthrowne, and died miserably: befids, what is their iudgement in the other World, the Lord onely knoweth. Vpon the other fide, if their playes be of prophane matters, than tend they to the dishonor of God, and noriſhing of vice, both which

[f L 5, back. A.]
The deriding
of the word of
God in stage
playes.

Reuerence to
the maiesy of
God due.

A warning⁸ to
Players.

[P 1 af 88, back.
B.†]

[P 6 L 6. A.]

Not lawfull to
intermixt
diuinitie with
ſcurrilitie.

What if playes
be of prophane
matter.

²—² not in B, E, F.

³ ſcurrilitie added in F.

⁴ vpon stages and scaffoldes made for that purpose, added in B, E, F.

⁵ to be added in F.

⁶ other Ceraphicall B, E, F.

⁷ as Sainct B, E, F.

⁸ warming A.

† leaf 88, back. Plaies and Enterludes vnlawfull. B.

¹¹ any F.

¹² attempting A.

142 Playes and Enterluds vnlawfull. The Anatomie

are damnable. So that whither they be the one or the other, they are quite contrarie to the Word of grace, and fucked out of the Deuills teates to nourish vs in ydolatrie, hethenrie, and finne. And therfore they, cariyng the note, or¹ brand, of ²God his² curse vppon their backs, which way foever they goe, are to be hiffed out of all Christian Kingdomes, if they wil haue Christ to dwell amongst them.

Spud. Are you able to shewe, that euer any good Men, from the beginning, haue refisted³ Playes and Enterluds?

⁴ leaf 89. B.*] ⁴ *Philo.* Not onely the word of God doth ouerthrow them, addiudging-

[⁵ L 6, back. A.] ⁵ them & the main⁵tainers⁶ of them to Hell, but also all holie counsels, and finodes, both generall, nationall, and prouinciall, together with all Writers, both diuyne and prophane, euer since the beginning, haue disallowed them, and writ (almost) whole volumes against them.

The learned Father *Tertullian*, in his booke *de Speculo*, saith that playes were consecrat to that false ydoll *Bacchus*, for that he is said to haue found out and inuented strong drinke.

Augustinus, de ciuit. Dei, saith that plaies wereordeined by the Deuill, and consecrat to heathen Gods, to draw vs from Christianitie to ydolatrie, and gentilisme. And in an other place, *Pecunias Histrionibus dare vitium est innane, non virtus*: To giue money to Players is a greeuous sin.⁹

Chrysostome calleth those playes *festa Sathani*, feasts of the Deuill. *Lactantius*, an ancient learned Father, saith, *Histrionum impudicissimi gestus, nihil aliud nisi Libidinem mouent*: The shameleffe gestures of Plaiers serue to nothing so much as to moue the flesh to lust and vncleynesse. And therfore in the .30. Counfell of *Carthage* &¹⁰ *Synode* of *Laodicea*, it was decreed that no Christen Man or Woman should resorte to playes and enterludes, where is nothing but blasphemie, scurrilitie, and whordome maintained. *Scipio*, seeing the *Romaines* bente¹² to erect Theaters & places for plaies, dehortet them from it

¹ and E, F.

²—² Gods F.

³ disliked F.

* leaf 89. Stage playes condemned. B.

⁶ practisers E, F.

⁷ haue writ *not in* E, F.

⁸ immane B, E, F.

⁹ and no vertue *added in* B, E, F.

¹⁰ in the *added in* B, E, F.

† leaf 89, back. The effectes of Playes. B.

The word of
God, al Writ-
ers, counsels
and Fathers
haue writ⁷
against playes
and enterluds.

Wherfore
playes were
ordeined.

Concilium 3.
Cartha. Cap.
II. Synode
Laodicea,
Cap. 54.

[¹¹ leaf 89, back.
B †]

[¹² L 7. A.]

with the¹ most prudent reasons and forcible arguments. *Valerius Maximus* saith, playes were never brought vp *sine regni rubore*, without shame to the Cuntry. *Arist.* debarreth youth acceſſe to Playes & Enterluds, leaſt they, ſeeking to quench the thirſt of *Venus*, doo quench it with a potle of fire. *Augustus* banished *Ouid* for making Bookes of loue, Enterluds, and ſuch other amorous trumperie.

Writers² both diuine and prophane againſt playes and Enterluds.

Constantius ordeined that no Player ſhould be admitted to the table of the Lord. Than, ſeeing that Playes were firſt³ inuented by the Deuil, praſtitied by the heathen gentiles, and dedicat⁴ to their false ydols, Goddes and Goddeſſes, as the howſe, ſtage, and apparell to *Venus*, the muſicke to *Appollo*, the penning to *Minerua* and the Mufes, the action and pronuntiation to *Mercurie* and the reſt, it is more than manifest that they are no fit exercyſes for a⁵ Christen⁶ Man to follow. But if there were no euill in them ſauē this, namely, that the arguments of tragedies is⁷ anger, wrath, immunitie, crueltie, iniurie, incest, murther, & ſuch like, the Persons or Actors are Goddes, Goddeſſes, Furies, Fyends, Haggis, Kings, Queeſnes, or Potentates. Of Commedies the matter and ground is loue, bawdrie, coſenage, flattery, whordome, adulterie; the Perſons, or agents, whores, queanes, bawdes, ſcullions, Knaues, Curtezans, lecherous old men, amorous yong men, with ſuch like of infinit varietie. If, I ſay, there were nothing els but this, it were ſufficient to withdraw a good christian from the viſing of them; For ſo often as they goe to thoſe howſes where Players frequent, thei go to *Venus* pallace, & fathans synagogue, to worship deviſ, & betray Chriſt Iefus.

The ends of playes and Enterluds.

The arguments of tragedies.

[§ leaf 90. B.t]

The ground of Commedies.

[§ L 7, back. A.]

Theaters and curtaines § Venus pallaces.

Spud. But, notwithstanding, I haue hard¹⁰ ſome hold opinion that they be as good as ſermons, and that many a good Example may be learned out of them.

Philo. Oh blaſphemie intollerable! Are filthie playes & bawdy

No playes comparable to the word of God.

¹ the *not in* B, E, F.

² Waiters F.

³ firſt *not in* E, F.

⁴ dedicated F.

⁵ a *not in* B, E, F.

⁶ men B, E, F.

⁷ is *not in* E.

† leaf 90. Theaters, Venus Pallaces. B.

¹⁰ heard F.

¶ ‘The Theatre’ (where Shakſpeare probably first acted) was built by James Burbage in 1576 in the then fields near the ſite of the preſent Standard Theatre in Shoreditch, and was pulld down in 1598, and rebuilt as ‘The Globe’ on Bankſide, Southwark, in 1599. ‘The Curtain’ theatre was close by The Theatre, near Curtain Court, now Glouceſter St. Shoreditch, and was built by 1577.—F. J. F.

enterluds comparable to the word of God, *the foode of life, and life it selfe?* It is all one, as if they had said, bawdrie, hethenrie, paganrie, scurrilitie, and diuelrie it self, is equall with the word of God; Or that the Deuill is equipotent¹ with the Lord.

The Lord our God hath ordeined his blessed word, and made it the ordenarie mean of our Saluation; the Deuill hath inferred the other, as the ordenarie meane of our destruction; and will they yet compare the one with *the other?* If he be accursed *that calleth light darknes, & darknes light, truth falsehood, & falsehood truth,* sweet fowre, and sour sweete, than, *a fortiori*, is he accursed that faith that playes & enterluds be equiualent with Sermons. Be³fides this, there is no mischief which these plaies⁴ maintain not. For do they not norish ydlenes? and *otia dant vitia*, ydlenes⁵ is the Mother of⁶ vice. Doo they not draw the people from hering the word of God, from godly Lectures and sermons? for you shall haue them flocke thither, thick & threefould, when *the church of God shalbe bare & emptie*; And those *that will neuer come at sermons wil flow thither apace*. The reasoun is, for that the number of Christ his elect is but few, and the number of the reprobate is many; the way *that leadeth to life is narow, and few tread that path*; *the way that leadeth to death is brod, & many find it*. This sheweth they are not of God, who refuse to here his word (for he that is of God hereth God his word, faith our Sauiour Christ) but of the deuill, whose exercyse they go to vistite. Do they not maintaine bawdrie, infinuat folery, & renue *the remembrance of hethen ydolatrie?* Do they not induce whordom & vnclenes? nay, are they not rather plaine deouurers of maydenly virginitie and chaftitie? For prooef wherof, but marke the flocking and running to Theaters & curtens, daylie and hourely, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to see Playes and Enterludes; where such wanton gestures, such⁸ bawdie speaches, such laughing and fleering, such kissing and buffing, such clipping and culling, Suche winckinge and glancinge of wanton eyes,⁹ and the like, is vsed, as is wonderfull to behold. Than, these goodly pageants being done,¹⁰ euery mate sorte to his

¹ equivalent F.

⁴ Playes B, E, F.

⁶ Theaters F.

† leaf 91. What to be learned at Playes. B.

* leaf 90, back. The fruictes of Playes. B.

⁵⁻⁶ doth minister F.

⁷ goodly F.

¹⁰ ended E, F.

He is cursed
that saith
playes and
enterluds are
comparable to
sermons.
[² leaf 90, back.
B.]
[³ L 8. A.]

Wherfore so
many flock to
see playes and
enterluds.

The fruits of
theathers⁶ &
playes.

The Godly⁷
demeanours
vsed at playes
& enterluds.
[⁸ leaf 91. B.†]
[⁹ L 8, back. A.]

mate, euery one brings another homeward of their way verye freendly, and in their secret conclaves (couertly) they play *the Sodomitcs*, or worse. And these be the fruits of Playes and Enterluds for the most part. And wheras you say there are good Examples to be learned in them, Trulie so there are: if you will learne falsehood; if you will learn cosenage; if you will learn to deceiue; if you will learn to play the Hipocrit, to cogge, lye,¹ and falsifie; if you will learn to iest, laugh, and fleer, to grin, to nodd, and mow; if you will learn to playe the vice, to fswear, teare, and blasphemē² both Heauen and Earth: If you will learn to become a bawde, vncleane, and to deuer-ginat Mayds, to deflour honest Wyues: if you will learne to murther, fliae,³ kill, picke, steal, robbe, and roue: If you will learn to rebel against Princes, to commit treasons,⁴ to consume⁵ treasurs, to practise ydlenes, to sing and talke of bawdie loue and venery: if you will lerne to deride, scoffe, mock, & flowt, to flatter & smooth: If you will learn to play the whore-maister, the glutton, Drunkard, or incestuous person: if you will learn to become proude, haw⁶tie, & arrogant; and, finally, if you will learne to contemne⁷ God and al his lawes, to care⁸ neither for heauen nor hel, and to commit al kinde of finne and mischeef, you need to goe to no other schoole, for all these good Examples may you see painted before your eyes in enterludes and playes: wherfore that man who giueth money for the maintenance of them must needs incurre the⁹ damage¹⁰ of¹¹ *premunire*, that is,⁹ eternall damnation, except they¹² repent. For the Apostle biddeth vs beware, least wee communicat with other mens finnes; & this their dooing is not only to communicat with other mens finnes, &¹³ maintain euil to the distruktion of them selues & many others, but also a maintaining¹⁴ of a great forte of idle lubbers, and¹⁵ buzzing dronets, to¹⁵ fuck vp and deuoure the good honie, wherupon the poor bees should liue.

Therfore I beseech all players¹⁶ & Founders¹⁶ of plaiers and enterludes, in the bowels of Iesus Christe, as they tender the saluation of their

¹ to lye B, E, F. ³ flay F. ⁴ Treason F. ⁵ comsume A.

⁶ leaf 91, back. Theaters, schooles of mischeefe. B.

⁷ contemne A.

⁹—⁹ ineuitable sentence of F.

¹⁰ daunger B, E.

¹¹ of a B; of the deuine E.

¹² he E, F.

¹³ and to B, E, F.

¹⁴ supporting B, E, F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ laizie Lurdens, who F, buzzing dronets who E.

¹⁶—¹⁶ founders and maintainer B, E, F.

The goodly examples
Playes and Enterluds.

What things
are to be
lerner at
playes

Theaters
Schooles or
Seminaries of
pseudo christianitie.

[⁶ leaf 91, back.
B.]

[⁸ M 1. A.]

A dyuine
premunire.

What it is to
communicate
with other
mens sinnes.

An exhorta-

tion to players.

soules, and others, to leaue of that cursed kind of life, and giue them felues to such honest exercizes and godly misteries as God hath commaunded them in his woord to get their liuings withall: for who wil call him a wifeman, that plaieth the part of a foole and a vice? who can call him a Christian, who playeth the part of a devil, the sworne enemie of Christe? who can call him a iust man, that playeth the ¹part of a dissembling hypocrite? And, to be brefe, ²who can call him a straight deling man, who playeth a Cofoners trick³? And so of all the rest. Away therfore with this so infamous an art! for goe they neuer so braue, yet are they counted and taken but for beggers. And is it not true? lieue they not vpon begging of euery one that comes? Are⁴ they not taken by the lawes of the Realm for roagues and vacabounds? I speake of such as trauaile the Cuntries with playes & enterludes, making an occupation of it, and ought so to be punished, if they had their deserts. But hoping that they will be warned now at the laft, I wil say no more of them, beseeching them to consider what a fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of God, & to prouoke his wrath and heauie displeasure against them felues and others; *which the Lord of his mercie turn from vs!*

Spud. Of what forte be the other kinde of playes, which you call Lords of Mis-rule? for mee thinke the very name it self⁵ caryeth a taste of⁶ some notorious⁶ euil.

Lords of Mif-rule in Ailgna.

Philo.

LORDS OF MIS-RULE IN AILGNA.
[7 M 2. A.]

THE name, indeed, is odious both to God and good men, & such as the very heathen people would haue blushed at once to ⁷haue named amongst them. And if the name importeth some euil,⁸ then, what may the thing⁹ it self be, iudge you? But because you desire to know the manner of them, I wil shewe you as I haue seen them

* leaf 92. Lordes of Misrule in Ailgna. B.

³ part F.

⁴ And are F.

⁵—⁶ importeth B, E, F.

⁶ notorious *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ as you say *added in* F.

† leaf 92, back. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.

The ignomy
due to Players.
[² leaf 92. B *]
[² M 2, back. A.]

Players liue
upon begging.

Players count-
ed Rogues by
the lawes of
the Realm.

[9 leaf 92, back.
B.]

practised my self. First, all the wilde-heds of the Parish, conuenting¹ togither, chuse them a Graund²-Captain (of all³ mischeefe) whome they innoble with the title of ‘my Lord of Mis-rule’, and him they crowne with great solemnitie, and adopt for their king. This king anointed chuseth forth twentie, fortie, threescore or a hundred lustie Guttis, like to him self, to waighe vpon his lordly Maiestie, and to guarde his noble person. Then, euerie one of these his men, he inuesteth with his liueries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour; And as though that were not (baudie) gaudie enough, I should say, they bedecke them felues with scarfs, ribons & laces hanged all ouer with golde rings, precious stones, & other iewels: this doon, they tye about either leg xx. or xl. bels, with rich handkercheifs⁴ in their hands, and sometimes laid a croffe ouer their shoulders & necks, borrowed for the most parte of their pretie Mopfies & loouing Bessies⁵, for buffing them in *the dark*. Thus al things set in order, then haue they their Hobby-horses,⁶ dragons & other Antiques, togither with their baudie Pipers and thundering Drummers to strike⁷ vp the deuils daunce withall. then, marche these⁸ heathen company towards the Church⁹ and Church-yard, their pipers pipeing, their drummers thundring, their stumps dauncing, their bels iyngling, their handkercheifs swinging¹⁰ about their heds like madmen, their hobbie horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the route¹¹: & in this forte they go to the Church¹² (I say) & into the Church,¹² (though the Minister be at praier or preaching), dancing & swinging [t]heir handkercheifs¹³ ouer their heds in the Church, like deuils incarnate, with such a confuse¹⁴ noife, *that no man can hear his own voice*. Then, the foolish people they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, & mount vpon fourmes and pewes to see these goodly pageants solem[nized] in this fort. Then, after this, about the Church they goe againe and again, & so foorth into *the church-yard*, where they haue commonly their Sommer-haules, their bowers, arbors, & banqueting houses set vp, wherin they feast, banquet & daunce al that day & (peraduenture) all the¹⁵ night too. And thus these terrestriall furies spend the Sabaoth day.

The manner
how Lords of
Mis-rule are
vsed to be
played.

The monstre-
ous attyng of
my Lord of
Misrules Men.

The tablement
of the deuils
guard.
[7 M 2, back. A.]
[9 leaf 93. B.†]

The behauour
of the Deuils
band in the
temple of God.

Receptacles in
the Cemiteries
or church
yards for the
deuils agents.

¹ flocking F.

² Ground E.

³ all *not in* F.

⁴ handkerchiefe F.

⁵ Bessies F.

⁶ their *added in* F.

⁸ this F.

[†] leaf 93. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.

¹⁰ fluttering F.

¹¹ throng B, E, F.

¹² ¹² *not in* B, E, F.

¹³ handkechies F.

¹⁴ confused B, E, F.

¹⁵ that F.

My Lord of
mis-rules
cognizances.

[5 M 3. A.]
[6 leaf 93, back
B.]

Wearing my
Lord of mis-
rules badges.

Sacrifice
brought to
this filthie
Ydol, my L.
of mis-rule.

¹They haue also certain papers, wherin is painted some babblerie or other of Imagery woork, & these they call ‘my Lord of mis-rules badges²: these they giue to euery one that wil giue³ money for them to maintaine them in⁴ their hethenrie, diuelrie, whordome, drunkenenes, pride, and ⁶what not.⁷ And who will not be⁸ buxom to them, and giue them⁹ money for these¹⁰ their deuil[i]sh¹⁰ cognizances, they are¹¹ mocked & flouted at¹² ¹³not a little.¹³ ¹⁴ And so assotted¹⁵ are some, that they not only giue them monie to maintain their abomination withall, but also weare their badges & cognizances in their hats or caps openly. But let them take heede; for these are¹⁶ badges, seales, brands, & cognizances of the deuil, whereby he knoweth his Seruants and Clyents¹⁷ from the Children of God; And so long as they weare them, *Sul vexillo diaboli militant contra Dominum et legem suam*: they fight vnder the banner and standerd of the deuil against Christ Iesus, and all his lawes. Another forte of fantasticall fooles bring to these hel-hounds (the Lord of mis-rule and his complices) some bread, some good-ale, some new-cheese, some olde,¹⁸ some custards,¹⁹ & fine cakes¹⁹; some one thing, some another; but if they knew that as often as they bring any thing²⁰ to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer sacrifice to the deuil and sathanas, they would repent and withdraw their hands; *which God graunt they may!*

Spud. This is a horrible prophanation of the sabaoth (the Lord knoweth), & more pestilent then pestilence it self. but what? be there any²¹ abufes in their May-games like vnto these?

[²¹ leaf 94. B.]

^{22 23} *Philo.* As many as in the other. The order of them is thus:

¹ Then for the further innobling of this honorable Lurdane (Lorde I should saie) added in B, E, F. ² or Cognizances added in F.

³ give them F.

⁴ in this B, E, F.

* leaf 93, back. The Lord of Misrules cognizance. B.

⁷ els added in F. ⁸ shewe hym self B, E, F. ⁹ them not in F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ the deuilles B, E, F. ¹¹ shall be B, E, F. ¹² at not in F.

¹³—¹³ shamefully B, E, F.

¹⁴ Yea, and many times carried vpon a Cowlstaffe, and diued ouer head and eares in water, or otherwise most horriblie abused added in F. ¹⁵ assotted F.

¹⁶ are the B, E, F. ¹⁷ vassals F. ¹⁸ olde cheese B, E, F.

¹⁹—¹⁹ some cakes, some flaunes, some Tartes, some Creame, some meate B, E, F (but F begins with some Cracknels.) ²⁰ thing not in B, E, F.

+ leaf 94. The order of Maie games. B.

²² B, E, F make a fresh chapter here, with the heading:—The maner of Maie-games in England.

Against *May*¹, *Whitsonday*, or² other time, ³all the yng men and maides, olde men and wiues, run gadding ouer night to the woods, groues,³ hils, & mountains,⁴ where they spend all the night in plesant pastimes; & in the morning they return, bringing with them birch⁵ & branches of trees, to deck their assemblies withall. and no meruaile, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord ouer their pastimes and sportes, namely, Sathan, prince of hel. But the⁶ cheifest iewel they bring from thence is their⁷ May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They haue twentie or fortie yoke of Oxen, euery Ox hauing a sweet nose-gay of flouers placed⁹ on the tip of his hornes; and these Oxen drawe home this May-pole (this stinking Ydol, rather) which is couered all ouer with floures and hearbs,¹⁰ bound round about with strings from the top to the bottome, and sometime¹¹ painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women and children, following it with great deuotion. And thus beeing reared vp with handkercheefs and flags houering¹² on the top, they straw the ground rounde¹³ about, binde green boughes about it, set vp sommer haules, bowers, and arbors hard by it; And then fall they to¹⁴ daunce about it, like¹⁵ as the¹⁶ heathen people did at the dedication of the¹⁷ Idols, wheroft this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing it self. I haue heard it credibly reported (and that *viva voce*) by men of great grauitie¹⁸ and reputation, that of fortie, threescore, or a hundred maides going to the wood ouer night, there haue scarely the third part of them returned home againe vndefiled. These be the frutes which these cursed pastimes bring foorth. ¹⁹Neither the²⁰ *Iewes*, the²¹ *Turcks*,

The order of
their May-
games.

[* side-note here
in B.]

* A great Lord
present in May⁸
games as
superintendent
therof.

[¹⁰ leaf 94, back.
B.t]

The manner
of bringing
home their
May-poles.

[¹⁶ M 4. A.]

May-poles a
pattern of the
heathen Ydols.

The frute of
May-games.

¹ day added in F.

² or some B, E, F.

^{3—3} of the yeare, euery Parishe, Towne, and Village assemble themselues together, bothe men, women, and children, olde and yong, euen all indifferently: and either goyng all together, or deuidyng themselves into companies, they goe some to the Woodes and Groues, some to the B, E, F.

⁴ some to one place, some to another, added in B, E, F.

⁵ bowes added in B, E, F.

⁶ their B, E, F.

⁷ the F.

⁸ May not in F.

⁹ tyed E, F.

[†] leaf 94, back. The fruictes of Maie games. B.

¹¹ sometimes F.

¹² streaming B, E, F.

¹³ round not in B, E.

¹⁴ banquet and feast, to leape and added in B, E, F.

¹⁵ like not in B, E, F.

¹⁷ their B, E, F.

¹⁸ credite added in F.

¹⁹ Assuredly I thinke added in B, E, F.

²⁰ the not in B, E, F.

²¹ nor B, E, F.

Sarafins, nor *Pagans*, nor any other nations,¹ how wicked or barbarous foever, haue euer vsed such deuillish exercises as these; nay, they would haue been ashamed once to haue named them, much leſſe haue² vsed them. Yet wee, that would be Christians, think them not amisse.
The Lord forgiue vs, and remooue them³ from vs!

Spud. What is the manner of their church ales, which you say
 [⁴ leaf 95. B.*] they vſe; for they ſeem vn⁴couth and ſtraunge to mine eares?

The Manner of Church-ales in Ailgna.

[⁵ M 4, back. A.]

The manner
of Church-ales
in Ailgna.

The filthiest
beast, the
godlyest man.

[¹⁶ leaf 95, back.
B.†]

5 Philoponus.

THE manner of them is thus: In certaine Townes where drunken *Bachus* beares all⁶ the fway, against a⁷ *Christmas*, an⁸ *Easter*, *Whitſunday*, or ſome other time, the Church-wardens (for ſo they call them) of euery parish, with the conſent of the whole Parish, prouide half a ſcore or twenty quarters of mault, wherof ſome they buy of the Church-ſtock, and ſome is giuen them of the Parishioners them ſelues, euery one conſerring ſomewhat, according to his abilitie; which mault, beeing made into very strong ale or beere, it⁹ is ſet to ſale, either in the Church, or¹⁰ ſome other place affigned to that purpoſe.

Then, when the¹¹ *Nippitatum*, this Huf-cap (as they call it) and this *nečtar* of lyfe, is ſet abroche, wel is he that can get the ſooner to it, and ſpend the moft at it; for he that fitteth the clofet to it, and ſpends the moft at it, he is counted the godlieft man of all the reſt¹²; but who either¹³ cannot, ¹⁴for pinching pouertie,¹⁴ or otherwife,¹⁵ wil not ſtick to it, he is counted one deftitute bothe of vertue and godlynnes. In ſo much as you ſhall haue many poor men make hard ſhift for money to ſpend ther¹⁶at,¹⁷ for it¹⁸ beeing put into this *Corban*, they are perfwaded it is meritorious, & a good ſeruice to God. In this kinde of

¹ people B, E, F.

² to haue B, E.

³ them farre F.

* leaf 95. Church-ales in Ailgna. B.

⁶ all *not in* B; all the *not in* E, F.

⁷ a *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ and B, E, F.

⁹ it *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁰ or in F.

¹¹ this B, E, F.

¹² and moft in Gods fauour, because it is ſpent vpon his Church forſoþ *added in* B, E, F.

¹³ either for want B, E, F.

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁵ for feare of Gods wrath *added in* E, F.

† leaf 95, back. Churchale money beſtowed. B.

¹⁷ and good reaſon *added in* B, E, F.

¹⁸ it *not in* B, E, F.

practise they continue six weeks, a quarter of a yeer, yea, half a yeer togither, swylling and gulling, night and day, till they be as drunke [¹ M 5. A] as Apes,² and as ³blockish as beasts.³

Spud. Seeing they haue so good vtterance, it shoulde seeme they haue good gaines. But, I pray you, how doe they bestowe that money which is got therby?

Philo. Oh! well, I warent you, if all be true which they say: For they repaire their Churches and Chappels with it; they buy bookees for seruice, cuppes for the celebration of the Sacrament, surplessees for Sir Ihon, and such other necessaries; And they maintaine other extraordinarie charges in the⁴ parishes besydes. These be their⁵ exceptions, these be their⁵ excuses, and these be their pretended⁶ allegations, wherby they blind the world, and conueigh themselues away in uisibly in a cloud. But if they daunce thus in a net, no doubt they will be espied.

For if it wer so *that* they bestowed it as they say, do they think that the Lord will haue his howse build⁷ with drunkenesse, gluttony, and such like abomination? Must we do euill that good may come of it? must we build this house of lyme and stome with the defolastion and vtter ouerthrow of his spirituall howse,⁹ clenfed and washed in⁹ the preciouse blood of our Sauiour Iesus Christ? But who feeth not that they bestow this money vpon nothing lesse than in building and repaying of Churches¹⁰ and Oratories? For in most places lye they not like swyn coates? their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall¹¹ downe, the¹² roofe all bare, and what not out of order? Who feeth not the booke of God, rent, ragged, and all betorn,¹³ couered in duft, so as this *Epitaphe* may be writ with ones finger vpon it, *ecce nunc in puluere dormio?* (Alas!) behold I sleep in duft and oblyuion, not once scarce looked vpon, much lesse red vpon,¹⁴ and the¹⁵ least of all preached vpon. And, on the other side, who feeth not (for¹⁶ this I speake but¹⁷ in way of *parenthesys*¹⁷) in the meane

How the
money is spent
which is got by
Churchales.

Wil the Lord
haue his house
build with
maintenance
of euill?

[8 leaf 96. B.t]
[¹⁰ M 5, back.
A.]

The decay of
Churches,
which are lacer-
at, rent, and
torn.

Sump्तuousnes
of their owne
mansions

² Rattes B, E; Swine F.

^{3—3} mad as March Hares F.

⁴ their B, E, F.

^{5—5} golden reasons, these bee their faire B, E, F.

⁶ pretensed B, E.

⁷ builded F.

[†] leaf 96. The decay of Churches in Ailgna. B.

^{8—9} purchased with F.

¹¹ fallen B.

¹² their B, E, F.

¹³ yea added in F.

¹⁴ on B, E, F.

¹⁵ the not in F.

¹⁶ for not in B, E. F.

^{17—17} to a friend, I pray you say nothing F.

152 Keeping of wakses in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

tyme, their owne howses and mansion places are curiously build, and sumptuously adorned: which plainly argueth that they rather bestow this drunken got-money vpon prophane vses and their own priuat affaires, than vpon the howse of prayer, or the temple of God. And yet this their doing is wel liked of, and no man may say¹ black is their eye¹: For why? Thei do all things well, and according to good order, as they² say; And when time commeth, like good accoumptantes, they make their accoumptes as pleafe themselues.

[² the A.]

[³ leaf 96, back.
B.♦]

Sp. Were it not better, & more consonant³ to the truth, that euery one contributed⁴ somewhat, according to his abilitie, to the maintenance of⁵ templaries &⁶ oratories,⁵ than thus to maintaine them by drunken churchales, as you say thei do?

[⁷ M 6. A.]

Churches⁸ are to
be maintained
by mutuall
contribution of
euery one
after his
power.¹⁰

7 Philo. It weare muche better. And so we read, the Fathers of the old Testament, euery one after his abilitie, did impart some-what to the building⁹ and restauration⁹ of the Tabernacle which Moyes erected to the Lord; So as in the end there was such abundance of all things, as the Artificers, consulting with Moyes, were glad to request the People to stay their liberalitie, for they had more than they knew what to do withall. These People made no drunken Church-ales to build their edefice¹¹ withal, notwithstanding their importable charges and intollerable costes. But as their zeel was feruent, and very commendable in bringing to the Church, so our zeal is more than frosen & blame-worthie in detracting from the Church, and bestowing it vpon whordom, drunkennesse, gluttony, pride, and such like abhominations: *God amend it!*

Spud. How do they solemnise their feastes and wakeffes there; and what order do they obserue in them?

Our zeal
waxen cold
and frosen
in respect of
the zeal of the
former world.

*The maner of keeping of Wakeffes, and feasts
in Ailgna.*

[¹² leaf 97 B.†]

[¹³ M 6, back.
A.]

¹² *Philoponus.*

THis is their order therein: euery towne, parishe, and Village, some at one tyme of the Yeere, some at another (but¹³ so that euery

¹—¹ Domine, cur ita facis? F.

* leaf 96, back. Keepyng of Wakesses in Ailgna. B. ⁴ contribute B.

⁵—⁵ Temples and Churches F. ⁶ or B, E.

⁸ Churges A. ⁹—⁹ and instauration E; not in F. ¹⁰ this side-note not in F.

¹¹ house of Prayer F. [†] leaf 97. Keepyng of Wakes in Ailgna. B.

¹ towne, parish, & village¹ keep² his proper day assignd and appropriat to it self, (which they call their Wak day) vse³ to make great preparation and ordenaunce⁴ for good cheer. To the which all their Freends and kyns-folks, farre and neer, are inuited, wher is such gluttony, such drunkennesse, such saturtie⁵ and impletion vied, as the like was never seen: In so muche as the poore men that beare *the* charges of these feasts and wakeffes, are the poorer, and keep the Worser howses a long tyme⁶ after. And no manuel, for manie spend more at one of these wakeffes than in all the whole yeer besides. This makes many a one to thripple & pinch, to runne into debte and daunger, and finallie brings many a one to vtter ruine and decay.

Saturtie in
feasts and
wakeffes.

The great
charges of
Wakeffes.

Spud. Wold you not haue one freend to vistite another at certen tymes of the yeer?

Philo. I disallowe it not, but much commend it. But why at one determinat⁷ day more than at another (except busines vrged it); why should one and *the* same day continue for euer, or be distinct from other dayes by the name of a wake day? why should there be more exceſſe of meats and drinks at that day than at another⁸? why should they abstaine from bodeyl labor⁹ ij. or three dayes after, peraduenture the whole week, spending it in drunkennesse, whordome, gluttony, and other filthie Sodo¹⁰miticall exercyſes.

Against wakes
& feasts

[⁹ leaf 97, back.
B.†]

[¹⁰ M 7]

Spud. Seeing you allowe of one Freend to vistite another, would you not haue them to congratulat their comming with some good cheer?

Philo. Yes, truely; but I allowe not of ſuch exceſſe of ryot & ſuperfluſtie as is there vſed. I thinke it conuenient for one Freend to vistite another (at ſometimes) as oportunitie & occation ſhall¹¹ offer it ſelfe¹¹; but wherfore ſhuld the whole towne, parish, village, and cuntry keepe one and the ſame day, and make ſuch gluttonous feaſts as they doo? And therfore,¹² to conclude,¹² they are to no end, except it be to draw a great¹³ frequencie of whores, drabbes,¹⁴ theives, and verlets together, to maintaine whordome, bawdrie, gluttony, drunken-

Wherto
wakeffes and
feaſts do very
aptly tend.

¹—¹ one B, E, F. ² keeps F. ³ vseth F. ⁴ prouision E, F.

⁵ fulnesse F. ⁶ yeare F. ⁷ prefixed F. ⁸ any other E, F.

† leaf 97, back. The fruictes of Wakeffes. B.

¹¹—¹¹ bee offered F. ¹²—¹² in my opinion B, E, F.

¹³ a great *not in* E, F; frequencie of *not in* F. ¹⁴ drabbes *not in* B, E, F.

neffe, thiefe, murther, swearing, and all kind of mischief and abhomination; For these be the ends wherto these feastes and wakefesses doo tende.¹

Spud. From whence sprang these feasts and wakefesses first of all; can you tell?

Philo. I cannot tell, except from the Paganes and heathen People, who, whan they were assembled together, and had offred Sacrifices to their wodden² Goddes, and blockish ydols, made feasts and banquets together before them, in ho³hour and reuerence of them, so⁴ appointed the same yearly to be obserued in⁵ memoriall of the same⁶ for euer. But whence⁷ soever they had their exordium,⁸ certen it is the deuill was the Father of them, to⁹ drown vs in perdition, and destruction of body and soule: which Gon forefend¹⁰!

Sp. As I remember, you spoke¹¹ of dauncing before, inferring that the sabaoth is¹² greatly prophaned therby: whereof, I pray you, shew mee your iudgement.

The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing, vsed¹³ in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

DAuncing, as it is vsed (or rather abused) in these daies, is an introduction to¹⁴ whordom, a preparatiue to wantonnes, a prouocatiue to vncleanes, & an introite¹⁵ to al kind of lewdenes, rather than a pleasant exercysse to the mind, or a holosome practisfe for the body¹⁶: yet¹⁷, notwithstanding, in *Ailg[na]* both men, wemen, & children, are so skilful in this laudable science, as they maye be thought nothing inferiour to *Cynoedus*, the¹⁸ prostitut ribauld, nor yet to *Sardanapalus*, that effeminate varlet. Yea, thei are not ashamed to erect scholes of dauncing,

Scholes of
dauncing
erected.

¹ as farre as euer I could judge added in B, E, F, but E, F, have learne for judge: F then adds:—& the best fruits that they bring foorth.

² false F.

† leaf 98. Dauncyng in Ailgna. B.

⁴ and so B, E, F.

⁵ in a F.

⁶ them for the same B, E, F.

⁸ original F.

⁹ seeking thereby to F.

¹⁰ remoue farre from vs F. ¹¹ spake B, E, F. ¹² was B, E, F.

¹³ not in F. ¹⁴ all kind of added in F. ¹⁵ entrance F.

¹⁶ (as some list to cal it) added in B, E; (as some would haue it). And F.

¹⁷ And yet, E.

¹⁸ that B, E, F.

thinking it an ornament to their children to be expert in this noble science of heathen diuelrie: and yet this people¹ glory of their christianitie & integritie of ²life. Indeed, *verbo tenus Christiani boni vocuntur*, But *vita et moribus Ethnicis et paganis priores*³ reperientur⁴: From ⁵the mouth outward they may be said to be good Christians, but in life & maners farre worser than the heathen or *Paganes*. Wheroft if they repent not & amend, it shalbe easier for that⁶ Land of *Sodoma* and *Gomorra*, at the day of iudgement, then for them.

Spud. I haue heard it said, that dauncing is both a recreation for the minde, & also an exercysē for the body, very holsome; and not only that, but also a meane wherby loue is acquired.

Ph. I will not much denie but being vsed in a meane, in tyme and place conueniente, it is a certen solace⁷ to the minds of such as take pleasure in such vanities; but it is no good reason to say, some men take pleasur in a thing, *ergo*, it is good, but the contrarie⁸ is true rather⁸: For this is⁹ (*lasis*¹⁰ *veritatis*) a ground of¹¹ truth,⁹ that whatsoeuer a carnall man, with vncircumcised heart, either desireth or taketh pleasure in, is most abhominable & wicked before god. As, on the other fide, what the spirituall man regenerat, & borne anew in Christ, by the direction of God his spirit, desireth or taketh delight in, is good, and according to the will of God: And seeing mans nature is too proclive¹² of it selfe to finne, it hath no need of allurements & allections¹³ to¹⁴ fin (as dauncing is) but rather of restraints & inhibitions¹⁵ from the same, which are not there to be found. For what clipping, what culling, what kissing and buffing, what¹⁶ smouching & slabbering one of another, what filthie groping and vncleane handling is not practised euery wher in these dauncings? yea, the very deed and action it selfe, which I will not name for offending chaste eares, shall be purtrayed and shewed¹⁷ foorth in their bawdye gestures of one to another. All which, whither they blow vp *Venus* cole or not, who is so blind

[² leaf 98, back.
B.*]

[⁵ sign. M 8. A.]

Dauncing a
pleasure to
them that
delight in
vanities.

What allure-
ments to sin
be in daunc-
ing.
[¹⁴ leaf 99. B.t.]

[¹⁶ M 8, back. A.]

¹ forsooth added in F.

* leaf 98, back. Dauncyng, an allurement to sinne. B.

³ deteriores F. ⁴ inueniantur B, inuenientur E. ⁶ the B, E, F.

⁷ or recreation added in B, E, F.

^{8—9} is rather true B, E, F.

^{9—9} a maxime F.

¹⁰ basis et fundamentum B, E.

¹¹ or foundation of B, E; E has and for or.

¹² prone F.

¹³ enticementes F.

[†] leaf 99. Dauncyng, a corrosive. B.

¹⁵ to stay him added in F.

¹⁷ shadowed F.

156 Dancing vnholsome for the body. The Anatomie

Dauncing no recreation, but a corrosive to a good Christian.

The only thing wherin a good christian doth delight.

[⁴ leaf 99, back.
B.]

[⁶ sign. N 1. A.]

Dancing no holson exer- cise for the Bodie.

What looue dancing pro- cureth.

that seeth not? wherfore, let them not think that it is any recreation (which word is abusively vsed to exprefse the ioyes or delights of *the* mind, which signifieth a making againe of that which before was made,) to the mind of a good Christian, but rather a corroſive¹ most sharp and nipping. For feing that it is euill in it ſelf, it is not a thing wherin a Christian Mans heart may take any² comfort. The only³ *summum bonum*, wherin a true Christians heart is recreatid and comforted, is the meditation of the paſſion of Iefus Chrift, the effuſion of his blood, the remiſſion of ſins, and the contemplation of the ineffable ioyes and beatituds after this life, prepared for the faithfull in the blood of Iefus Christ. This is the only thing wherin a Christian man ought to reioyſe and take delight in, all other pleasures & delights of this lyfe ſet a parte as amarulent⁴ and bitter, bringing foorth fruit to eternall deſtruſion, but the other to eternall lyfe. And wheras they conclude it⁵ is a hole⁶ſome exerciſe for the bodie, the contrary is moſte true; for I haue knownen diuers, by⁷ the immoderate vſe therof, haue in ſhort time become decrepit and lame, ſo remaining to their dying day. Some haue broke their legs with ſkipping, leaping, turning, and vawting, and ſome haue come by one hurt, ſome by another, but neuer any came from thence without ſome parte of his minde broken and lame; ſuch a wholsome exerciſe it is! But, ſay they, it induceth looue: fo I ſay alſo; but what looue? Truely, a luſtful loue, a venereous loue, a concupiſcentious, baudie, & beaſtiall loue, ſuch as proceedeth from the ſtinking pump and lothſome ſink of carnall affection and fleshly appetit, and not ſuch as diſtilleth from the bowels of the hart ingenerat by the ſpirit of God.

Wherfore I exhort them, in the bowels of Iefus Chrift, to eſchue not only from euil, but alſo from all apperance of euil, as the Apoſtle willeth them, proceeding from one vertue to another; vntil they growe to⁸ perfect men in Chrife Iefus, knowing that we muſt giue accounts at the day of⁹ iudgment of euery minut and iote of time,¹⁰ from the day¹¹ of our birth to the time¹² of our death: for there is nothing more precious then time, which is giuen vs to glorifie God in¹³

¹ corrosive F.

² any pleasure or F.

³ enely A.

⁴ leaf 99, back. Dauncyng vnholsome for the body. B.

⁵ that it E, F.

⁷ that by B, E, F.

⁶ to bee F. ⁹ of F. ¹⁰ that is lent us in this life *added in* E, F.

¹¹ first day B, E, F. ¹² last houre B, E, F. ¹³ by B; in, by E, F.

good-woorks, and not to spend in luxurious exercises ¹ after our owne fantasies and delights.

Spud. But I haue heard them affirme that dauncing is prouable ² by the woord of God ; for (say they) did not the women come foorth of all the Cities of *Israell* to meet king *Saule* ? and ⁴ *Dauid*, returning from the slaughter of *Goliath*, with psalteries, flutes, tabrets, Cymbals, and other musicall Instruments, dauncing & leaping before them ? Did not the *Israelites*, hauing passed ouer the red sea, bring foorth their Instruments, and danced for ioy of their deliurance ?

Againe, did they not daunce before the golden Calf, which they had made in *Horeb* or *Sinai* ? Did not king *Dauid* daunce before the Ark of the Lord ? Did not the Daughter of *Iephthah* daunce with tabret and harp at the return of her Father from the Feeld ? Did not the women of the *Israelits* dance comming to visit good *Judith* ? Did not the Damsel dance before King *Herod* ? Did not *Christ* blame the people for their not dancing when he said, wee haue pyped vnto you, but you haue not daunced ?

Saith not *Salomon*, ‘there is a time to weep, and a time to laughe, a time to mourne, and a time to daunce ?’

And dooth not the Prophet *Dauid*, in many places of his Psalmes, command and commaund dauncing, and playing vpon Instruments of Musick ?

⁵ Wherfore (for thus ⁶ they conclude) seeing these holy Fathers (wheroft some were guided by the instinctioⁿ ⁷ of ⁸ God his ⁹ Spi^{rit}) haue not only taught it in doctrine, but also expreffed it by ¹⁰ their Examples of life, who may open his mouth once to speake against it ?

Philo. The Fathers, as they were men, had their errors, and erred as men, for *Hominis est errare, decipi et lali* : it is naturall for man to erre, to be deceiued & to slide from the trueth. Therfore the Apostle faith, follow mee in all things as I follow Christ ; but to the intent that they, who perpend ¹¹ the Examples of the Fathers and ¹² Scripture falſly ¹² wrefted to maintaine their deuiliſh dauncings withall, may fee their owne impietie & groſſe ¹³ ignorance diſcouered, I wil compendi-

* We must render accounts for time heer lent vs.
[† leaf 100. B.*]
[‡ N 2, back]

[Bible examples of dancing.]
[§ Sa. 18.]
Exo. 15.

Exo. 32.

2 Sa. 6.

Iudic. 11.

Iudic. 15.

Mat. 14.

Luc. 7.

Eccle. 3.

No man without errors both in lyfe and doctrine.

* leaf 100. Testimonies in the behalf of dancing. B.

³ probable E, F.

⁴ and also king E, F.

⁶ this E, F.

⁷ instinct F.

^{8—9} Gods F.

[†] leaf 100, back. None withoute errors. B.

¹⁰ in B, E, F.

¹¹ pretende E, F.

^{12—12} Scriptures fasly (sic) F.

¹³ not in F.

158 Euil examples not to be followed. The Anato[mie]

ously set down the true fence and meaning of euery place, as they haue cyted them perteinently. For the firſt, wheras they fay that the Women came foorth in daunces with timbrels and Instruments of Ioy to meet *Dauid* and *Saule*, I afke them for what caufe they did ſo?

Was it for wantonnes, or for very ioye of hart for their Victorie gotten ouer¹ the *Philistines*, their fworne Enemies? Was it in prayſe of God, or to ſirre vp filthie luſt in them felues, or for niceſenes onely, as our daunces bee? ²Did men and women daunce togither, as is now vſed

[1 Sa. 18.

The firſt
pilare of
dauncing
ouerthrowen.

[2 N 2, back. A.]

No good cox-
ſequente to ſay
others did ſo,
ergo it is
good, or wee
may doo the
like.

[3 leaf 101. B.*]

to be doon? or rather was it not doon amoungſt women onely? for ſo faith the text, the women came foorth, &c. But admit it were neither ſo, nor ſo, wil they conclude a generall rule of a particuler example? it is no good reaſon to ſay, ſuch and ³ſuch did ſo, therfore it is good, or we may doo ſo; but all things are to be poyſed in the balance of holy ſcripture, and therby to be allowed or diſallowed, according to the meaning of the holy Ghoſt, who is only to be heard and obeyed in his woord.

The *Israelitish* women, hearing of the fame of *Dauid*, and how he had killed their deadly enemie *Goliath*, came foorth to meet him, playing vpon instruments, dancing, & ſinging ſongs of ioye and thanks-giuing to the Lord,⁴ who had giuen them victorie, and deliuered them from the deadly hostilitie of him who fought their diſtruſtion euery way. Now, what maketh this for our leud, wanton, nice and vbiqutarie dauncings,—for ſo I may call them because they be vſed euery where,—let the godly iudge. who feeth not rather that this example (let *Cerberus* ⁵the dog of hel alatrate what he⁵ lift to the contrary) clean ouerthroweth them. Theirs was a godly kind of dancing in praife of God; ours, a luſtful, baudie kinde of deamenour⁶ in praife of our felues: theirs, to ſhew their inward ioy of minde for the bleffings⁷ of ⁸God beſtowed vpon them; ours, to ſhow our actiuitie, agilitie and curiouſe nicitie, and to procure luſtful louue and ſuch like wickednes infinit. But to their ſecond allegation: the Children (ſay they⁹) of *Israel* danced, being deliuered out of the feruitude of *Pharo*, and hauing paſ¹⁰fed ouer the red ſea. I graunt

The diſſerence
between the
daunces of our
Forefathers
and ours.

[8 sign. N 3. A.]

Their ſecond
Pillar shaken.

[10 leaf 101,
back. B.†]

¹ againſt F.

* leaf 101. Euil examples not to be followed. B.

⁴ their God added in F.

⁵—⁵ and all other hel-houndes barke what thei B, E, F.

⁶ dauncing F.

⁷ blessing F.

⁹ they ſay F.

† leaf 101, back. The Israelites Daunces. B.

they did so, and good cause they had so to doo ; For were they not emancipate¹ and set free from three great calamities and ²extreme miseries²? First, from the seruile bondage of *Egipt* ; from the swoord of *Pharo*, who pursued the rereward of their hoste ; and from the danger³ of the red sea, their enemies beeing ouerwhelmed in the same.

[Why the
Israelites
danced.]

For these great and inestimable benefits and bleffings, receiuied at the hands of God, they played vpon Instruments of mufick, leaped, daunced, and sung⁴ godly songs vnto the Lord, shewing by these outward gestures the inward ioy of their harts and mindes. Now, what conducedeth this for⁵ the allowance of our luxurios dauncings ? Is it not directly against them ? They danced for ioy in thanks⁶ to god, wee for vainglorie : they for loue to God, wee for loue of our felues : they to shew the interior ioy of the minde for ⁷God his bleffing heaped⁷ vpon them ; we to shew our concinitie, dexteritie and vain curiositie in the same ; they to stir vp and to⁸ make them felues the apter to praise God ; we to stir vp carnall appetites ⁹and fleshlie motions : they to shewe their humilitie before God ; and we to shew our pride both before God and the world. But how so euer it be, sure I am, their dauncing was not like oures, confisiting in measures, capers, quauers, & I cannot tel what, for thei had no such leasure in E¹⁰gipt¹¹ to learne such vaine curiositie in that lustfull¹² bawdie schoole, for making of brick and tyles. And notwithstanding it is ambiguous whether this¹³ may be called a dauncing or not, at lefft not like oures, but rather a certen kind of modeft leaping, skipping or moouing of the body to exprefse the ioye of the mind in prayse of God ; as the Man did, who, being healed by the power of our Sauiour Christe, walked in the Temple, leapping, skipping & praifing God.

[How the
Israelits
danced.]

[¹⁰ Leaf 102. B. +]
[¹¹ Egipt A.]
The dauncing
of our Forfa-
thers mai not
be called a
dauncing, but
rather a Godly
triumphing &
reioycing in
heart for ioy.

We neuer read that they euer daunced but at¹⁴ some wonderfull portent or straunge iudgment¹⁵ of God¹⁶ ; and therfore made¹⁷ not a common practise of it, or a daylie occupation, as it were ; much leffe

¹ deliuered F. ^{2—2} extram (sic) miseries at once F. ³ daungers E, F.

⁴ sang F.

⁵ to E, F.

⁶ thanks-geuing E, F.

^{7—7} Gods blessings bestowed F.

⁸ to not in B, E, F.

+ leaf 102. A confutation of dauncing. B.

¹² lustfull not in B, E, F.

¹³ they E, F.

¹⁴ when E, F.

^{15—15} great blessing F.

¹⁶ was shewed added in E ; was bestowed vpon them F. ¹⁷ they made F.

Their 3. Reason
examined.

set vp schools of it, and frequenting¹ nothing els night and² day, Sabaoth day and³ other, as we do. But to their⁴ third Reason: The *Israélits* daunced before the Calf in *Horeb*. And what than? They made a Golden Calf and adored it: maye we therfore do the like? They committed ydolatrie there; therfore is ydolatrie good because they committed it?

[⁵ sign. N 4. A.]

⁵ Adam disob[ey]ed God, and obeyed the deuil: is obedience therfore to the deuil good, because hee did so?

Therfore wee must not take heede what man hath doon heertofore, but what God hath commaunded in his woord to be doon, and that followe, euen to the death. But, to be shourt, as it is a fruiulous thing⁶ to say, because they committed⁷ Idolatrie, therfore may wee doo the like, so it is no lesse ridiculous to say, because they daunced, therfore wee may doo the same; for as it is not lawfull to commit Idolatrie because they did so, so is it not lawfull to daunce because they daunced.

[⁷ leaf 102, back.
B.*]

So that if this place inferre⁸ any thing for dauncing, it inferreth that wee must neuer daunce but before a golden Calf, as they did: but, I think, by this time they are ashamed of their dances. therfore of this place I need to say no more, giuing them to note that this their dauncing, in respect of the end therof, was farre dissonant⁹ from ours; for they daunced in honour of their Idol, wee clean contrary, though neither the one nor the other be at any hand tollerable.¹⁰

Their 4. Reason.

Their fourth reason: Did not *Dauid* daunce before the Ark? say they. very true; and this place (as the rest before) refelleth their customarie dauncings of men and women togither moste excellentlie;

[¹¹ N 4, back. A.]

For¹¹ *Dauid* danced him selfe alone, without either woman or musicall Instrument to effeminate the minde. And this dauncing of *Dauid* was no vfaull thing, nor frequented euery day, but that one time, and that in prayse of God for the deliuerie¹² of the Ark of God his testament out of the hands of the Infidels and hethen people: the ioy of this holy Prophet was so vehement for this great blessing of God (such

[¹³ leaf 103. B.†]

a feruent zeale he bore¹³ to¹⁴ the trueth), that it¹⁵ burst foorth into

¹ frequented E, F. ² nor F. ³ nor F. ⁴ the B, E.

⁶ reason E, F. * leaf 102, back. Dauncyng reproud. B.

⁸ conferre E, F. ⁹ different F.

¹⁰ lawfull F. ¹² deliuernace B, E, F. ¹³ did beare F.

[†] leaf 103. Why Dauid daunced. B. ¹⁵ he B, E, F.

¹exterior action,¹ the more to induce others to prayse God also. Would God we would dance, as *Dauid* daunced, heer for the deliuerie of his alsauing woord out of the hands of that *Italian Philijlin* & archenemy of all trueth, the Pope of *Roome*! for in this respect I would make one² to daunce, to leap, to skip, to triumph, and reioyce as *Dauid* did before the Ark. By this, I trust, any indifferent man feeth, that by this place they gain as much for the maintenance of their leude³ dancings and baudie chorufes, as they did by citing⁴ the former places; that is, iust nothing at all, which they may put in their eies and see neuer the wurfe.

Why David
daunced be-
fore the Ark.

Their fift reason: Did not *Ieptath* his daughter meet her Father, when he came from war, dancing before him, and playing vpon Instruments of Ioy⁵? *Ieptath*, going foorth to warre against the *Amonites*, promised the ⁶Lord (making a rafhe vowe) that if it would please his Maiefie to giue him victorie ouer his Ennemis, he wold sacrifice the first lyuing thing that shuld meet him from his house. It pleased God that his sole daughter and heire, hearing of her Fathers prosperous return (as the maner of the Cuntry was), ran foorth to meeete her Father, playing vpon instruments in praise of God, and dauncing before him for ioye. Now, what prooueth this for their daunces? Truely, it ouerthroweth them,⁷ if it be well considered: for first we read that she did this but once, we daylie: She in prayse of God, we in prayses of our selues: she for ioy of her Fathers good succeſſe, we to ſtere vp filthie and vncleane motions: She with a virginall grauitie, we with a babiſh⁸ leuitie: ſhe in comly maner, we in bawdie geſture. And, moreouer, this ſheweth that women are to daunce by themſelues (if they wil needs daunce), and men by themſelues; for ſo importeth the Text, making no mention of any other her collegues or Companions dancing with her.

[⁷ leaf 103, back.
B. f.]

Wherfore &
how the
Daughters of
Ieptath
daunced.

[Each sex must
dance by itſelf.]

Their⁹ vi. Reason: Did not the *Israelitish* wemen daunce before ^{Ther. 6. Reason.} *Judith*, comming to viſit her? I graunt they did ſo: the ſtorie is [*Judith*, Ca. 15,
B. E.] thus:

Holofernes, oppoſing himſelue againſt the *Israelits*, the choſen

¹—¹ outward ſhew of the ſame F.

² my ſelue added in E, F.

³ lasciuious added in F.

⁴ citing not in E, F.

⁵ musicke F.

† leaf 103, back. *Jeptha* his daughters daunce. B.

⁸ wanton E, F.

⁹ The E, F.

[^F N 5, back. A.] people of God, and intending to ouerthrowe them, and to blot out ¹their remembrance for euer from vnder heauen, assembled a huge power, and besieged them on euery fide.

Judith cutteth
of the head of
holofernes.

The *Israelits*, seeing themselues *circumvalled*,² and in great daunger on each fide, suborned good *Judith*, a vert[u]ous, Godlye Woman (for without some stratagem or pollicie wrought, it was vnpossible for them in the eyes of the world to haue escaped) to repaire to *Holofernes*, &, by some meanes or other, to work his destrucion: who, guided by the hand of God, attempted the thing & brought it happily to passe. For the cut of his head with his owne fauchine,³ wrap⁴ping his body in the canopie wherin he lay, sleepingly⁵ possest as he was with the spirit of drunkennesse: this done, the Women of *Israell* came together, and went to visit this worthie Woman, and to congratulat her prosperous successe with instrumynts of musick, singing of Godly songs, and dauncing for ioye in honor and prayse to God for this great victorie obtained. Now, who feeth not that these women sang, daunced, and played vpon instrumentes in prayse of God, & not for any other lewdnes or wantonnes, as commonly the world doth now adaies? This also ouerthroweth the dauncinges of Men and Women together in one companie; for though there was an infinite number of People by, yet the Text faith, there daunced

The vnlawfull-
nes of daunc-
ing of men
and women
together.

[^F sign. N 6. A.] ⁶none but onely Women, which plainly argueth the vnlawfulnesse of it in respecte of Man.⁷ And this being but a particular fact, of a sort of imprudent⁸ Women, shall we draw it into example of lyfe, and thinke it lawfull or good because they did practise it?

A custome to
daunce in
prayse of God.

[^F leaf 104, back. B.t.] ¹²Which kinde of thankefull dauncing, or spirituall reioycing, wold

² about *added in* B, E; compassed about F.

³ Faulchone F.

* leaf 104. How dauncyng is vnlawfull. B.

⁵ sleepyng B, E, F.

⁷ men & women together E, F.

⁸ simple F.

⁹—⁹ bestowed F.

¹⁰ Consistorie B, E, F.

¹¹ it E, F.

† leaf 104, back. Dauncyng stirreth vp lust. B.

God we did¹ follow, leauing all other wanton dancing to their Father the Deuill!

Their .vij. Reason: Did not (quothe they) the Damosell daunce before Kinge *Herode*, when the head of *John Baptisit* was cut of? She daunced, indeed; And herein they maye see the fruite of dauncing, what goodnesse it bringeth: For was not this the cause of the beheading of *John the Baptisit*? See whether dauncing styrreth not vp lust, and inflameth the mind; For if *Herode* with seeing her daunce was so inflamed in her loue, and rauished in her ² behauour, that he promised her to giue her whatsoeuer she wold desire, though it were half of his Emperie³ or Kingdome, what wold he haue beeene if he had daunced with her? and what are those that daunce with them hand in hand, cheek by cheek, with buffing and kissing, slabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold? in so much as I haue heard many impudently say that they haue chosen their Wyues, and wyues their Husbands, by dauncing; Which plainly proueth the wickednesse of it.

Dauncing
styrreth vp
lust.
[² N 6, back. A.]

Their .viii. reason: Did not Christ rebuke the People for not dauncing, saying, ‘we haue pyped vnto you, but you haue not daunced’? They may as well conclude that Christ in this place was a Pyper, or a Minstrell, as that he alowed ⁴of dauncing, or reprooved them for not exercysing the same. This is a Metaphoricall ⁵or Allegoricall ⁶ kinde of speach, wherin our Sauiour Christ goeth about to reprooue and checke the stynckednes, the rebellion and pertinacious contumacy of the *Scribes* and *Phariseis*, who were neither mooued to receiue the glad tydings of the Gospell by the aufteritie of *John the Baptiste*, who came preaching vnto them the doctrine of repentaunce in mourning fort, neither yet at the preaching of our Sauiour him selfe, breaking vnto them the⁶ pure *Ambrosia*, the⁶ *Cœlestial Manna*, the word of life, in ioy⁷full and gladsome maner.

The more
than obdurat
hardnes of the
Iewes.

[⁷ sign. N 7. A.]

Ihon the *Baptisit* he piped vnto them, that is, he preached vnto them aufteritie of life, to mourn for their finnes, to repent, to fast, pray, and such like. Our Sauiour Christ he pyped (that is) preached vnto them the glad & comfortable tidyngs of the Gospell, yet at neither of these ⁸kinde⁹ of concions⁸ they were any whit mooued,

¹ would B, E, F. ³ Empire B, E, F. ⁴ leaf 105. The contumacie of the Iewes. B. ^{5—5} not in F. ⁶ that E, F. ^{8—8} kinds of preachings F. ⁹ kindes E.

either to imbrace Christ or his gospell: Wherfore he sharply rebuketh¹ them by a similitude of foolishe Children, sitting in the market place and piping vnto them that wold not daunce. This is the true vndoubted fence of this place, which, whether it ouerthrow not all kinde of lewd dauncing (at least maketh nothing for them) allowing a certen kind of spirituall dauncing,² and reioysing of the heart vnto God (that I may suspend my owne iudgement), let wyse men determine.

[² leaf 105, back.
B.]Eccle. 3.
Their. 9. Reason.Salomon
meaneth a
certen kind of
a spirituall
dauncing or
reioysing of
the heart.[⁴ N 7, back. A.]

Their .ix. Reason: Saith not *Salomon*, 'there is a time to weep, & a time to laugh, a time to mourn, and a time to daunce'? This place is directly against their vsuall kinde of dauncing; For saith not the Text, 'there is a time', meaning somtime, now and than, as the *Israelites* did in prayse to³ God, when anie notable thing happened vnto them, and not euery daye and howre, as we do, making an occupation of it, neuer leauing it, vntil it leauie vs. But what and if *Salomon* speaketh here⁴ of a certen kind of spirituall dauncing and reioysing of the heart in praise to⁵ God? This is easilly gathered by the circumstances of the place, but specially by the sentence precedent; (viz. there is 'a time to mourn & a time to dance', &c.) that is, a time to mourn for our finnes, & a tyme to daunce or reioyse for the vnspeakable treasures purchased vnto vs by the death & passion of Iesus christ. How much this place maketh for defence of their nocturnall, diurnall, wanton, lewde, and lascivious dauncings (if it be censured in the imparciall ballance of true iudgement) all the world may see and⁶ iudge.

Their ultimum
refugium.[⁷ leaf 106. B.]

And now, to draw to an end, I will come vnto their *ultimum refugium*: That is, Doth not *David* both commend, and also command, dauncing and playing vpon instruments in⁷ diuerse of his Psal.? In all those places the Prophet speaketh of a certen kind of spirituall dauncing and reioysing of the heart to⁸ the Lord, for his graces & benefits in mercie bestowed vpon vs. This is the true kinde of dauncing, which the word of God doth allow of in any place, and not that we should trippe like rammes,⁹ skip like goats,¹⁰ & leap like

¹ rebuked F.

* leaf 105, back. Salomons spirituall dauncyng. B.

³ of B, E, F.⁵ of F.⁶ and A.

† leaf 106. Why our feete were giuen vs. B.

⁸ in B, E, F.⁹ Goates F.¹⁰ Does F.

mad men: For to the end our feet were not giuen vs, but rather to represent the image of God in vs, to keep Companie with the Angels, & to glorifie our heuenly Father thorow good works.

Spud. Do you condemne al kinde of dauncing² as wicked and profane?

[¹ sign. N 8. A.]

Ph. All lewde, wanton & lasciuious dauncing in publique assemblies & conuenticles, without respect either of sex, kind, time, place, Person, or any thing els, I,³ by the warrant of the word of God, do vtterly condemne: But that kind of dauncing which is vsed to praise and laud the name of God withall (as weare the daunces of the people of the former world) either priuatly or publicquely, is at no hand to be dysallowed, but rather to be greatly commended. Or if it be vsed for mans comfort, recreation and Godly pleasure priuatly (euerie sex distinckted⁴ by themselues), whether with musick or otherwyse, it cannot be but a very tollerable exercyse, being vsed moderatly and in the feare of God. And⁵ thus, though I condemne all filthie, luxurious and vncleane dauncing, yet I condemne not al kind of dauncing generallly; For certen it is, the exercyse it self, in it own nature, ⁶qualitie & proprietie,⁶ though to some it is lawfull, to otherosome vnlawfull in dyuerse respects, is both ancient & general, hauing been vsed euer in all ages, as wel of the Godly, as of the wicked, almost from the beginning. Wherfore, when I condemne the same in some, my meaning is in respecte of the manifold abuses therof. And in my iudgement, as it is vsed now a dayes, an occupation being made of it, and a continuall exercyse,⁷ without any difference or respect had either to time, Person, sex or place, in publique assemblies and⁸ frequencies⁸ of People, with fuche beastlie slabberings, buffings⁹ & smouchings, and¹⁰ other filthie gestures & misdeameanors therein accustomed, it is as vnpossible to be vsed without doing of infinit hurt, as it is for a naked Man to lye in the middest of a hote burning¹¹ fire, and not to consume.¹² But these abuses, with other the like (as there be legions moe in it) being cut of from the exercyse it selfe, the thing¹³ remayneth

¹⁴very commendable¹⁴ in some respectes. Or els, if our daunces

What dauncing
is condemned by the
word of God.

[⁵ leaf 106, back.
B.]

[Dauncing how
lawful, how
vnlawfull, E, F.]

[⁷ N 8, back. A.]

[Dauncing
vnpossible to be
vsed without
hurt E, F.]

² then added in F.

³ I comes after God in F.

⁴ distinct F.

[†] leaf 106, back. What dauncyng is condemned. B.

^{6—6} and quality F.

^{8—8} great meetings F.

⁹ kissinges B, E, F.

¹⁰ with B, E, F.

¹¹ glowing F.

¹² burne B, E, F.

¹³ thing it self B, E, F.

^{14—14} more tollerable B, E, F.

166 Men & wom[en] to dance asunder. The Anatomie

tended, as I haue said, to the setting foorth of God his glorie (as the daunces vsed in ¹preter time¹ did) to draw others to pietie and fanchtie of life, and to² praise and reioyce in³ God, to recreat the minde opprefled with some ⁴great toyle or labor, taken in true virtue and godlynes, I would not (being don in the feare of God, men by them felues, and Wemen by them felues, for els it is not possible to be without finne) much gainstand it. But I see the contrarie is euery where vsed, to the great dishonor of God and corruption of good maners, which God amend.

Spud. And wherfore would you haue Men to daunce by them felues, and Women by them felues?

Philo. Because ⁵it is, without all doubte, a ⁶prouocation to lust and venery,⁵ and the fire of lust once conceiued (by some irruption or other) bursteth foorth into open action of whoredome and fornication. And therfore a certain godly Father said wel, *Omnis saltus in chorea, est saltus in profundum inferni*,⁸ Euery leap, or skip in dance, is a leap toward hel. Yet, notwithstanding, in *Ailgna* it is counted a vertue and an ornament to a⁹ man, yea, and the onely way to attaine to promotion & aduancement, as experience teacheth.

Spud. Notwithstanding, for my further instruction, I pray you shewe mee what Fathers and Councils haue judged of it, and what they haue writ and decreed against it.

Philo. If I should ¹⁰goe foorth to¹⁰ shew all the inuectives of Fathers, all the decrees of councils, and all the places of holy Scripture against the same, I should neuer make an end: wher¹¹fore of many I wil seleet a few, hoping that they wil suffice any reasonable man. *Syrach* faith, frequent not the company of a woman that is a singer or a dauncer, neither heare her, leaſt thou be intrapped in her craftines. *Christome*, dylating vpon *Mathew*, faith, In euery dance the deuil daunceth by, for companie, though not vifible to the eye, yet palpable¹² to the minde. *Theophilus*, writing vpon *Mark*, the fixt Chapter, faith, *Mira collusio saltat per puellam*¹³ *Diabolus*: This is¹⁴ a

¹—¹ former ages F. ² to the E, F. ³ rejoycyng in B, E, F.
* leaf 107. Men & women to dance asunder. B.

⁵—⁵ otherwise it prouoketh lust, and stirreth vp concupiscence F.
⁷ This repeated side-note not in B, E, F. ⁸ *Cloace* F. ⁹ a not in F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ not in F. † leaf 107, back. Testimonies against Dancing. B.

¹² sensible F. ¹³ illam E, F. ¹⁴ There is B.

[⁴ leaf 107. B.*]
Why men shold
daunce by them
selues and women
by themselves.

[⁶ sign O r. A.]

⁷ Why men
shold daunce
by theuzselues
and Women by
them-selues.

[¹¹ leaf 107, back.
B †]
Testimonies of
Fathers, coun-
cels and
Writers against
dauncing.

Eccle. 13.

Mat. 4.

wun^derful deceit, for the deuil danceth amongst them for company. [² O 2, back. A.] *Augustine*, writing vpon the 32. Psalme, saith, it is better to digge all *Augustine*. the Sabaoth day then to dance. *Erasmus*, in his Booke *de contemptu Mundi*, saith, Whose minde is so well disposed, so stable, or wel setled, which these wanton dances, with swinging of armes, kicking of legs, playing vpon instruments, and such like, would not² ouercome and corrupt? Wherfore, saith hee, as thou desirest thine owne credit and welfare, eschew these scabbed and scuruy compaines of dauncers.

Ludovicus Vives saith, amongst all pleasures, dauncing and volup- [3] leaf 108. B.*] *Lodouicus vives.*
tuoufnes is the kingdome of *Venus*, and the empire of *Cupid*: wher-
fore, saith hee, it were better for thee to stay at ³home, and to break either a leg or an arme of thy body, then to break the legges and armes of thy⁴ minde & soule, as thou doost in filthie scuruy daunc-
ings. And, as in all Feasts and pastimes, dauncing is the last, so it is
the extream of all other vice. And again, there were (saith he) from far cuntries, certain men brought into our parts of the world, who, when they saw men daunce, ran away meruelously affraid, crying out, and thinking them to haue been mad. And no meruaile, for who, seing them⁵ leap, skip,⁵ & trip like Goates⁶ & hindes,⁶ if hee neuer saw them⁷ before, would⁸ not think them either mad, or els possest Dauncers thought to be mad-men.
with some furie? *Bullinger*, paraphraſting vpon *Mathew* 14, saith, [3] sign. O 2. A.] *Bullinger.*
After feaſting, fwilling, and gulling, commeth dancing, the root of all filthynes and vncleanenes.

Maifter *Caluin*, writing vpon *Job*, Ser. 8, Cap. 12, calleth dauncing the cheefe mischeef of all mischeefs, saying, there be ſuch vnchaſt gestures in it as are nothing els but inticements to whordome. Caluin.

Marlorate, vpon *Mathew*, saith, whosoeuer hath any care either of honeftie, sobrietie, or grauitie, haue long fince bad *adieu* to all filthie dauncing.

No man (saith a certaine heathen Writer) if hee be sober, daunceth, except hee be mad.

⁹ *Salustius*, commendynge *Sempronius*, that renoumed whore, for many goodly gifts, condemneth her for her ouer great ſkil in daunc- [3] leaf 108. back. B.†]
ing; concluding, that dauncing is the Inſtrument of lecherie.

² not be B. * leaf 108. Dauncyng the cheeffest mischeef. B.

⁴ the E, F. ^{5—5} leap like Squirrilles, skippe like hindes B, E, F.

^{6—6} as thei doe B, E, F. ⁷ any B, E, F.

† leaf 108, back. Dauncyng a world of sinne. B.

Cicero.

Cicero saith, a good man would not dance in open assemblies, though hee might by it get infinite treasure.

The Council of *Laodecea* decreed that it shoulde not be lawful for any Christian to dance at mariages, or at any follemne feast.

In an other Council it was enaeted, that no man should daunce at any marriage, nor yet at any other time.

[¹ O 2, back. A.]

¹ The Emperour *Iustinian* decreed, that for no respect in feasts or assemblies there shoulde be any dauncing, for feare of corrupting the Beholders, and inticing men to finne.

All Writers,
bothe holy and
prophane,
against
dauncing.

Thus you may see, bothe Scripture, counsels, and Fathers, holy and prophane, heathen and other, euen all in generall, haue detested and abhorred this filthie dauncing, as the ² quauemire or plash² of all abomination, and therfore it is no exercise for any Christians to followe; for it stirreth vp the motions of the flesh, it induceth lust, it inferreth baudrie, affoordeth ribaldrie, maintaineth wantonnes, & ministreth oile to the stinking lamp of deceitful pride; and, *in summa*, nourisheth a world of wickednes and finne.

[³ leaf 109. B. t.]

³ *Spud.* Now that the wickednes of it is so manifestly shewed, that no man can denie it, I pray you,⁴ who inuented this noble science, or from whence ⁵ sprang it⁵?

Who inuented
dauncing, and
from whence it
sprang.

Philo. Heereof there be fundry and diuers opinions; for some holde an opinion (and very likely) that it sprang from the heathen idolatrous *Pagans* and Infidels, who, hauing offered vp their sacrifices, ⁶ victimats,⁷ and holocaustes,⁶ to their false Gods, in reuerence of them, and for ioy of their so dooing vsed to daunce, leape, and skip before them.

And this may be prooued by the *Israelits* themselues, who, hauing seen and learned the same ⁸ practise in *Egipt*, feared not to imitate the like in the wildernes of *Horeb*. Some again suppose that *Pyrrhus*, one of *Sibils* Preifts, deuised it in *Creet*. Others holde that the Priests of ⁹ *Mars*, who in *Roome* were had in great estimation for their dexteritie in dauncing, inuented it. Others think that one *Hiero*, a truculent ¹⁰ and bloody Tirant in *Sicilia*, who, to set vp his tyrannie the more, inhibited the people to speake one to an other, for feare of

A Supposall
who inuented
dauncing.^{2—2} quagmire or puddle F.⁴ shewe me, added in B, E, F.⁷ victimats not in B.[†] leaf 109. Who inuented Dauncyng. B.^{5—5} it sprang F. ^{6—6} and oblations F.⁹ of of F.¹⁰ Turculent F.

imurrections and commotions in his kingdome, was the occasion of the inuenting therof: for when the *Sicilians* sawe that they might not, vnder pain of death, one speake to another, they inuented dauncing to expresse the inward meaning and intentions of the minde by outward becks and exterior gestures of the body; which vse afterward grew ¹ into custome, and now into nature. But what soever men say of it, or from whence soever it sprang, *S. Chrysostom* saith plainly (to whom I willingly subscribe¹), that it sprang from the teates of the Devils brest, from whence all mischeef els dooth flow. Therfore, to conclude, if of the egges of a *Cuckatrice* may be made good meat for man to eat, and if of the web of a spider can be made good cloth for mans body,² then may ³it be prooued that³ dancing is⁴ good, and an exercize fitte for a christian man to followe, but not before.⁵ Wherefore

God of his mercy take it away ⁶from vs!

[¹ leaf 109, back B.]
Vnpossible
that dancing
should be
good

[⁶ O 3, back A]

Spud. What say you of⁷ Musick? is it not a laudable science?

Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth to vanitie.

Philo.

I Say of Musick as *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Galen*, and many others haue said of it; that it is very il for yng heds, for a certaine kinde of nice,⁸ smoothe sweetnes in⁹ alluring the auditorie¹⁰ ¹¹to niceenes¹²,¹¹ effeminacie,¹³ pufillanimitie,¹⁴ & lothsomnes of life,¹⁴ ¹⁵so as it may not improperly be compared to a sweet electuarie of honie, or rather to honie it-self¹⁵; for as honie and such¹⁷ like sweet things,¹⁷ receiuied into the stomack, dooth delight at the first, but afterward they make¹⁸ the stomack so¹⁹ quasie,²⁰ ²¹nice and weake, that it is not able to admit²¹ meat of hard digestion: So sweet Musick at the first delighteth the eares, but afterward corrupteth and depraueth the minde, making it weake and²³

[²² leaf 110. B.]
A comparison
betwixt hony
and dancing.¹⁶

* leaf 109, back. Dauncyng vnpossible to be good. B.

² body to weare B, E, F. ^{3—5} not in E, F. ⁴ befor is in E, F.

⁵ els E, F.

⁷ to F.

⁸ nice not in B, E, F.

⁹ in it B, E, F.

¹⁰ hearers F.

^{11—12} to a certaine kind of F.

¹² niceenes not in B, E, F.

¹³ and added in F.

^{14—15} not in F.

^{15—16} muche like vnto Honey B, E, F.

¹⁶ musicke B, E, F.

^{17—18} other sweete Conserues B, E; other sweete thinges F.

¹⁸ maketh for they make B, E, F.

¹⁹ so not in B, E, F.

²⁰ queasie F.

^{21—22} and vnable to receive B, E, F.

[†] leaf 110. Hurte by Musicke. B.

²³ weake and not in B, E, F.

Wits dulled
by Musick.
[¹ sign. O 4. A.]

quasie,¹ and inclined to all licencioynes of lyfe whatsoeuer. And right as good edges are not sharpned ²(but ³obtused) by beeing whetted³ vpon softe stones, so good wits, by hearing of soft musick, are rather dulled then sharpned, and made apt to all wantonnes and finne. ⁴ And therfore⁴ Writers affirme *Sappho* to haue been expert in musick, and therfore whorish.

Authors of the
bringing in of
musick.

Tyrus Maximius faith, the bringing in of musick was a cup of poysion to all the world.

Clytomachus, if hee euer heard any talking of looue, or playing vpon⁵ musicall Instruments, would run his way, and bidde them farwel.

Plutarchus complaineth of Musick, and faith, that it dooth rather femenine the minde as prickes vnto vice, then conduce to godlines as spurres vnto Virtue.

Pythagoras condemnes them for fooles, and bequeathes them a cloke-bag, that measure Musick by sound and eare. Thus you heare the iudgement of the wise concerning Musick: now iudge therof as you list your self.

Spud. I haue heard it said (and I thought it very true) that Musick dooth delight bothe man and beast, reuiueth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it apter⁶ to the seruice of God.

Musick the
good gift of
God.
[⁷ O 4, back. A.]
[⁸ leaf 110, back.
B.]

Philo. I graunt Musick is a good gift of God, and that it delighteth bothe man ⁷and beast, reuiueth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh ⁸it redyer⁹ to serue God; and therfore did *David* bothe vse musick him self, & also commend the vse of it to his posteritie (and beeing vsed to that end, for mans priuat recreation, musick is very laudable).

Of musick in
publique assen-
bles and
conuenticles.

But beeing vsed in publique assenbles and priuate conuenticles, ¹⁰ as directories¹⁰ to filthie dauncing, thorow the sweet harmonie & smoothe melodie therof, it estrayngeth the mind, stireth vp filthie lust, womannisheth the minde, rauisheth the hart, enflameth concupisence, and bringeth in vnkleannes. But if musick openly were vsed¹¹ (as I haue said) to the praise¹² and glory of God, as our Fathers vsed it, and

¹ queasie F. ^{3—3} dulled by whetting F. ^{4—4} And hereof is it that F.
⁵ of B, E, F. ⁶ and readier added in F.

⁷ leaf 110, back. How Musicke is tollerable. B. ⁹ apter F.
^{10—10} as a Directorie B, E, F. ¹¹ openly follows used in B, E, F. ¹² prasie A.

as was intended by it at the first, or priuately in a mans secret Chamber or house, for his owne solace or¹ comfort to driue away the fantasies of idle thoughts, solicitude,² care, sorrowe, and such other perturbations and moleftations³ of the minde, the only ends wherto true Musick tends, it were very commendable and tollerable.⁴ If Musick were thus vsed it would comfort man wunderfully, and mooue his hart to serue God the better; but beeing vsed as it is, it corrupteth good minds, maketh them womannish, and inclined to all kinde of whordome and mischeef.⁵

How musicke
were tollerable
& good.

Spud. What say you, then, of Musitions & Minstrels, who liue only vpon the same art?

Philo. I thinke that all good minstrelles, sober and chaste musicions (speking of suche drunken sockets and bawdy parasits as range the Cuntreyes, ryming and singing of vncleane, corrupt, and filthie songs in Tauerne, Ale-houses, Innes, and other publique asssemblies,) may daunce the wild Moris thorow a needles eye. For how shoulde thei bere chaste minds, seeing that their exercyse is the pathway to all vncleanes.⁶ Their is no ship so⁷ balanced with maffie matter,⁸ as their heads are fraught¹⁰ with all kind of bawdie songs, filthie ballads and scuruiue rymes, seruing for euery purpose, and for euery Cumpanie.

[6 sign. O 5. A.]
The scarcis-
ty of
good musitions
and min-
strelles.

[7 leaf iii. B.t]

The marchan-
dice of min-
strelles and
musitions.

¹¹ Who be¹² more bawdie¹² than they? who vncleaner than they? who more licentious and loose¹³ minded¹⁴? who more incontinent than they? and, briefely, who more inclyned to all kind of insolencie and lewdnes than they? wherfore, if you wold haue your sonne softe, womannish, vncleane, smoth mouthed, affected to bawdrie, scurrilitie, filthie rimes, and vnseemely talking; brifly, if you wold haue him, as it weare, transnaturled into a woman, or worse, and inclyned to all kind of whordome and abomination, set him to dauncing school, and to learn musicke, and than shall you not faile of your purpose. And if you would haue your daughter whoorish, bawdie, and vncleane, and a filthie speaker, and such like, bring her vp in¹⁵ musick and dauncing, and, my life for youres, you haue wun the goale.

The wickednes
of musitions
and minstrels.

[15 O 5, back. A.]
How to haue
Children
lerned in all
wickednes.

¹ and B, E, F.

² to mitigate F.

³ passions F.

⁴ lawful F.

⁵ vncleannes F.

† leaf iii. Good Musitions scarce. B.

⁸ Baudry & filthines F.

⁹⁻¹⁰ laden with merchandize F.

¹⁰ pested F.

¹¹ As for example added in B; For prooфе whereof added in E, F.

¹²⁻¹² baudier F.

¹³ looser E, F.

¹⁴ then they added in F.

[¹ leaf 111, back.
B.]
The scarcytic
of dyuines.

1 And yet, notwithstanding, it weare better (in respecte of² acceptation³) to be a Pyper, or⁴ bawdye minstrell, than a deuyne, for the one is looued for his ribauldrie, the other hated for his grauitie, wifdome, and sobrietie.

Euery towne, Citie, and Countrey, is full of these minstrelles to pype vp a dance to the Deuill; but of⁵ dyuines, so few there be⁶ as they⁷ maye hardly be feene.⁶

But some of them will reply, and say, what, Sir! we haue lycenses from iustices of⁸ peace to pype & vse our minstralrie to our best commoditie. Cursed be those licences which lycense any man to get his lyuing with the destruction of many thousands!

But haue you a lycence from the Arch-iustice of peace,⁹ Christe Iesus? If you haue so, you may be glad; if you haue not (for the Worde of God is against your vngodly exercyses, and condemneth them to Hell,) than may you as rogues, extraugantes, and straglers¹⁰ from the Heauenlye Country,¹⁰ be arrested of the high iustice of peace,¹¹ Christ Iesus,¹² and be punished with eternall death,¹² notwithstanding your pretensed¹³ licences of earthly men. Who¹⁴ shall stand betwixt you and the Iustice of God at the daye of Iudgement? Who shall excuse you for draw¹⁵ing so manye thousandes to Hell? shall the Iustices of peace? shall their licenses? Oh, no: ¹⁶ For neither ought they to graunt anye licences¹⁷ to anie to doo hurt withall; neither (if they would) ought any to take them.

[¹⁵ sign. O 6. A.]
No lycences to
do hurte withall
are to be
graunted.

[¹⁸ leaf 112. B.]
A Cauet¹⁸ to
musitions,
minstrelles,
& all others
of that²⁰ stamp.

18 Giue ouer, therfore, your Occupations, you Pypers, you Fidlers, you minstrelles, and you musitions, you Drummers, you Tabrettters, you Fluters, and all other of that wicked broode; for the blood of all those whome you drawe to destruction, thorow your prouocations¹⁹ and intyng allurementes, shalbe powred vpon your heads at the day of

* leaf 111, back. Licences for Minstrelles. B.

² of worldly B, E. ³ the accompt of the world F.

⁴ or a F.

⁵ of good F.

⁶—⁶ that small skil in Arithmeticke will suffice to number them F.

⁷ any B, E.

⁸ of the B, E, F.

⁹ of peace *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ *not in* B, E, F.

¹¹ of peace *not in* B, E, F.

¹²—¹² *not in* B, E, F.

¹³ presented A, pretensed B, E, F.

¹⁴ Then who F.

¹⁶ It wil not goe for payment at that day *added in* F.

¹⁷ licencens A.

+ leaf 112. A Cauet for Minstrelles. B. E has: Cardes, Dice, vnlawfull on the Sab.

¹⁹ example F.

²⁰ twat A.

Judgement. but hereof enough, and, perchaunce, more than will like¹ their humour.²

Spud. Is it not lawfull vpon the Sabaoth daye to playe at Dice, Cardes, Tables, Bowles, Tenniffe, and suche other pleaſaunt exercyſes, wherein Man taketh pleasure and delight?

Cards, Dice, Tables, Tenniffe, Bowles, and other exercyſes vſed vnlawfully in Ailgna.

³ *Philoponus.*

[³ O 6, back. A.]

THese be no Sabaothlike⁴ exercyſes for any Christian man to follow any day at all, much leſſe vpon the Sabaoth daye, which the Lord wold haue to be consecrat to himſelfe, and to be ſpent in holy and Godly exercyſes, according to his will. As for cards, dice, tables, bowls, tenniffe, and ſuch like, thei are *fūta officia*, a certen kind of ſmooth, deceiptfull, and fleightie thefte, wherby many a one is ſpoiled of all that euer he hath, ſometimes of his life withall, yea, of body and foul for⁵ euer. And yet (more is the pitie) theſe be the onely exercyſes vſed in euery mans howſe, al the yeer thorow; But ſpecially in Christmas tyme, there is nothing els vſed but cards, dice, tables, masking, mumming, bowling, & ſuch like fooleries. And the reaſon is, they⁶ think they haue a commiſſion and prerogatiue that time to do what they luſt,⁷ and to follow what vanitie they will. But (alas!) do they thinke that they are priuiledged at that tyme to doo euill? the holier the time is (if one time were holier than another, as it is not) the holier ought their workes⁸ to be. Can anie⁹ time diſpenſe with them, or giue them libertie to fin? No, no: the ſoule which finneth shall dye, at what time ſo euer it offendeth. But what will thei ſay? Is it not Christmas? muſt we not be mery? truthe it is, we ought, both than and at¹¹ all tymes beſides, to be merie in the Lord, but not otherwyſe; not to ſwile and gull¹² more that time than at any other time, nor¹³¹² to lauifh forth more at that time than¹⁴ at another¹⁴ time.¹⁵

Exercises vnlawfull vpon the Sabaoth day.

Fūta officia.

All wicked games vſed in Christmas tyme.

No tyme priuiledged to a man to ſinne.

[^{**} sign. O 7. A.]

¹ please E, F.

² daintie humours F.

⁴ not in F.

[†] leaf 112, back. Al wicked Games vſed in Christmas. B.

⁶ for that they F. ⁷ list B, E, F. ⁸ exerciſes B, E, F. ⁹ anie not in F.

¹⁰ priuiledgeth E, F. ^{12—12} in more then will ſuffice nature, nor F.

¹³ not A. ^{14—14} at any other B, E, F. ¹⁵ times A, B, E, F.

The true
keeping of
Christmas.

Wickednes in
Christmas.

Valawful for
one Christian
to play with
another to
win his
money.

[¹¹ O 7, back. A.]

[Gamynge worse
then open theft
E, F.]

[¹⁵ leaf 113, back.
B. f.]

But the true celebration of the Feast of christmas is to meditat (and as it were to ruminat¹) vpon the incarnation and byrthe of Iesus Christ,² not onely³ that time, but all the tymes and daies of our life, and to shewe our selues thankeful to his⁴ Maiefie for the same. Notwithstanding, who⁵ is ignorant⁶ that more mischiefe is that [⁶ leaf 113. B.*] time committed than in all the yeere besides? ⁶ what masking and mumming! wherby robberie, whordome,⁷ murther,⁸ and what not,⁹ is⁹ committed! what dicing & carding, what eating and drinking, what banqueting and feasting is than vsed more than in all the yeere besydes! to the great dishonor of GOD, and impouerishing of the realme.

Spud. Is it not lawfull for one Christian to play with another at anye kinde of game, or to winne his monie, if he can?

Philo. To play at tables, cards, dice, bowls, or the like (though a good Christian man will not so ydely and vainely spend his golden dayes) one Christian with another, for their priuat recreations, after some oppresyon of studie, to driue awaye fantasies¹⁰ and suche like, I doubt not, but they may, vsing it moderatly, with intermission and in the feare of¹¹ GOD; But to play for lucre of gaine, and for desyre onely of his Brothers substaunce (rather than for any other cause) it is at no¹² hand lawfull, or¹³ to be suffered.

For as it is not lawful to robbe, steale and purloine by deceit or slaight, so is it not lawfull to get thy Brothers goods from him by carding, dicing, tabling, bowling, or any other kynd of thefte; for these playes¹⁴ are no better; nay, worser than open theft; for open theft euery Man can be ware of, but this being a craftie pollitick theft, and commonly don vnder pretence of Freendship, few or none at all can beware of¹⁵ it. The commaundement faith, thou shalt not couet nor desire any thing that belongeth to thy Neighbour: Now, it is manifest that those that playe for monie, not onelye couet their

¹ in the secrete cogitations of our myndes added in B, E, F.

² God and man added in B, E, F. ³ at added in E, F.

⁴ blessed added in F. ⁵ knoweth not E, F; is so for is B.

* leaf 113. Great wickenes in Christmas. B.

⁷ and sometimes added in B, E, F.

⁸—⁹ not in B, F.

⁹ what no, tis A.

¹⁰ or melancholy passions added in F.

¹² not at any for at no F.

¹³ nor F.

¹⁴ games B, E, F.

† leaf 113, back. Gamynge houses. B.

Brothers monie, but also vse craft, falsehood and deceit to wyne the fame.

The *Apostle* forbiddeth vs to vse deceipt in bargaining, in buying or selling; much leſſe than ought we to vſe deceipt in gaming.

Our Sauiour Christ biddeth euery man do to an other as he would another ſhould do vnto him. Which rule, if it were dulie obſerued, were ſufficient to with[d]raw men both from all kynd of gameing, and also from all kynd of ¹indyrect and ¹vniuſt dealing. For as thou woldest not that another man ſhould winne thy money, ſo thou oughteft not ³to deſire the winning of his, for thou muſt do as thou wouleſt be done by.

A rule to
reſtraine
vnlawfull
gameing.²
^[3 sign. O 8. A.]

Spud. If gameing for money be ſo vnlawfull, wherfore are there howfes⁴ and places appointed for maintenance of the fame?

Philo. That excuseth not the fault, but aggrauateth it rather. And truely great pitie it is, that theſe brothel howfes (for ſo I call all gaming howfes) are ſuffred as they be: For are they not the very ſeminaries and nurſeries of all kynd of abhormination, whatſoeuer heart can thinke, or tongue exprefſe?

Gaming
houses with
their wicked-
nes.

And therfore I marueile, that thoſe who keep and maintaine theſe gaming howfes can euer⁵ haue light hearts, or once to⁶ looke vp towards Heauen, that not onely ſuffer this manifeſt theft in their ⁷ leaf 114. B.t houses (for gaming is no better) but alſo maintaine and nouriſh⁸ the fame.

The *Apostle* faith, not onely they that doo euill *digni ſunt morte*, are worthie of death, but alſo *qui conſentiant facientibus*, thoſe who conſent to them that do it.

Call to mind, than, what euills come of this wicked exercyſe, I beſeeche you.

For doth not ſwearing, tearing, and blaſpheminge of the Name of God; doth not ſtinkinge Whordome, Thefte, Robberie, Deceipt, Fraude, Cofenage, fighting, Quareling, and ſometymes Murder; ⁹ doth not pride, rapine, drunke[n]eſſ, beggerye, and, in fine, a shamefull end followe it, as the shadowe doth followe the body? wherfore I will not doubtē to call theſe gaming howfes, the slaughter howfes, the

^{1—1} not in F.

² gamening A.

⁴ gamyng houses B, E, F.

⁵ neuer F.

⁶ to *not in* B, E, F.

[†] leaf 114. Infamy gotten by gamyng. B.

⁸ vphold F.

shambles, or blockhowses of the Deuill, wherin he butchereth Christen mens soules infinit waies, God knoweth: the Lord suppreſſe them!

Spud. Weare there euer anie lawes made against the inordinat abufe hereof? or haue the Godly in any age miſliker it?

Philo. In all ages and times both the godly sober Christians haue detestefit, and holſome lawes haue been promulgat¹ againſt it.

Oſtavius Auguſtus was greatly reproched of the Writers of his time for his great delight in gaming, notwithstanding his manifold vertues beſides.

[² leaf 114, back. B.*] *Cicerō obiectet to Marcus Antonius his often gaming, as a note of infamie vnto him.*

The noble *Lacedemonians* ſent their Ambaffadours to *Corinth* to conclud a peace, who coming thither, and finding the People playing at dice and cards and vnthriftie games, returned back again (*infecta pace*) their peace vncouclued, ſaying it ſhould neuer be reported that they wold ioyne in league with Dice-players and gameſters.

[³ sign. P 1. A.] The fame *Lacedemonians* ſent to *Demetrius*, in derifion of his diceplaying, a paire of ³dice of gold. Sir *Thomas Eliot* (that worthie Knight) in his ‘Book of gouernance’ asketh, who will not think him a light man of ſmall credit, diſſolut, remife, and vaine, that is a Dice-player⁴ or gameſter?

Publius faith, *Quantò peritior eſt aleator in ſua arte, tanto nequior eſt, & vita, & moribus*: How much conninger a man is in gaming and diceplaying, ſo much corrupper he is both in life and maners. Iuſtinian made a lawe that none ſhould play at dice, nor cards, for no cauſe, neither priuately nor openly.

Alexander Seuerus banished all gameſters out of his dominions; And if anie were found playing, their goods were confiſcat, and they counted as mad men euer after, neuer trusted nor eſteemed of anie.

[⁵ leaf 115. B.†] *6 Ludouicus ordeined that al gameſters ſhould depart⁷ his land, for feare of corrupting of others.*

K. Richard the ſecond forbade all kynd of gaming, and namely dice-playing.

¹ published F.

* leaf 114, back. Lawes againſt Gamyng. B.

⁴ Dici-player A.

⁵ this ſide-note not in E, F.

† leaf 115. Punishment for Gamyng. B.

⁷ out of added in F.

Lawes and
sanctions
diuulgat
against
gaming.

[² leaf 114, back.
B.*]

The infamy
purchased by
gaming.

[³ sign. P 1. A.]

5 Laws against
gaming.

[⁵ leaf 115. B.†]

K. Henrie the fourth ordeined that euery Dice-player should be ^{Punishment for gaming.} imprisoned six daies for euery feuerall time he offended in gaming.

K. Edward the fourth ordeined, who so kept gaming howfes should suffer imprisonment three yeeres, and forfeit xx. li.¹ & the Players to be imprisoned two yeers & forfeit .x. pound.

K. Henri the feuenth ordeined that euery Dice-player should be imprisoned all a day, and the ² Keeper of the dicing howse to forfeit for euery offence vi. shil. viij.d., and to be bound by recognizance to good behauior.

The penalty
for those that
keep gaming
howses.

[² P 1, back. A.]

K. Henrie the eight ordeined that euery one that kept dicing houses shoulde forfeit xl. shil., and the Players to forfeit vi. shil. viij.d., with many³ good lawes and sanctions⁴ set foorth against this raging Abuse of gaming; which, ⁵to auoid tediousnes⁶ I omit, beseeching the Lord to root vp and supplant these, and all other stumbling blocks in his church ⁶what so euer.⁶

Sp. As I remember, in the Catalogue of abuses before, you said, the sabaoth day was prophaned by bearbaiting, cockfighting, ⁷ hauking, hunting, keeping of faires, courts, & markets, vpon the said day. Is it not lawful, than, to follow these exercyses vpon the sabaoth day neither?

[⁷ leaf 115, back.
B. t.]

Beare baiting and other exercyfes, vsed vnlawfully⁸ in AILGNA.

Philoponus.

THESE Hethnicall⁹ exercyfes vpon the Sabaoth day, which *the* Lord¹⁰ hath consecrat¹⁰ to¹¹ holy vses,¹¹ for the glory of his Name, and our spirituall comfort, are not in any respect tollerable, or to be suffered. For is not¹² the baiting of a Bear, besides that it is a filthie, stinking,¹³ and lothsome game, a¹⁴ daungerous &¹⁵ perilous exercyse? [¹⁵ sign. P 2. A.] wherein a man is in daunger of his life every minut of an houre; which thing, though it weare not so, yet what exercyse is this meet

[Bearbaiting
on Sundays.]

¹ pound B, E, F.

³ other added in F.

⁴ statutes F.

⁵—⁵ least I might seeme tedious F.

⁶—⁶ & common wealth F.

† leaf 115, back. Beare bayting. B. ⁸ vpon the Sabbath day added in F.

⁹ Heathnisch F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ would haue consecrated B, E, F.

¹¹—¹¹ his seruice F.

¹² is not not in B, E, F.

¹⁴ is it not a B, E, F; dangerous and *not in* F. ¹⁵ and a B, E.

No Creature
to be abused.

⁴ leaf 116. B.

God is abused
when his
Creatures are
misused.

Keeping of
mastyues and
bandogs.
†⁸ P 2, back. A.]

[*⁴ leaf 116, back.
B.]

for any Christian? what christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beast to rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they ¹be bloody¹ beasts to mankind, & seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, & whose creatures they are. For, notwithstanding that they be euill to vs, & thirst after our blood, yet are thei good creatures in their own nature & kind, & made to set foorth the glorie² & magnificence of ³the great³ God, & for our vse; & therfore for his sake⁴ ⁵not to be abused.⁵ It is a [com]mon saying amongst all men, borowed from the french, *Qui aime Iean, aime son chien;*⁶ loue me, loue my dog: so, loue God, loue his creatures.

If any should abuse but the dog of another mans, wold not he who oweth the dog think that the abuse therof⁷ resulteth to himselfe? And shall we abuse the creatures of God, yea, take pleasure in abusing them, & yet think that the contumely don to them redoundeth not to him who made them? but admit it weare graunted that it weare lawfull to abuse the good Creatures of God, yet is it not lawfull for vs to spend our golden yeers in such ydle and vaine exercyses, daylie and hourelie as we do.

⁸ And some, who take themselues for no small fooles, are so farre afflotted that they will not fikk to keep a dozen or a score of great mastiues ⁹and bandogs,⁹ to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forsooth); and will not make anie bones of. xx. xl. C.¹⁰ pound at once to hazard at a bait, with "feight dog, feight beare (say they¹¹), the deuill part all!" And, to be plaine, I thinke the Deuill is the¹² Maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastyme, forsoth, worthie of commendation, and wel fitting¹³ these Gentlemen of such reputation. But how muche the Lord is offended for the prophanation of his Sabaoth by such vnsauorie exercyses, his Heauenly Maiestie of late hath reueiled, pouring foorth his ¹⁴heauie

¹—¹ bloody be F.

² power added in B, E, F.

³—³ our B, E, F.

* leaf 116. Keepyng of Mastiues. B.

⁵—⁵ we ought not to abuse them B, E, F.

⁶ that is added in F.

⁷ done to his dog F.

⁹—⁹ not in B, E, F.

¹⁰ yea, an hundred B, E, F.

¹¹ say they not in B, E, F.

¹² the not in F.

¹³ fitting F.

† leaf 116, back. A wofull crye at Syrap [=Parys] garden. B.

wrath, his fearfull iudgements,¹ and dreadfull vengeance vpon the Beholders of these vanities.²

*A Fearfull Example of God his Iudgement vpon
the prophaners of ³his Sabaoth.³*

[Accident at the
Bear-House in
Paris Garden,
Southwark, on
Sunday, Jan. 13,
1583.]

VPon the 13. day of Ianuarie laſt,⁴ being the Sabaoth day, Anno 1583, the⁵ People, Men, Wemen, and Children, ⁶both yonge and old, an infinit number flocking⁶ to ⁷thoſe infamous places, where [7 ſign. P. 3. A.] these wicked exercyfes are vſuallie practiſed, (for they haue their courts, gardens, & yards for the ſame purpoſe) ⁸when they were⁸ all come together and mounted aloft vpon their scaffolds and galleries, and in middeſt of al their iolytie & paſtime, all the whole building (not one ſtick ſtanding) fell down with a moſt wonderfull and fearefull conuulfion; So that either two or three hundred men, wemen, and children (by estimation⁹), wheroſe ſeuuen were killed dead, ¹⁰ſome were¹⁰ wounded, ſome lamed, and oþerſome bruſed and crushed almoſt to the death. Some had their braines daſht out, ſome their heads all to ſquafht,¹¹ ſome their legges broken, ſome their arms, ſome their backs, ſome their ſhoulders, ſome one hurt, ſome another. So that you ſhould haue hard a woful crie, even pearcing the ſkyes, ^{A woful crie.} ¹² parents bewayling their children, Children their louing Parents, wyues¹³ their Husbands, and Husbands their wyues, marueilous to be- [13 leaf 117 B.t] hould¹⁴! This wofull ſpectacle and heauie iudgement, pitiful to heare of, but moſt ruefull to behold, did¹⁵ the Lord ſend¹⁶ down from Heauen, to ſhew vnto the whole World how greeuously he is offendēd with thoſe that ſpend his Sabaoth in ſuch wicked exercyfes; In the meane tyme, leauing his temple defolat and emptie. God graunt all men may take warning hereby, to ſhun the ſame for feare of¹⁷ like or worſer¹⁸ iudgement to come!

[17 P. 3, back. A.]

* Paris—(F. J. F.) ¹ iudgment B, E, F. ² as hearafter followeth B, E, F.
^{3—3} the Sabaoth daie B, E, F. ⁴ last not in F.

⁵ there reſorted an infinite number of for the E, F.

^{6—6} of each ſort E, F. ^{8—8} and beyng B, E, F.

⁹ by estimation not in B, E, F. ^{10—10} were ſome F. ¹¹ quasht B, E, F.

¹² this ſide-note not in F. [†] leaf 117. A wofull ſpectacle at the Theaters.

¹⁴ haue heard F. ¹⁵ did not in B, E, F. ¹⁶ ſent B, E, F.

¹⁸ sharper B, E, F.

*A fearfull Iudgement of GOD, shewed at
the Theaters.*

THE like Iudgement (almost¹) did the Lord shew vnto them a little befor, being assembled at their Theaters, to see their bawdie enterluds and other trumperies² practised: For he caused *the earth* mightely to shak and quauer, as though all would haue fallen down; wherat the People, sore amazed, some leapt down (from the top of *the turrets, pinacles, and towres, wher they stood*) to the ground; whero³ some had their legs broke, some their arms, some their backs, some hurt one where, some another,⁴ & many sore crusht and bruised; but not any but they went away sore⁵ affraid, & wounded in conscience. And yet can neither *the one nor the other* fray them from these diuelish exercyses, vntill the Lorde consume them all in his

[⁶ leaf 117, back.
B.†]

Cockfighting vpon the Sabbath.*
[⁷ day added in
F.]
[¹⁰ sign. P 4. A.]

Appointed times for exercise of dyuerlies.

Befids these exercises, thei flock, thick & three fold, to *the cockfeights*, an exercys nothing inferiour⁹ to *the rest*, wher nothing is vsed but swering, forswering, deceit, fraude, collusion, cose¹⁰nage, scoulding, railing, conuictious talking, feighting, brawling, quarreling, drinking, whooring; &, which is worst of all, robbing of¹¹ one an other of their goods, & *that not by direct, but indirect means & attempts*: & yet to blauch & set out these mischies withall (as though they were vertues) thei haue their appointed daies & set howrs, when these diuelries must be exercised. They haue houses erected to *the¹² purpose*, flags & ensignes hanged out, to giue notice of it to others, and proclamation goes out to proclaim *the fame*, to th' end *that* many may come to the dedication¹³ of this solemne feast of mischief: ¹⁴ the

¹ in effect F.

² fooleries there F.

³ whereby F.

⁴ another where F.

⁵ sore B, E, F; store A.

† leaf 117, back. Cockfightyng in Ailgna. B.

⁷ discharged F.

⁸ A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F:—Cockfightyng in Ailgna; F has:—Cockfighting vpon the Sabbath day in England. ⁹ not in F.

¹¹ of not in F.

¹² that B, E, F.

¹³ celebration F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ not in B, E, F; A new chapter-heading follows this in B, E:—Hawking and Hunting in Ailgna; F has:—Hauking and hunting vpon the Sabbath day in England.

Lord supplant them!¹⁴ And as for hawking & hunting vpon the Hawking & hunting vpon the sabaoth day,¹ it is an exercyse vpon that day no leffe vnlawful than the other; ² For no man ought to spend any day of his life, much [² leaf 118. B.*] leffe euery day ³ in his life,³ as many do, in such vaine & ydle pastimes: wherfore⁴ let Gentlemen take heed; for, be sure, accounts must be giuen at the day of iudgement for⁵ euery minut of time, both how they haue spent it, & in what exercyses. And let them be sure no more libertie is giuen them to mispend an howre, or one iote of the Lord his goods, than is giuen to the pooreſt and meaneſt person that liueth vpon the face of the earth. I neuer read of any, in the volume of the ſacred ſcripture,⁶ that was a good man and a Hunter.

No more libertie giuen to one than * another for mispend- ing of their goods.
[* then to F.]

Eſau was a great hunter, but a reprobate; *If'maell* a great hunter, [⁷ P 4, back. A.] but a miscreant; *Nemrode*, a great hunter, but yet ⁸a reprobate⁸ and a vefell of wrath. Thus I ſpeake not to condemne hawking and hunting altogether, being vſed for recreation, now and than, but against the continuall vſe therof daylie, hourly, weekly, yeerly, yea, all the time⁹ of their life without intermiffion. And ſuch a felicitie haue ſome in it, as they make it all their ioye, beftowing more vpon hawkes and hounds, and a ſort of idle lubbers to followe them, in one yeer, than they will impart¹⁰ to the poore members of Christ Iefus in vii. yeers, peraduenture, in all the dayes of their life. So long as man in Paradice perfifted in innocence, all beaſts what ſo euer weare obedient to him, and came and proſtrated¹¹ themſelues be¹²fore him; But euer ſince his fall they haue fled from him, & diſobeyd him, because of his fin; that ſeeing he diſobeyed the Lord, they again diſobeied¹³ him. For ſo long as man obeied God, ſo long they obeied him, but ſo ſoon as man diſobeyed God, they diſobeyed him, & became enemies to him; as it were, ſeeking to reuenge the¹⁵ iniurie which man had don vnto¹⁶ God in diſobeying his lawes. Wherfore the cauſe why all beaſts do fly from vs, and are become Enemies to¹⁷ vs, is our diſobedience to

No good hunters [in] scripture.

Cost beftowed in hauks and doges.

[¹² leaf 118, back. B.]

When all beaſts weare obedient to man, & wherfore they rebell.

¹ day not in E, F.

* leaf 118. Hawkyng and huntyng. B.

^{3—3} not in F.

⁴ And therfore F.

⁵ of F.

⁶ Scriptures F.

^{8—8} an abiect E, F.

⁹ times F.

¹⁰ giue F.

¹¹ humbled F.

+ leaf 118, back. Why beaſtes rebell against man. B. ¹³ diſobey F.

¹⁵ that E, F.

¹⁶ to F.

¹⁷ vnto F.

the **LORD**, which we are rather to sorow for, than to hunt after their deaths by the sheading of their blood.

[¹ sign. P 5. A.]

For pleasure
sake only no
man ought to
abuse any of
the creatures
of God.

Hurt by
hunting to
poore Men.

[⁶ leaf 119. B.]

¹ If necessitie, or want of other meats, inforceth vs to seek after their liues, it is lawfull to vse them, in the feare of God, with thanks to his name; but for our pastimes and vain pleasures sake, wee are not in any wise to spoyle or hurt them. Is he a christian man, or² rather a³ pseudo-christian,³ that delighteth in blood? Is he a Christian that spendeth all his life in wanton pleasures and plesaunt delights? Is hee a Chrifitian that buieth vp the corne of the poor, turning it into bread (as many doo) to feed dogs for his pleasure? Is hee a christian that liueth to the hurt of his Neighbour, in treading and breaking down his hedges, in casting open his gates, in trampling of his corne, & otherwise⁴ in preiudicing⁴ him, as hunters doo? wherfore God giue them grace to fee to it, and to mend⁵ it⁶ betimes ere it be to late; for they know *mora trahit periculum*, delay bringeth danger. Let vs not deferre to leauethe⁷ euil and to doo good, least the wrath of the Lord be kindled against vs, and confume vs from of⁸ the vpper face of the Earth.⁹

Spud. What say you to keeping of Markets, of¹⁰ Fayres, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabaoth day? Think you it is not lawful to vse the same vpon any¹¹ day?

Philo. No trueley; for can you¹² serue God & the deuil togither? can wee carrie to God, and ferrie to the deuil? can we serue two Maisters,¹³ and neither offend the one nor¹⁴ the other? can wee serue God and Mammon? can wee please God and the world bothe at one time? The Lord wil not be serued by peecemeale; for either he wil haue the whole man, or els none: For faith he, '*Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy soule, withall thy minde, withall¹⁵ thy power, withall thy strength,*' and so forth, or els with none at all. Then, seeing that we are to giue ouer our felues so wholly and totally to the seruice of God al the daies of our life, but ef-

² or not B, E, F. ^{3—3} cruel Tartarian F. ^{4—4} annoying F.

⁵ amend F. ⁶ leaf 119. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.

⁷ the *not in* B, E, F. ⁸ of *not in* B, E, F.

⁹ *A new chapter-heading follows this in B, E, F:—Markettes, Faires, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabbath daie in Ailgna [England F.]*

¹⁰ of *not in* F. ¹¹ that E, F. ¹² we F. ¹⁴ nor displease E, F

¹⁵ withall A.

pecially vpon the Sabaoth day, being conſe¹crate to that end, we may not intermedle with these propane exercisēs vpon that day. For it is more then manifest *that* these faires, markets, courtes, and leetes, vpon the Sabaoth day, are not only a hinderance vnto vs in the true² ſeruice of God, and an abufe of the Sabaoth, but alſo lead vs the path way to hel. For what coſonage is not there practiſed? what falſhod, deceit, & fraude is not there exerciſed? what diſfimulation in bargaining? what ſetting foorth³ of fucate³ & deceiuable wares, is not there frequented⁴? what lying, fwering, foriwering, drunkennes, whordom, theft, & ſometimes murther, either there or by the way thither, is not euery where vſed⁵? In courtes & leets, what enuie, malice, & hatred is noorished⁶? what expoſtulation, railing, ſcoulding, periuring, & reperiuring is maintained? ⁷what opreffion of the poore, what fauouring the⁸ rich, what iniuſtice & indirec⁹ dealing? what bribing, deceiuing, what poling & pilling is there⁹ practiſed? it would make a christian hart to bleed in beholding it. And yet, notwithstanding, we muſt haue these goodly pageants played vpon the ſabaoth day (in a wanion), becauſe there are no mo daies in the week. And heerby¹⁰ the ſabaoth is contaminat,¹⁰ Gods woord contemned, his commandementſ disanſuſed, his sacramentſ conculcate, his ordinances negle⁸ted, &, ¹¹*in ſumma*, his blood trod vnder feet, and all mischeef maintained. ¹²*The Lord cut of theſe, with all other ſin, both from their ſoules and thy Sabaoth, that thy name may be glorified and thy Church truely edifyed*¹²!

Spud. Is the playing at football, reding of mery bookeſ, & ſuch like deleſtations, a violation or prophanation of the Sabaoth day?

Ph. Any exerciſe which withdraweth vs from godlines, either vpon the ſabaoth¹³ or any other day els, is wicked & to be forbiden.¹⁴ Now, who is ſo groſly blinde, that ſeeth not *that* theſe aforesaid exerciſeſ not only withdraw vs from godlines & vertue, but alſo haile & allure vs to

^[1] leaf 119, back.
B.*]

Abuse of the
Sabaoth by
Fayres, mar-
kets.*

[* maskets A.]

The euil in
Fayres and
Markets.

The euils in
Courtes and
Leets practiſed.

[7 sign. P 6. A.]

^[11] leaf 120. B.t]

Playing at
Foot-ball

* leaf 119, back. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.

² true not in F. ^{3—3} counterfeit F. ⁴ vſed B, E, F.

⁵ committed B, E, F. ⁶ noorished A. ⁸ of the F. ⁹ the (*sic*) F.

^{10—10} it commeth to pasſe that the Sabbath is prophaned F.

[†] leaf 120. Footeball playing in Ailgna. B.

^{12—12} not in B, E, F. *A new chapter-heading follows, Plaiyng at Footeball*
* in Ailgna.* (*—* vpon the Sabbath and other dayes in England F.)

¹³ day added in F. ¹⁴ forbidded (*sic*) F.

Foot-ball a
freendly kind
of fight.

[¹ P 6, back. A.] wickednes and sin. for as concerning football playing, I protest vnto you it may rather be called a freendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; A bloody and murthering practise, then a felonely sporte or pastime. ¹ For dooth not euery one lye in waight for his Aduer-sarie, seeking to ouerthrowe him & to picke him on his nose, though it be vpon hard stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place soeuer it be, hee careth not, so he² haue him down. And he that can ferue *the* most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow, and who but he? so that by this meanes, somtimes their necks are broken, ³sometimes their backs, ³sometime their legs, sometime their armes; ⁴sometime one part thurst out of ioynt, sometime an other; sometime⁵ the⁶ noses gush out with blood, sometime⁵ their eyes start out⁷; and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoeuer scapeth away the best, goeth not scotfree, but is either sore⁸wounded, craised⁹, and bruised, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly. and no meruaile, for they haue the¹⁰ fleights to meet one betwixt two, to dashe him against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him vnder the shrot ribbes with their griped fifts, and with their knees to catch him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a¹¹ hundreded such murdering deuices: and hereof groweth enuie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

Foot-Ball
playing a mur-
thering Play.

[¹² sign. P 7. A.] ¹² Is this murthering play, now, an exercize for the Sabaoth day? is this a christian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that vpon prepensed malice, or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to vs? *God make vs more careful ouer the bodges of our Bretheren!*¹³

Reading of
wicked
bookes.
[¹⁴ leaf 121. B.] ¹⁴ And as for the¹⁵ reading of wicked Bookes, they are vtterly vn-lawfull, not onely to bee read, but once to be named; & that not (onely) vpon the Sabaoth day, but also vpon any other day; as

² he mai E, F.

^{3—5} not in F.

[†] leaf 120, back. Great hurt by Foote-ball play. B.

⁵ sometimes F. ⁶ their B, E, F. ⁷ of their heads *added* in F.

^{8—6} crushed F. ⁹ craised *not in* B, E. ¹⁰ the *not in* B, E, F. ¹¹ an F.

¹³ *A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F.* Readynge of wicked bookes in Aligna. [England. F.]

[†] leaf 121. Reading of wicked bookes hurtful. B.

¹⁵ the *not in* F.

which tende to the dishonour of God, deprauation of good manners, and corruption of christian soules. For as corrupt meates doo annoy the stomack, and infect the body, so the reading of wicked and vn-godly Bookes (which are to the minde, as meat is to the body) infect the soule, & corrupt *the* minde, hailing it to distruktion, if the great mercy of God be not present.¹

The euil
comming by
reading euil
Bookes.

And yet, notwithstanding, whosoeuer wil set pen to paper now a dayes, how vnhonef souuer, or vnfeemly of christian eares, his argument be, is permitted to goe forward, and his woork plausibly² admitted and² freendly licensed, and gladly imprinted, without any prohibition or contradiction at all: wherby it is growen to this iſſue, that bookes & pamphlets of scurilitie and baudrie are better esteemed, and more vendible, then the godlyeft and ſa³geft bookes that be: for⁴ if it [3 P 7, back. A.] be a godly treatife, reproouing vice and teaching vertue, away with it! for no man (almoft) though they make a floorish of vertue and godlynes, will buy it, nor (which is leſſe) ſo much as once touch it. This maketh the *Bille*, the⁵ bleffed Book of God, to be ſo little eſteemed; That woorthie⁶ Booke of *Martyrs*,⁷ made by that famous Father & excellent Inſtrument in God his Church, Maiſter *John Fox*, ſo little to be accepted, and all other good books little or nothing to be⁸ reuerenced; whilſt other toyes, fantafies, and bableries, wherof the world is ful, are ſuffered to be printed. Theſe prophane ſcheduoles, ſacraligious libels, and hethnical pamphlets of toyes & bableries (the Authors wheroft may⁹ vendicate to them ſelues no fmal commendations⁹ at the hands of the deuil for inuenting the ſame) corrupt mens mindes, peruerit good wits, allure to baudrie, induce to whordome, ſuppreſſe vertue & erect vice: which thing, how ſhould it be otherwife? for are they not inuented & excogitat by *Belzebul*, written by *Lucifer*, licensed by *Pluto*, printed by *Cerberus*, & ſet a-broche to ſale by the infernal furies themſelues, to *the* poyſoning of the whole world? But let the Inuentors, the licensors, the printers, & the sellers of theſe vaine toyes, and more then Hethnical impieties, take heed; for the blood of all thoſe which perish, or take hurt¹⁰ thorow theſe

[7 leaf 121, back
B.*]

[The hurte that
wicked books
byng E, F.]

¹ present not in F.

²—² receiued F.

⁴ but B, E, F.

⁵ that B, E, F.

⁶ renowned F.

[¹⁰ 'Q 1', A.
wrongly sign'd;
leaf P 8 is misſt;
the catchword is
right.]

* leaf 121, back. Hethnical booke in Ailgna. B.

⁸ to be not in F.

⁹—⁹ challenge no ſmall reward F.

wicked booke, shalbe powred vpon their heads at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

Spud. I pray you how might al these inormities and Abuses be reformed? For it is to small purpose to shew *the* abuses, except you shewe withall how they might be reformed¹

[² leaf 122. B.*]

[The Laws
against Evil
Doers are not
enforct.]

Philo. By putting in practise and executing ²those good lawes, ³wholsome sanctions³, and Godly⁴ statutes, which haue beene heretofore, and daily are, set foorth and establisched, as GOD be thanked, they⁵ are manie. The want of the due execution wherof is *the* cause of all these mischies, which both rage and raigne amonsgt vs.

Spud. What is the caufe why these lawes are not executed, as they ought to be?

Philo. Truely, I cannot tell, excepte it be thorow the negligence and contempt⁶ of the inferiour Magistrates. Or els, perhaps (which thing happeneth now and than), for money they are bought out, dis franchisched and dispensed withall; for, as the saying is, ⁷*quid non pecunia potest*: what is it but money will bring to passe⁷? And yet, notwithstanding, shall it be don inuisibly in a clowde (vnder *benedicite* I speake it) the Prince being borne in hand that the same are ⁸dalie executed⁸. This fault is the corruption of those that are put in trust to see them executed, as I haue⁹ tould you, and (notwithstanding) do not.

[Why the lawes
are not executed
as they ought
to bee E, F.
[⁹ P 8, back.
(wrong Q 1, blc.)
A.]

Spud. This is a great ¹⁰corruption &¹⁰ Abuse, doubtles, and worthie of great punishment.

Ph. It is so truely; for if they be good lawes, tending to the glorie of GOD, the publique weale of the Cuntrey and correction of vices, it is great pytie that money should buy them out. For what is that els, but to sell vertue for lucre, Godlynes for droffe, yea, mens souls for corruptible mo¹¹ney? Therfore, those that sell them are not onely Traitors to GOD, to their Prince and Countrey, but are also the Deuils Marchants, and¹² ferrie the bodies and soules of Chriftians, ¹³as

[¹¹ leaf 122, back.
B.†]

[They that buy

¹ amended B, E, F.

* leaf 122. How to reforme Abuses. B. ^{3—3} not in F.

⁴ Godly A; Godly B, E, F. ⁵ there B, E, F. ⁶ corruption F.

^{7—7} *Pecunia omnia potest*, Money can do all thynges B, E, F.

^{8—8} duly excuted (*sic*) B, E, F. ^{10—10} not in B, E, F.

† leaf 122, back. Lawes not executed. B. ¹² to B, E, F.

^{13—13} as much as lieth in them F.

it were, in *Charons boate*¹ to the *Stigian flood* of Hell, burning with fire and brimstone for euer.

or sell lawes for
money are
traitors to God
E, F.]

And those that buy them are Traitors to God, their Prince, and Countrey also.

For if the lawes were at the first good (as, God be praised, al² the lawes in *Ailgna* be), why shuld they be suppreffed³ for money? and if they were euill, why were they diuulg'd,⁴ but had rather beene buried in the wombe of their Mother before th[e]y had euer seene the light.

And why were lawes instituted⁵, but to be executed? Els, it were as good to haue no lawes at all (the People lyuing orderly) as to haue good lawes, and them not executed.

The Prince ordeining a law may lawfully repeale & adnull⁶ the same againe, vpon speciall⁷ causes & consideracions, but no inferiour maiefstrat or subieete what so euer, may stop the course of any lawe made by the Prince, without daunger of damnation to his owne⁸ soule, as the Word of God beareth witnesse.

[None maie stay
the course of the
lawes, but the
Prince E, F.]

[7 sign. Q 2. A.]

And therfore, wo be to those men that will not execut the sentence of the lawe (being so Godly and so Christian as thei be in *Ailgna*) vpon Malefactors and Offenders!

Verely they are as guiltie of their blood before God, as euer was *Iudas* of the death⁹ of Christe Iefus.

[9 leaf 123. B,†]

Spud. Seeing it is so that al flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of God, and that there is such abomination amongst them, I am perswaded the¹⁰ daye of Iudgement is not farre of; For when iniquity shall haue filled vp his measure, than shall the end of all¹¹ appeare, as *Christ* witnessth in his *Euangelie*.

[The day of
Judgment is
not far off.]

Philo. The day of the Lord cannot be farre of; that is most certen; For what wonderfull portents,¹² strang miracles, fearful signes, and dreadfull Judgements¹³ hath he fente of late daies, as Preachers & fortellers of his wrath, due vnto vs for our impenitence¹⁴ & wickednes of life. Hath he not caused the earth to tremble and quake? the [The wonderfull

¹ ouer the Sea of this world added in B, E, F.

² the most of B, E, F.

³ bought out F.

⁴ published F.

⁵ constitute B, E, F.

⁶ annul F.

⁸ not in F. † leaf 123. The latter daie at hande. B. ¹⁰ that the E, F.

¹¹ all things E, F. ¹² not in F. ¹³ tokens F. ¹⁴ impenitencie E, F.

signes and
tokens; which
the Lord hath
sent to warne vs
of the daye of
judgement E, F.]
[¹ Q 2, back. A.]

[³ leaf 123, back.
B.*]

[All God's
Creatures are
wroth with us,
but we don't
mend.]

[⁶ sign. Q 3. A.]

[⁹ Materiall hell
after this life E,
F.]

[¹⁰ leaf 124. B.†]

same Earth to remoue from place to place? the feas and waters to roare, swell, & brust out, and ouerflow their bankes ¹to the destruction of many thousands? hath he not caused the Elements and Skyes to send foorth flashing fire? to raine downe wheat, a wonderfull thing as euer was heard, and the like? hath he not caused wonderfull Eclypses in the Sunne and Moon, with most dreadfull coniunctions of Starres and Planets, as the like this thousand yeeres haue not been² heard of? haue not the clowdes distilled downe abundance of rayne and showres, with all kinde of vnseasonable wether, to the destroying (almost) of al thinges vpon the Earth? haue we not seene Commets, blasing starres, firie ³Drakes, men feighting in the ayre, most fearfully to behold? Hath not dame Nature her selfe denied vnto vs her operation in sending foorth abortiues, vntimely births, vgglesome monsters and fearfull mishapen Creatures, both in man & beast? So that it feemeth all the Creatures of God are angrie with vs, and threaten vs with destruction, and yet ⁴we are⁴ nothing at all amended: (alas) what⁵ shal become of vs! Remember we not there is a God that shal iudge vs righteously? that there is a Deuill who shall torment vs after this lyfe vnspeakably, if we repent not? At that day the wicked shall find that there is a Material Hell, a place of all kinds of tortures, wherein they shal be punished in fire and brimstone amongst the terrible Company of vgglesome ⁶Deuills, world without end, how light so euer they make account of it in this World.

For some such there be that, when thei heare mention of Hell, or of the paines therof in the other World, they make a mocke at⁷ it, thinking they be but metaphoricall speaches, onely spoke to terrifie vs withall, not⁸ otherwyse. But certen it is, as there is a God that will reward his Children, so there is a Deuill that will remunerat his Seruaunts; And as there is a Heauen, a Materiall place of perfect ioye prepared for the Godly, so there is a Hell, a Materiall place of punishment for the wicked and reprobate, prepared for the Deuil & his Angels, or els the word of God is in ¹⁰no wyse to be credited; which blasphemie once to think¹¹, God keep all his Children from!

² seene or added in F. * leaf 123, back. Gods warninges late shewed. B.

⁴—⁴ are we F. ⁵ that A, B, E; what F. ⁷ of F. ⁸ and not F.

⁹ A materiall F.

† leaf 124. A reward for good and euill. B.

¹¹ think of F.

Spud. But they will easilly auoid this; for they say it is writ¹, at what time so euer a sinner doth repent him of his finne, I wil put all his fin² out of my remembrance, saith the Lord. So that, if they maye haue three words at the last, they will wish no more. What think you of these felowes?

Philo. I think them no men, but Deuills; no Christians, but worse ³than *Tartarians*³, and more to be auoided than the poison of a serpent; for the one slayeth but the body, but the other both body & soul for euer. Wherfore let euery good Christen Man take heed of them, and ⁴auoid them; For it is truely said *cum bonis bonus eris*, [⁴Q 3, back A.] et *cum peruerteris peruerteris*⁵: with the good thou shall⁶ learne good, but with the wicked thou shall⁶ be peruerted.

[Men who put off
repentance till
their deaths are
but Devils.]

Spud. Do you think, than, that that cannot be a true repentance, which is deferred to the last gaspe?

Ph. No, truely; For true repentance must spring out of a lyuelie faith, with an inward lothing, hating⁷, and detesting of finne. But this deferred repentance springeth not of faith, but rather of the feare of death, which he feeth imminent before his eyes, of the grief and tediousnes of paine, of the Horror of Hell, and feare of God his ineuitable iudgement, which he knoweth now he must needs abyde. And therfore this can be no true repentance; For there is⁸ two maner of re⁹pentances, the one a true repentance to life, the other a false re-
pentance to death. As we maye see by *Iudas*, who is said to haue repented, and, which is more, to haue confessed his faulte, and, which is most of all, to haue made restitution, and yet was it a false re-
pentance. And why? because it sprang not out of true faith, but as before.

[No true repen-
tance which is
deferred to the
last gaspe E, F.]

Peter repented and weeped bitterly, and was sauued therby, though he neither made confession nor satiffaction; and why? Because it sprang of a true and lyuely faith. So these felowes may say they repent, but except it be a ¹¹true repentance, springing of faith, it can [¹¹sign. Q 4 A.] serue them no more to life, than the pretensed repentance of *Iudas* did serue him to saluation.

[¹¹leaf 124, back.
B, f.]

[Two maners¹⁰ of
repentance, a
false repentance,
and a true re-
pentance E, F.]

¹ written F.

² wickednes E, F.

³—³ then either Turks or Iewes, or any other infidels whatsoeuer F.

⁵ peruerteris B, F. ⁶ shalt F. ⁷ not in F. ⁸ are E, F.

+ leaf 124, back. Who are true repentants. B. ¹⁰ maner of repenta[n]ces F.

Let them beware, for *Cain* repented, yet is he condemned. *Esaū* did repent, yet is he condemned; *Antiochus* did repent, yet is he condemned; *Iudas* did repent, yet is he condemned, with infinite moe. And why so? Because their prolonged repentaunce sprange not of faith, &c.¹

Thus they may see, that euerye light affection is no true repentance, And that it is not ynough to say at the last, I repent, I repent; For vales it be a true repentance indeed, it is worth nothing. But, indeed, if it weare so that man had *liberum arbitrium*, free wil² of himself to repent truely when he wold, and that God³ promised in his word to accept of that repentance, it weare another matter. But repentance is *donum Dei*, the gifte of God, *de sursum veniens a patre luminum*, com⁴ming from aboue from the Father of light, & therfore it is not in our powers to repent when we will. It is the Lord that giueth the gift, when, where, & to whom it pleaseth⁵ him; & of him are we to craue it incessantly by faithfull prayer, & not otherwise to presume of our owne repentance, when, indeed, we haue nothing leſſe than a true repentance.

[Every light affection is no true repentaunce E, F.]

[⁴ leaf 125. B.t]

⁶ Q 4, back A.] ⁶ Spud. Than, thus much I gather by your words, that as true repentance (which is a certen inward grief and sorrow of the⁷ heart, conceiued for our finnes, with a hatred and lothing of the same) [f]erueth to saluation thorow the mercie of Gov in Christ, so fained repentance saueth not from perdition. And, therfore, we must repent dayly and howrely, and not to⁸ deferre our repentaunce to the last gaspe, as many doo, than which nothing is more perilous.

Philo. True, it is; for maye not he be called a great Foole, that by deferring and prolonging of repentance to the last cast⁹ (as they say) will hazard his body and soule to eternall damnation for euer? Wheras, by daily repentaunce, he maye assure him selfe both of the fauour of God, and of life euerlaſting (by faith) in the mercy of God, thorow the moft precious blood of his deare Sonne, Iefus Christ, our alone Sauiour and Redemer, to whome be praise for euer!

¹ & of an inward hatred vnto sin, &c. F.

² and power added in F.

³ God had F.

⁴ leaf 125. Repentance not to be deferred. B.

⁵ shall please B, E, F.

⁷ the not in F.

⁶ did not for not to F.

⁹ gasp F.

Spud. Now muſt I needs ſay, as the Wyſe King Salomon ſaid, All things are vaine and transitorie, and nothing is permanent vnder the Sonne: the workeſ of men are vnpereſt and lead to deſtruſion, their exercyſes are vaine and wicked altogether. All things are
vaine and
vanitie itſelfe.
[† leaf 125, back.
B.]

Wherfore I, ſetting apart all the vanities of this lyfe, will from henceforth conſecrate ³my ſelfe to the ſeruice of my God, and to ^[3 sign. R x. A.] follow him in his Woord, which onely is permanent and leadeth vnto life.

And I moſt hartelie thanke the Lord⁴ God for your good Company this day, and for your graue iſtructions; promiſing, by the aſſiſtance of God his grace, to followe and obey them to my poſſible power all the daies of my life.

Philo. God giue you grace ſo to do, and euery Christen man els, and to auoid all the vanities and deceiuable pleauers of this life; for certenly they tread⁵ the path to eternal deſtruſion, both of body and ſoule for euer, to as many as obey them. The joyes of
this life tread
the path to
death.

For it is vnpoffible to wallowe in the delights and pleauers of this World, and to lyue in ioy for euer in the Kingdom of Heauen. And thus we, hauing ſpent the daye, and alſo conſummat⁶ our iorney, we muſt now depart, beſeaching God that we may both meeete againe in the Kingdome of Heauen, there to raigne and lyue

with him for euer, through Iefus Chrifte our Lorde;

to whome, with the Father and the holy

Spirit, be all honour & glorie

for euer more.

Amen.

*FINIS.*⁷

[†] leaf 125, back. A Christian protestation. B. ² and that F.

⁴ Lord my E, F. ⁵ leade E, F. ⁶ ended our F.

⁷ F then concludes with this line:—God haue the praise, both now and alwaies. Amen.



¶ Faults escaped in printiȝ.

Letter.	Page.	Line.	Fault.	Correction.
In B	vij	6	the in Lord	in the Lord
In B	xi	5	what is ther	what thing is there
In D	xi [p. 49]	3	initimur	nitimur
In D	xiiij [p. 50]	9 [l. 1]	tantæ meriades	tantæque meryades ²
In D	xv	16	suplyed	applyed [p. 52, l. 11]
In F	i	19	Read thus : [See p. 65, 4th paragraph]	Spud. I pray you shew me the opinions of the Fathers, concerning this coloring of faces.
In F	ix [p. 71]	3 [l. 8]	Antiquies	Antiques ²
In F	xvj	5	pesteruing	pestering
In I	iii [p. 105]	26 [l. 9]	refug meat	refuse meate
In I	iiij [,,]	27 [,,]	patrings	parings
In I	vij [p. 108]	16 [l. 23]	appetilum	appetitui



{sign. R 2. A.}

Perused, authoriséd, &
allowed, according to the order
appointed in the Queenes Maiefties Iniu-
ctions.



At London
Printed by Richard
Jones: dwellinge at the Signe of the
Rose and the Crowne, neere vnto
Holborne Bridge.

1583³.

[In F, a plate covers the page following (R 2, back), with this on the scroll :—Qvel
. che. mi. molestava . accendo . et . ardo. This plate is not in B, E.]

¹ this page '192' not in F.² The reader should make this correction. The other references are either wrong, or refer to another copy than that collated for this edition.³ 1585 E, 1595 F.

EXTRACTS
FROM
PHILLIP STUBBES'S
Life of his Wife.

1591.

A Christal Glasse for Christian vvomen.

CONTAYNING

*An excellent Discourse, of the godly life
and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine Stubbes
who departed this life in Burton vpon
Trent, in Staffordshire, the 14 day
of December. 1590.*

With a most heauenly confession of the Christian
Faith, which she made a little before her departure:
together, with a most wonderfull combate be-
twixt Satan and her soule: worthie to
be imprinted in the tables of eue-
ry Christian heart.

**Set downe worde for worde as she spake it, as neere
as could be gathered, by P. S. Gent.**

Reuel. 14. ver. 13.

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lorde, euen so saith the
Spirite, for they rest from their labours, and their workes
follow them.



Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, at the
**Rose and Crowne neere Holborne
Bridge. 1591.**

A Christall Glas, for Chri-
 stian women: wherein they may see a wonderfull
 and true example of a right vertuous life and
Christiau death: as by the discourse following, to
 their further instruction and comfort,
 it may appeare.

[leaf A 2]

[Sidenotes by
F. J. F.]

Alling to remembrance (most Christian Reader) the finall ende of mans creation, which is to glorifie God, and to edifie one another in the way of true godlinnesse, I thought it my duetie as well in respect of the one, as in regarde of the other, to publish this rare and wonderfull example, of the vertuous life, and Christian death, of mistresse *Katherine Stubbes*, who whilest she liued, was a myrrour of womanhoode, and nowe being dead, is a patterne of true Christianitie. She was of honest and wealthie parentage, and her father had borne office of worship in his companie: he was zealous in the truth, and of a sound Religion. Her mother was a Dutch woman, both discreete and wife, of singuler good grace and modeftie: and, which did moft of all adorne her, she was both religious, and verie zealous. This couple liuing together in the Citie of London certain yeares, it pleased God to bleffe them with children, of whom this *Katherine* was yongest faue one. But as she was yongest faue one by course of nature: so was she not inferiour to any of the rest, or rather farre excelled them all without comparifon by manie degrees, in the indumentes and qualities of the mind. At xv. yeares of age (her father being dead) her mother bestowed her in marriage to one maister *Stubbes*, with whom she liued four yeares, and almost an halfe, verie honestly and godly, with rare commendations of all that knewe her, as well for her singuler wifedome, as also for her modeftie, courtesie, gentlenesse, affabilitie and good gouernment. And aboue

I publish my
wife's Life, to
glorify God and
edify men.

Her Father, a
citizen.
Her Mother,
Dutch.

My wife, their
youngest child
but one.

At 15 she married
me, and livd with
me 4 years.

She was zealous
for the truth, and
opp̄ed Papists
and Atheists.

[leaf A 2, back]

all, for her feruent zeale which she bare to the truth, wherein she seemed to surpasſe manie: Infomuch as if she chanced at any time to be in place where either Papists or Atheists were, and heard them talke of Religion, of what countenaunce or credite soever they seemed to be, she would not yeld a iote, nor giue place vnto them at all, but would most mightily iustifie the truth of God, against their blasphemous vntrutheſ, and conuince them: yea, and confound them by the testimonies of the worde of God. Which thing, how could it be otherwife? for her whole heart was bent to feeke the Lorde, her whole delight was to bee conuerſant in the Scriptures, and to meditate vpon them day and night: infomuch that you could feldome or neuer haue found her without a Bible, or ſome other good booke in her hands. And when ſhe was not reading, ſhe would ſpend the time in conſeruing, talking and reaſoning with her husband of the worde of God, and of religion: aſking him: "what is the fence of this place, and what is the fence of that? Howe expounde you this place, and howe expounde you that? What obſerue you of this place, and what obſerue you of that?" So that ſhee ſeemed to bee, as it were, rauished with the ſame ſpirite that *Dauid* was, when hee ſaide: 'The zeale of thy houife hath eaten me vp.' Shee followed the commaundement of our Sauiour Chrift, who biddeth vs to ſearch the Scriptures, for in them you hope to haue eternal life. She obeied the commandement of the Apostle, who biddeth women to be ſilent, and to leарne of their husbands at home. Shee would ſuffer no diſorder or abuse in her houife, to be either vnreproued, or vñreformed.

And ſo gentle was ſhee, and curteous of nature, that ſhe was neuer heard to gine any the lie, nor ſo much as to (thou) any in anger. Shee was neuer knownen to fall out with any of her neighbours, nor with the leaſt childe that liued: much leſſe to ſcold or brawle, as many will now adayes for euerie trifle, or rather for no cauſe at all. And ſo ſolitarie was ſhee giuen, that ſhee woulde verie feldome, or neuer, and that not without great compulſion, go abroade with any, either to banquet or feaſt, to goſſip or make merie (as they tearme it), infomuch that ſhee hath beene accuſed to doo it in contempt and diſdaine of others.

When her houifande was abroade in London, or elsewhere, there was not the deareſt friend ſhe had in the world that coulde get her

She was ſeldom
without a Bible
or good book in
hand.

She was always
asking me to
explain texts.

She ſuffered no
diſorder in her
houife.

She never
ſcolded or
brawld;

or goſſipt.

abroad to dinner or supper, or to any other exercise what soeuer: She'd not go to parties alone.
 neither was she giuen to pamper her bodie with delicate meates, wines, or strong drinke, but refrained them altogether. And as she [leaf A 3] excelled in the gift of sobrietie, so she surpass'd in the vertue of humilitie. For it is well knowne to diuerse yet liuing, that she vtterly abhorred all kinde of pride, both in apparell, and otherwife. She coulde neuer abide to heare any filthie or vncleane talk of scurrilitie, neither swearing nor blaspheming, cursing nor banning, but would reprove them sharply, shewing them the vengeance of God due for such deserts. And which is more, there was neuer one filthy, vncleane, vndecent, or vnseemly word heard to come forth of her mouth, nor neuer once to curse or ban, to fweare or blasphemee God any maner of way: but always her speach were such, as both glorified God, and ministred grace to the hearers, as the Apostle speaketh. And for her conuersation, there was neuer any man or woman that euer opened their mouthes against her, or that euer either did or could accuse her of the least shadow of dishonestie, so continently she liued, and so circumspectly she walked, eschewing euer the outward appearance or shewe of euill. Againe, for true loue and loialtie to her husband, and his friends, she was (let me speake it without offence), I thinke, the rarest in the worlde: for shee was so farre from persuading her husbande to bee lesse beneficiall to his friendes, that shee woulde persuade him to bee more beneficiall to them. If shee sawe her husband merrie, then shee was merrie; if hee were sadde, she was sadde; if he were heauie, or passionate, shee would endeouour to make him glad; if he were angrie, she would quickly please him, so wisely shee demeaned her selfe towardes him. Shee woulde neuer contrarie him in any thing, but by wise counsaile, and politike aduice, with all humilitie and submision, seeke to persuade him. And so little giuen was she to this worlde, that some of her neighbours marayled why shee was no more carefull of it, and would aske her sometimes, saying: "Mistresse *Stubbes*, why are you no more carefull for the things of this life, but fit always poaring vpon a booke, and studying?" To whome she woulde answere: "If I shoulde be a friend to this worlde, I shoulde be an enemie to GOD: for God and the worlde are two contraries. *John* biddeth mee, 'loue not the world': affirming, that if I loue the world, the loue of the father is

She abhorrd
pride and foul
talk;

lived continently,
and shund all
show of evil.

She was
generous:
sympathizd with
her husband,
and never crost
him.

She card not for
this world, but
for God.

[leaf A 3, back]

She felt she,
should not live
long,

but should die
in child-birth.

Her boy was
born,

and she did very
well,

till a burning
ague seizd her.

She never slept
an hour together
for 6 weeks;

but in all her
suffering, no
impatient word
escapt her.

not in me. Againe, Christ biddeth mee, first seeke the kingdome of heauen, and the righteousnesse thereof, and then all these worldly things shall be giuen to me. ‘Godlineffe is great riches if a man be content with that he hath.’ I haue chosen with good *Martha* the better part, which shall neuer be taken from me. Gods treasure (shee would say) is neuer drawne drie. I haue inough in this life, God make me thankeful, and I know I haue but a short time to liue here, and it standeth me vpon to haue regard to my saluation in the life to come.” Thus this godly yong woman helde on her course three or foure yeares after shee was married: at which time it pleased God, that shee conceyued with a man childe: after which conception shee would say to her husband, and many other her good neighbours and friends, not once, nor twice, but manie times, that shee should neuer beare more children, that that child woulde bee her death, and that shee shoulde liue but to bring that childe into the worlde. Which thing (no doubt) was reuealed vnto her by the Spirite of God, for according to her prophecie, so it came to passe.

The time of her account being come, shee was deliuered of a goodly man childe, with as much speede, and as safely in all womens iudgements, as any could be. And after her deliuerie, shee grewe so strong, and luffie, that shee was able within foure or fife dayes to sit vp in her bed, and to walke vp and downe her chamber, and within a fortnight, to goe abroade in the house, being throughly well, and past all daungers, as euerie one thought. But presently vpon this so sudden recouerie, it pleased God to visite her againe, with an extreame hote and burning quotidian Ague, in which ficknes shee languished for the space of six weekes, or there aboutes. During all which time, shee was neuer feene, nor perceiued to sleepe one houre together, neither night nor day; and yet the Lord kept her (which was miraculous) in her perfect vnderstanding, fence, and memorie, to the last breath; prayed bee the Lorde therefore! In all her fickenesse, which was both long and grieuous, shee neuer shewed any signe of discontentment, or of impaciencie: neither was there euer heard one worde come forth of her mouth, sounding either of desperation, or infidelitie: of mistrust, or distrust, or of any doubting or wauering, but alwayes remayned faithfull, and resolute in her God. And so definious was shee to be with the Lorde, that these golden sentenses were neuer

forth of her mouth, "I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ." [leaf A 4]

And, "oh miserable wretch that I am, who shall deliver me from this

body subject to sin? Come quickly, Lord Jesus, come quickly!"

Like as the heart desireth the water springs, so doth my soul thirst

after thee, O God. I had rather bee a doorekeeper in the house of

my God, then to dwell in the tents of the wicked:" with manie

other heauenly sentences, which (least I should seeme to tedious) I

willingly omit. She would alwaies pray in her fickenesse absolutely,

that God would take her out of this miserable worlde: and when her

husband and others would desire her to pray for health, if it were the

will of God: Shee would answere, "I pray you, pray not that I shoulde

live, for I thinke it long to be with my God. Christ is to me life,

and death is to me aduantage. I cannot enter into life, but by death,

and therfore is death the doore or enterance into euerlasting life to

me. I knowe and am certainly perswaded by the spirite of God,

that the sentence of my death is giuen alreadie, by the great Judge, in

the Court or Parliament of heauen, that I shall nowe depart out of

this life: and therefore pray not for me, that I might live here, but

pray to God to give me strength, and pacience, to perseuere to the ende,

and to close vp mine eyes in a iustifying faith in the blood of my Christ."

Sometimes she would speake very softly to herselfe, and sometimes

very audibly, these words, doubling them a thousande times together,

"Oh my good God, why not nowe? Why not nowe, oh my good

God? I am readie for thee, I am prepared, oh receyue me nowe for

thy Christ his sake. Oh send thy messenger death to fetch me, send

thy sergeant to arrest me, send thy purfeuant to apprehend me, thy

herauld to summon me: oh send my Iailour to deliver my soule out

of prison, for my body is nothing else but a filthie stinking prison to

my soule. Oh sende thy holie Angels to conduct my soule into the

euerlasting kingdome of heauen!" Other some times she would lie as

it were in a slumber, her eies closed, & her lips uttering these words

very softly to her selfe: "Oh my sweete Jesus, oh my loue Jesus: why

not nowe, sweete Jesus, why not nowe?" as you heard before. "Oh

sweete Jesus, pray for mee! pray for me, sweete Jesus!" repeating them

many times together. These and infinite the like were her dayly

speaches, and continuall meditations: and neuer worser worde was [leaf A 4, back]

there heard to come forth of her mouth during all the time of her

She desird to be
set free, and to
be with Christ.

She knew death
was the door to
everlasting life.

She prayd God
to send and
fetch her.

She calld on
Jesus.

She often smil'd sweetly,

*seeing visions
and heavenly
sights.*

*She took leave
of her boy, and*

*bequeath't him
to me as the
Lord's.*

*She repented of
having been too
fond of her little
dog.*

[leaf B]

fickneſſe. She was accuſtomed many times as ſhe lay, verie ſuddenly to fall into a ſweete ſmiling, and ſometimes into a moſt heartie laughter, her face appearing right faire, redde, amiable, and louely: and her countenaunce ſeemed as though ſhe greatly reioyced at ſome glorious fight. And when her husband would aſke her why ſhe ſmiled and laughed ſo, ſhe woulde ſay, “if you ſaw eſch glorious viſions and heauenly fights as I ſee, you would reioyce and laugh with me: for I ſee a viſion of the ioyes of heauen, and of the glorie that I ſhall go to; and I ſee infinite millions of Angels attendant vpon me, and watching ouer me, readie to carrie my foule into the kingdome of heauen.” In regard whereof, ſhe was willing to forſake herſelfe, her husband, her childe, and all the world beſides. And ſo calling for her childe, which the Nurse brought vnto her, ſhe tooke it in her armeſ, and kiſſing it, ſaid: “God bleſſe thee, my ſweete babe, and make thee an heire of the kingdome of heauen:” and kiſſing it againe, deliuereſ it to the Nurse, with theſe words to her husband standing by: “Beloued hufband, I bequeath this my child vnto you; he is nowe no longer mine, he is the Lords and yours. I forſake him, you, and all the worlde, yea, and mine owne ſelfe, and eſteeme all things dungue, that I may winne Iefus Christ. And I pray you, bring vp this child in good letters, in discipline; and aboue all things, ſee that he be brought vp in the exercife of true Religion.”

The childe being taken away, ſhe ſpyed a little Puppie, or Bitch, (which in her life time ſhe loued well,) lying vpon her bed: ſhe had no ſooner ſpied her, but ſhe beate her away, and calling her hufband to her, ſaid: “Good hufband, you and I haue offendeth God grieuously in receyuyng this Bitch many a time into our bed: the Lord giue vs grace to repent for it and al other vanities!” And afterward coulde ſhee neuer abide to looke vpon the Bitch any more. Hauing thus godly diſpoſed of all things, ſhe fell into an extacie, or into a traunce or ſownde, for the ſpace almost of a quarter of an houre, ſo as every one thought ſhe had beene dead. But afterward ſhe, comming to her ſelfe, ſpake to them that were preſent, (as there were many both worshipfull and others) ſaying: “Right worshipfull and my good neighbours and friends, I thanke you all, for the great paines you haue taken with me: and whereas I am not able to requite you, I beſeech the Lord to reward you in the kingdome of heauen. And for that I

knowe that my hower-glaffe is runne out, and my time of departure hence is at hande, I am perswaded, for three causes, to make a confession of my fayth, before you all. The first cause that moueth me is, for that those (if there be any such here) that are not thorowly resolued in the trueth of God, may heare and learne what the spirite of God hath taught me out of his blessed and alsauing worde. The seconde cause that moueth me hereto, is, for that none of you shoulde iudge that I died not a perfect Christian, and a liuely member of the mysticall bodie of Iesus Christ, and so by your rash iudgement might incurre the displeasure of God. The thirde and laft cause, is for that, as you haue beene witnessses of part of my life, so you might bee witnessses of my faith and beliefe also. And in this my confession, I woulde not haue you to thinke, that it is I that speake vnto you, but the spirite of God which dwelleth in me, and in all the elect of God, vndeſſe they be reprobates: for *Paul* sayeth, *Rom. 8*, ‘If any one haue not the spirite of Christ dwelling in him, he is none of his.’ This blessed spirite hath knocked at the doore of my heart, and God hath giuen mee grace to open the doore vnto him, and hee dwelleth in me plentifully. And therefore I pray you giue me pacience a little, and imprint my wordes in your hearts, for they are not the wordes of flesh and blood, but of the spirite of God, by whom I am ſealed to the day of redemption.”

*A moſt heauenly confeſſion of the Christian faith,
made by this bleſſed ſeruant of God Myſtreſſe
Stubbes a little before ſhe died.*

She wifht to
make confeſſion
of her faith,
1. to confirm
others;

2. to teſtify that
ſhe died a
Christian;

3. that her
friends might be
witnesses of her
belief.

My Wife's
Confeſſion of
Faith.



Lthough the Maiestie of God be both infinite and vnspeakeable, and therefore can neither be conceiued in heart, nor exprefſed in wordes, yet to the end you may know what that God is, in whom I beleue, as farre as he hath reuealed himſelfe vnto vs in his holy worde, I will define him vnto you, as the spirite of God ſhall illuminat my heart. I beleue therefore with my heart, and freely confeſſe with my mouth, here before you all, that this God in whom I beleue, is a moſt glorious spirite, or ſpirituall ſubſtance, a diuine eſſence, or

[leaf B 1, back]

I believe in God
in 3 Persons,

&c., &c., &c.

I believe that
we shall know
each other in
heaven.

Dives in hell
knew Abraham
and Lazarus in
heaven.

Much more shall
we know one
another in the
life to come.

essenciall being, without beginning or ending, of infinite glorie, power, might & maiestie, inuisible, inacceſſible, incomprehensible, and altogether vnspeakable. I beleue and confesse, that this glorious Godhead, this bleſſed ſubtaunce, eſſence, or being, this diuine power which we call God, is deuided into a trinitie of Persons, the father, the ſonne, and the holy ſpirite, diuinct onely in names and offices, but all one and the ſame in nature, in eſſence, ſubtance, deitie, maiestie, glorie, power, might, and eternitie.

[.]

“When God had caſt *Adam* into a deade ſleepe, and made woman of a ribbe of his fide, hee brought her vnto him, and he knewe her freight way, and called her by her name. Coulde *Adam* in the ſtate of innocencie knowe his wife, hee lying in a dead ſleepe, whileſt ſhe was in making? And ſhall not we being reſtored to a farre more excellent dignitie and perfection, then euer was *Adam* in, not knowe one another? Shall our knowledge bee leſſe in heauen then it is in earth? Doo wee knowe one another in this life, where wee knowe but in part, and ſee as it were but in a Glaffe, and ſhall wee not knowe one an other in the life to come, where all ignorance ſhall bee done away?

“In the 16. of *Luke*, we reade howe that the riche man lying in hell, knewe *Abraham* and *Lazarus* in heauen. Then I reaſon thus: If the wicked that be in hell in torments do knowe those that be in heauen ſo farre aboue them: how much more ſhall the godly knowe one another, beeing altogether in one place, and fellowe Citizens in the kingdome of heauen? We reade alſo in the 17. of *Matth.* howe our Sauiour Chriſt, meaning to ſhewe vnto his diſciples, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, as it were a shadowe, or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, and therefore hee is ſayde to bee tranſfigured before them, and his face did ſhine as the Sunne, and his apparell was like the light. And there appeared vnto them *Moyſes* and *Elias*, ſayeth the text.

“Then it followeth, that if the Diſciples being in their naturall corruption, and but in shadowe or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, did knowe *Moyſes* and *Elias*, the one whereof dyed almoſte two thouſande yeareſ before, the other not much leſſe, howe much more ſhall wee knowe one another in the life to come, all corruption being taken

away, and we in the full fruition and possession of all the ioies & glory of heauen? This is my fait¹, this is my hope, & this is my trust; this hath [leaf C 2, back] the spirit of God taught me, and this haue I learned out of the booke of God. And (good Lord) that hast begun this goodnes in me, finish it, I beseech thee, & strengthen me that I may perfeuere therein to the ende, and in the ende, through Iesus Christ my onely Lord and sauiour." And she had no sooner made an end of this most heauenly confession of her faith, but Satan was readie to bid her the combate; whom she mightily repulsed, and vanquished, by the power of our Lord Iesus, on whom she constantly beleueed. And wheras before she looked with a sweet, louely, and amiable countenance, red as the rose, and most beautifull to beholde, now vpon the sudden, she bent the browes, she frowned, and looking (as it were) with an angry, . She scowld at him, and scornd him. stearne, & fierce countenance, as though she saw some filthie, vgglesome, and displeasant thing, she brust foorth into these speaches following, pronouncing her wordes as it were scornfully and disdainfully, in contempt of him to whom she spake.

A most wonderfull conflict betwixt Satan and her soule, and of her valiant conquest in the same, by the power of Christ.

How my Wife abus'd Satan.



Ow now, Satan? what makes thou here? Art thou come to tempt the Lords seruant? I tell thee, thou hel-hound, thou hast no part nor portion in Hell-hound, me, nor by the grace of God neuer shalt haue. I was, now am, and shalbe the Lords for euer. Yea, Satan, I was chosen and elected in Christ to euerlasting saluation, before the foundations of the world were laid: and therefore thou maist get the[e] packing, thou damned dog, & go shake thine eares, for in me hast thou nought. But what dost thou lay to my charge, thou foule fiend? Oh, that I am a sinner, and therefore shall be damned: I confesse in deede that I am a sinner, and a grieuous sinner, both by originall finne, and actuall finne; and that, I may thanke thee for. And therfore, Satan, I bequeath my finne to thee, from whome it first proceeded, and I appeale to the mercie of God in Christ Iesus. Christ came to sauе [leaf C 3] finners (as he saith himselfe) and not the righteous: 'behold the

be off!
Damned dog,
be gone!

Tho' I am a
sinner,

yet Christ's
blood has
cleansd me.

All my sins are
pardond for his
name's sake.

Deceitful devil,

Christ has paid
my debt to God
for me.

Firebrand of
Hell, auoid!

[leaf C 3, back]

Pack! Or I will
call on Michael.

Lambe of God (faith Iohn) that taketh away the finnes of the world.' And in another place, he crieth out : 'the blood of Iesus Christ doth cleanse vs from al finne.' And therefore, Satan, I constantly beleue that my finnes are washed away in the precious blood of Iesus Christ, and shall neuer be imputed vnto mee. For Christs righteousnesse is my righteousness, his holinesse my holines, his innocencie my innocencie, and his blood a full recompence and satissfaction for all my finnes. But what sayest thou more, Satan? Dost thou aske me how I dare come to him for mercy, he being a righteous God, and I a miserable sinner? I tell the, Satan, I am bolde thorow Christ to come vnto him, being assured and certaine of pardon and remission of all my finnes for his names sake. For, doth not the Lord bid all that be heauie laden with the burden of finne, to come vnto him, and he will ease them? Christes armes were spred wide open (Satan) vpon the Croffe (with that she spred her owne armes) to embrace me, and all penitent sinners: and therefore (Satan) I will not feare to present my selfe before his footstoole, in full assurance of his mercie for Christ his sake. What more, Satan? Doeſt thou say, it is written, that God wil reward euery one according to his works, or according to his deserts? But it is written againe, thou deceitfull deuill, that Christs righteousness is my righteousness, his works my works, his deserts my deserts, & his precious blood a full satissfaction for all my finnes. Oh, but God is a iust God, thou saiest, and therefore must needs in iustice condemne me. I grant (Satan) that he is a iust God, and therefore hee cannot in iustice punish me for my finnes, which hee hath punished alreadie in his sonne. It is against the law of iustice, to punish one fault twice. I was, and am, a great debtor vnto God the Father, but Christ Iesus hath paied the debt for me: and therefore it standeth not with the iustice of God to require it againe. And therefore auoid, Satan, auoid, thou firebrande of hell! auoid, thou damned dog, and tempt me no more! for he that is with me is mightier than thou, euen the mightie and victorious Lion of the tribe of *Iuda*, who hath bruized thy head, and hath promised to be with his children to the end of the world. Auoid therfore, thou daſtard, auoid, thou cowardly ſouldier, remoue thy ſiege, and yeelde the **field wonne**, & get thee packing, or else I wil cal vpon my grandcaptaine Christ Iesus, that valiant *Michael*, who beate thee in heauen,

and threw thee downe to hell, with all thy hellish traine, and diuelish crew." She had scarcely pronounced the last wordes, but she fell suddenly into a sweet smiling laughter, saying, " Now is he gone, now is he gone! do you not see him flie like a cowarde, and runne away like a beaten cocke? He hath lost the field, and I haue wonne the victorie, euen the garland, and crowne of euerlasting life; and that, not by my owne power or strength, but by the power and might of Iesu Christ, who hath sent his holy Angels to keepe me." And speaking to them that were by, she said, "would God you saw but what I see! Do you not see infinite millions of most glorious Angels stand about me, with firie charets ready to defend me, as they did the good prophet *Elizeus*. These holy Angels, these ministring spirits, are appointed by God to carrie my soule into the kingdome of heauen, where I shall behold the Lord face to face, and shall see him, not with other, but with these same eyes. Now am I happie and blessed for euer, for I haue fought the good fight, and by the might of Christ haue wonne the victorie. Now from henceforth shall I neuer taste neither of hunger nor cold, paine nor woe, miserie nor affliction, vexation nor trouble, feare nor dreade, nor of any other calamitie, or aduersitie, whatsoeuer. From henceforth is laid vp for mee a crowne of life, which Christ shal giue to those that feare him. And as I am now in possession thereof by hope, so shall I bee anon in full fruition thereof by presence of my soule, and hereafter of my bodie also, when the Lord doth please." Then she spake softly to her selfe as followeth. "Come, Lord Iesu, come, my loue Iesu, oh fende thy purseuant (sweet Iesu) to fetch me! Oh (sweet Iesu) strengthen thy seruant, & keepe thy promise!" Then sang she diuers Psalmes most sweetly, and with a chearefull voice: which done, she desired her husband that the 103. Psalme might bee sung before her to the Church. And further, shee desired him that hee woulde not mourne for her, alledging the Apostle *Paul*, where he faith: ' Brethren, I woulde not haue you to mourne, as men without hope, for them that die in the Lord': affirming that she was not in case to be mourned for, but rather to bee reioyced for: for that shee should passe (she saide) from earth to heauen; from men to holie Saints, to Angels, to Cherubins and Seraphins, yea to God himselfe. *After which* wordes, very suddenly, she seemed, as it were, greatly to reioyce, and to looke very cheere-

Then she laugh'd
for Satan ran off
like a beaten
cock.

She saw millions
of Angels about
her.

By Christ's
mighty she had
won the victory.

She call'd on
Jesus to fetch
her.

She sang Psalms
sweetly.

She bade me not
mourn for her.

[leaf C 4]

She lookt
cheerfully,

and welcomd
death;

commended her
spirit to her
God,

and then slept
sweetly in the
Lord.

She was but 18
when she died.
May we all
follow her
example!

fully, as though she had seene some glorious sight: and lifting vp her whole body, and stretching foorth both her armes, as though shée would imbrace something, said: “I thanke my God, through Iefus Christ, he is come, he is come, my good Iayler is come to let my foule out of prisoun! Oh sweet death, thou art welcome, welcome, sweet death! neuer was there any guest so welcome to mee as thou art! Welcome, the messenger of euerlafting life: welcome, the doore and enterance into euerlafting life: welcome (I say), and thrise welcome, my good Iayler! do thy office quickly, and set my soule at libertie. Strike (sweet death), strike my heart, I feare not thy blowe. Now it is done. Father, into thy blessed hands I commend my spirit! Sweete Iefus, into thy blessed hands I commend my spirit! Blessed spirit of God, I commit my soule into thy handes! Oh most holy, blessed, and glorious Trinitie, three persons and one true euerlafting God, into thy blessed handes I commit both my soule and my bodie:” at which wordes her breath sttaied; and so, neither mouing hand nor foot, she slept sweetly in the Lord.

Thus haft thou heard (gentle Reader) the discourse of the vertuous life and christian death of this faithfull seruaunt of God, Mistresse *Katherine Stubbes*: which is so much the more wonderfull, in that she was but yong and tender of yeares, not exceeding the number of xviii. when she departed this life. The Lorde giue vs all grace to follow her good example, that we may come to those vnspeakeable ioyes wherin she now resteth, through Iefus Christ our Lorde; to whome with the Father, and the holy Ghoft, be all honour, glorie, praise, dominion, and thankeggiuing, both nowe and euermore. Amen.

F I N I S. P. S. Gent.

EXTRACTS FROM
THE 1610 EDITION OF
PHILIP STUBBES'S
PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE,
WITH
A SHORT TREATISE
OF
PRAIERS AND SUPPLICATIONS,
WRITTEN IN 1592.

[The original is a pretty little dumpty volume, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches broad. Collation ¶ 1-8. A. to T in 8s. ¶ 1, the 1st leaf, is blank; the last leaf and page before it (T. 8 and 7 back) are blank too; all the leaves are bordered. Mr Hy. Huth's copy (from Heber's library), which he has kindly lent me, is in its original gilt vellum cover, with the initials R D, separated by a rose, on each of the two sides. The borders and initials in this partial reprint are not of the same patterns as those in the original.]

CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S *PATHWAY*,

ED. 1592 (AND 1610).

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¶ 1. Blank. ¶ 2. Title. ¶ 3. The Epistle Dedicatore. ¶ 8. † The Preface. A 2. Certaine Graces to bee saide before and after meat. A 3. Thankesgiving after meate. A 3, bk. Another prayer before meate. A 4, bk. An other praier after meate. A 5. A praier before meate. A 6. A thankesgiving after meate. A 7. A note to knowe the beginning and ending of the fourtearmes of the yeare. (A 8, back, blank.) B 1. Speciall Meditations for all times and for all persons. B 4, bk. Precepts and directions for the morning. B 5. Meditations in the morning. B 6, bk. Meditations to bee considered of at the rising of the Sunne. C 1. A praier for the morning. C 4. Precepts at thy going foorth of thy Chamber. C 4, bk. Meditations in the washing of ones face and hands. C 5, bk. A prater to be said at the washing of ones face and hands. C 6. Meditations before and at dinner. C 7. A praier before meate. C 8. Directions how a Christian should behauie himselfe at the table. D 1. † A Thanks-giving to God after dinner. D 2. Meditations after dinner. D 3, bk. Directions how to behauie thy selfe before and after Supper. D 4, bk. A thankes giudging [so] to God before Supper. D 6, bk. A thankesgiving to God after Supper. D 7. Directions of Christian behauior after Supper. D 8. † Meditations when thou comest into thy chamber. E 2, bk. † A Prayer when sleepe cometh vpon one. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> E 6. † A Praier when one awakes out of sleepe. E 6, bk. † Meditations when one awaketh out of sleepe. E 7. † A Praier to be said at the break of the day. E 8. † Meditations at the appearing of the day. F 1. † A Praier when one ariseth forth of his bed. F 1, bk. † Meditations when one ariseth out of his bed. F 2, bk. † A praier to be said at the putting on of a mans clothes. F 3. † Christian directions for the Morning. F 5. † [Fresh Title.] A SHORT / Treatise, of <i>praier</i> / and <i>Supplications</i>; / COMPRISING / a briefe summe of all such / things as we stand / in need of in this / life. / By the same Author. / P. S. Gent. / (F 5, back, blank.) F 6. † A Praier for the Morning. F 7. † A Prayer for the Euening. F 8, bk. † A generall confession of our sins to God the Father, necessary to be said at all times. G 3, bk. A confession of our sinnes to Christ Jesus our saiuour, with desire of forgiuenes. G 5. A fruitfull praier to God the holie Ghost. G 6, bk. A Praier for the Queenes¹ Maiestie. G 8, bk. A praier to be said of all such as be maiestates and rulers in the common wealth. H 2. A praier for the increase of faith. H 3, bk. A praier against the deuell, the world and the flesh. H 4, bk. A praier for Gods direction in all things which we take in hand. H 5, bk. A praier for a competent and a necessarie liuing. H 7, bk. A praier for grace that wee may vse our wealth to the glorie of God. |
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¹ Kings, ed. 1610, which also alters *her* to *his*, and [our soueraine] 'Ladie and gouernes' to 'Lord and gouerner.'

† From the 1610 edition, my copy of the 1592 one being imperfect.

[Continued at back of Title.]

A perfect Pathway

to Felicitie,

Containing godlie

Meditations, and Pray-
ers, fit for all times, and
necessarie to be prac-
ticed of all good
Chrifrians.

AT LONDON,
Imprinted by *Humphrey*
Lownes, dwelling on
Bread Street hill, at
the signe of the
Star. 1610.

CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S *PATHWAY*, 1592, 1610.

- | | |
|--|---|
| I 1. A praier to be said of women with childe. | Gods holie Angels in any extremitie or neede whatsoeuer. |
| I 3. A praier for godly wisedome. | M 3, bk. A praier against sudden death. |
| I 4, bk. A praier against all kind of enemies. | M 5. A praier for one that is sickle, and at the poynt of death. |
| I 6. A praier when one taketh a iourney in hand. | M 7, bk. A praier for those that be rich and wealthie. |
| I 7, bk. A thanksgiving to God after ones returme home from his iourney. | N 1, bk. A praier for those that bee poore and needie. |
| K 1. A praier for euerie subiect of a common wealth. | N 3. A praier for the increase and preseruation of the fruits of the earth. |
| K 2, bk. A praier to be said of those that be vnmaried. | N 4, bk. A praier against couetousnes and auarice. |
| K 3, bk. A praier to be said of those that are maried. | N 6, bk. A praier to be said before the reading, studying, or hearing of Gods word. |
| K 5, bk. A praier to be said of those that be maisters of households. | N 8. A praier against swearing. |
| K 7. A praier to be said of seruants. | O 1, bk. A praier against drunkennesse. |
| K 8. A praier to obtaine the grace and fauour of God. | O 3. A praier against slouthfulnessse and idlenesse. |
| L 2. A praier to God for a quiet conscience. | O 4. A praier for those that are persecuted for the truth. |
| L 3, bk. A praier for a true and liuely faith. | O 6, bk. A praier for Godly wisedome. |
| L 4, bk. A praier for loue and charitie. | O 7, bk. A praier for grace to be mindfull to die. |
| L 6. A praier against pride, and for humilitie. | P 1, bk. † A. Thanks-giving to God for all his graces and blessings bestowed vpon vs. |
| L 7. A praier for a good name. | |
| L 8, bk. A praier for patience in sicknesse. | |
| M 2. A praier for the assistance of | |

The first edition of 1592 ends on the back of sign. P 5.

1592.

uerlastig GOD bee all / honour, glorie,
prayse do^l/minion power, and
thanks/giuing for euermore.
Amen.

*Vni Deo & trino sit,
omnis gloria*

FINIS.

[Ornament.]

The after prayers in ed. 1610 are:—(2) A Prayer for the forgiuenes of sinnes (P 6, back). (3) Another (Q 3). (4) Praye and (5) Prayer for Gods mercy towards vs (Q 5, back). (6) A Prayer, in meditating on Christs Passion (R 1, back). (7) Another (R 5). (8) A Prayer to Christ in glorie (R 6, back). (9) A Prayer before the hearing of Gods word (R 8). (10) A Prayer for Gods Grace (S 2). (11) A Prayer for confidence in God alone (S 3, back). (12) A Prayer for true enlightning (S 4, back). (13) A Prayer that the olde man may die in vs (S 6, back). (14) A Prayer to be vsed by the sickle (T 2). (15) A Prayer, in the time of Pestilence (T 5). *Finis.* (T 7, front). Back of T 7, and T 8, blank, tho' with borders.

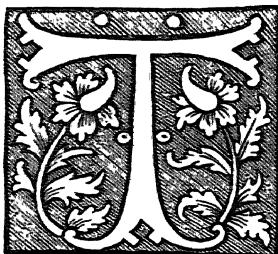
* sign. P 5, back.

and euerlastig GOD, be
all honour, glorie, praise,
mighty power maiestie and
dominion, now and for euer.
Amen.

(1) A Praier for the Church.

O Singular louer of vs,
Christ Iesu, O Bride-
grome to whom thy Church
is most deare, and which hast
promised that thou wilt ne-
uer fail her: increase her; . . .

To the right worshipfull,
vertuous, and godlie Gentle-
woman, Mistresse Katherine
Milward, most faithful spouse
to the no lesse worshipfull, wise and
religious Gentleman, Master Willi-
am Milward. Esquire, P. S. wilheth
all happie successe in this life, with in-
crease of worship, and in the life
to come, eternal felicity in the
Heauenly Hierachie by
Iesus Christ.



Wo things peraduenture (Right Worshipfull)
may be maruailed at, concerning this little
book: ²as namely, first, why I haue pub-
lished it, confidering the great number of
Books, either of the same, or verie like
Argument, extant in these dayes. Secondly,
wherfore I haue dedicated it rather unto³
you then to anie other. For the first, I
protest before God, who knoweth the secrets
of all hearts, I haue not published it, either for vain glory, lucre, or
⁴gaines, nor yet for any other priuate respect of my owne whatsoeuer;
but at the instant request and earnest desire of one of my verie good
friends, and alliance also, who yet being living, & the onely man that
hath borne the whole charges of the impression thereof, both can, & I
know will (if need should require) iufifie the same against any that
shold ⁵auerre the contrarie. And for the second, when I confidered
with my selfe how much bound I haue alwaies beeene to your worship

¹ sign. ¶ 3.

⁴ sign. ¶ 4.

² sign. ¶ 3, back.

³ vnsr orig.

⁵ sign. ¶ 4, back.

ever since the time that I was first acquainted with you, for your good opinion you have euer conceiued of me, & sundrie other your courtesies shewed towards me, far beyond my deserts or expectation: As also when I called to remembrance your feruent zeale which you haue euer born to the word of God & holy religion, your exquisite knowledge therein, your careful indeuour to put the same in practise, & to frame your life therafter: Briefly, when I remembred your maruaulous humilitie & lowlinesse of mind, your wonderfull modestie, gentlenesse, and affability, your rare continencie and integricie of life, with infinite the like vertues and graces, wherewith God hath beautified & adorned your worship aboue manie others; I say, when I remembred these things, with many mo, I doe no leſſe (hauing ſo fit an occation giuen me by reaſon of my friends importunacie) then to dedicate these my labors to your ³worſhip, though not as a guerdon anſwerable to your deserts, yet as an infallible teſtimonie, pledge, and token of my thankful goodwill and grateful heart towards you. And albeit that in reſpect of the formal method of the booke (for herein I haue not ſtudied to be curioſus), it may ſeeme to be base and contemptible, and ſuch as is farre unworthy to bee ⁴exhibited, to ſo wife, ſo discreet, ſo godly, & religious a gentlewoman; yet in regard of the matter, which is heauenly and diuine, I moſt humbly beſeech you to accept therof, and to permit the ſame to go forth to the view of the worlde under the gard of your protecſion, and to patronize both the author & the booke againſt the poyſoned tongues of railiſng Phormions & flouting Momuffes, to whom all good things are had in diſdaine. And in ſo doing, both God Jhall bee glorified by you, the church & Saints ſhall praise God in you, & I my ſelue (besides that I will not reſt vntaſkfull to you to the death) will not ceafe alſo to pray to God for you. And thus I moſt humblie take my leaue. From my

⁶ Chamber, this preſent
tenths of Aprill.

1592.

Your Worſhips in the Lord.

Philip Stubs.

¹ sign. ¶ 5.

² sign. ¶ 5, back.

³ sign. ¶ 6.

⁴ sign. ¶ 6, back.

⁵ sign. ¶ 7.

⁶ sign. ¶ 7, back.

¹Precepts at thy going forth
of thy Chamber.



HEN thou goest foorth of thy chamber, salute thy bed fellow (if thou haft anie), giuing him the time of the day, and in meeting others doe the like (for ciuilie requireth it). And when thou commest into the presence of thy Parents, not onely salute them, but also fall downe vpon thy knees before them, ²and desire them to praie to God to bless thee. When thou haft so don, wash thy face & thy hands, & keep thy body cleane and neat: in the doing wherof, meditate thus with thy selfe.

• Meditations in the washing
of ones face and hands.



S y^e filthines and pollution of my bodie is washed & made clean by y^e element of water; so is my ³bodie and soule purified and washed from the spots & blemishes of sin, by the precious blood of Iesu Christ. Think, also, this washing putteth me in remembrance of my baptism, of my spiritual birth and regeneration, whereby I am not onelie borne anew by the operation of the Holy-ghost, but also am sealed vp to eternall saluation, thorowe the redemption that is in Christ. These Meditations ended, pray as followeth:

⁴A praier to be said at the wa-
shing of ones face & hands.



Oft gracious God, and louing Father, who haft giuen thy onelie begotten Son Iesu Christ, to suffer death vpon the Croffe for my redemption; graunt, I most intirely beseech thee, for his sake, that as this my bodie is now washed

¹ sign. C 4.

² C 4, back.

³ C 5.

⁴ C 5, back.

and made cleane by the element of materiall water, so my body and soule maie both bee purified & purged from all vncleanesse and filthinesse of sinne, thorow the efficacie of thy sonne his most precious bloud. These things thus ordered, go forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things to his glorie, and the good of thy brethren.

Directions how a Christian
should behauie himselfe at
the Table.

When thou commest to the Table, shew all obeyiance and curtefie, behauing thy selfe modestlie, humbly, and soberly, as in the presence of God. Eate so much as nature requireth, not how much infatiable appetite desireth. Be spare, as well of hande as tongue. Let thy countenance be amiable and pleasant toward all men. Let all thy communication bee seafoned with salt, as the Apostle speaketh, that it maie giue grace to the hearers, remembraunce that wee must giue accounts at the daie of iudgement for euerie idle word. Vse not to laugh much, to iest, or scoffe, to floute or mocke, to deride, backbite, or ¹detract anie man behinde his backe, but in all things so demeanor thy selfe, that thou maist neither dishonour thy God, nor giue either offence or euill example vnto any at the table. Dinner being ended, giue God thanks as followeth.

A Thankf-giuing to God
after dinner.

Most holy-father, Lord of heauen & earth, I giue thee thankes in ²the name of Iefus Christ for all thy benefites and blessings in mercy bestowed vpon mee euer since I was borne. And namelie, O Father, I praise thee for feeding my hungry body, as alwaies heretofore, so now presentlie at this time, with earthlie foode; beseeching thee to feede my soule likewise with the

¹ sign. D.

² sign. D, back.

celestiall foode of thy holie word. And I pray thee, good Lord, that as thou haft giuen vnto mee the vse of these ¹earthly creatures in great measure, so thou wilt in mercie vouchsafe to giue vnto me the continual supply of all my necessities & wants, needfull either for my soule, or bodie, to the end, and in the end, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord.

²A Thanks-giuing to God
before Supper.



Ather of mercie, and God of all truth, looke downe, I beseech thee, from the throne of thy heauenly palace vpon vs thy humble seruants, albeit most wretched and miserable finners: sanctifie both our bodies & soules, by the presence of thy holie Spirite, and blesse these thy creatures vnto vs: giue them strength to nourish our bodies, and our bodies their naturall powers and force, euerie member to performe his office and dutie, according as thou haft appointed, & as thou seest to bee best for thy glorie, and the sustaining and repairing of our ruinous and weake natures. And we praiе thee, good father, also, to feede our soules with the celestiall *Manna* of thy blessed worde, and bring vs once to suppe with thee in the kingdome of heauen, thorow the precious bloud of Iesus Christ.

Then fall to thy meate reuerently, as before at dinner, hauing alwaies a diligent eye, that thou abuse not the good creatures of GOD, by gluttony, drunkenesse, gourmandise, or any other kinde of riot or exceſſe. Remember that nature is ſatiſſed with a little; and what is more then will ſuffice nature is ſuperfluouſ; and one daie thou ſhalt be accomptable for it to the great Judge of all the earth. Thy body beeing ſatiſſed, forget not to relieue the necessities of the Saints, according to thy abilitie, that God maie blesſe thee, & multiplie thy ſtore. When Supper is ended, giue god thanks, either as followeth, or otherwife, as the ſpirit of God ſhall illuminate thy heart.³

¹ sign. D 2.

² sign. D 4, back.

³ Ends D 6, front.

¹A Thanks-giuing to God
after Supper.

 H Lord our God, most gratiouſe & holy father, we render all praife & thanks-giuing to thy soueraigne maiestie, for all thy benefites and blesſinges ſo plentifullly beftowed vpon vs. And namelie² we thanke thee (holy father) for theſe thy good creatures, which thou haſt at this preſent in full meaſure giuen vnto vs. Oh Lord, make vs thankefull for them, & pardon our vnthankfulneſſe, for Iefus Christ his fake. Finally, make vs all thy true, obedient, & faithfull ſeruants, and bring vs to euerlaſting life in thy good time, for thy great mercieſ fake in thy beloued, Amen.

Directions of Christian behauing
our after supper.

 He reſt of the time after Supper, vntill thou goeft to bedde,³ ſpend with thy familie, either in ſinging of Psalmes and ſpirituall ſongs, ſinging and making melodie to the Lord in your hearts; or else in conſerring, reaſoning, diſputing, and talking of the word of God, in reading, expounding, or interpreting of the ſame. Then, when time calleth thee to goe to bed, call thy whole houſholde together in ſome conuenient place, make publike confeſſion of your finnes to God the Father, craue⁴ pardon and forgiueneffe for Iefus Chrifts fake, and praie for grace to bee able to refiſt ſin hereaſter, with all means, waies, & allurements leading thereunto. Which done, repaire to thy chamber, reuoluing with thy ſelfe theſe and the like things following.

¹ D 6, back. ² especially. ³ D 7, back. ⁴ sign. D 8.

Meditations when thou co-
mest into thy chamber.



Hen thou art come into thy chamber, call to ¹thy remembrance what euill thou haft committed that daie past, either in thought, word, or deed, towards GOD, or towards man, and the good which thou shouldest haue done, and haft not done. If thou haft seene or heard anie good thing in any man, note it, learne it, and priae for grace to follow it. If againe thou haft seene or heard anie euill in anie man, note it in thy selfe, and pray for grace to eschewe it. This done, kneele ²downe by thy bed side, confesse thy sins to GOD the Father, craue pardon for Iesus Christ his sake, and priae to him to protec^t thee that night, and to defende thee vnder the shadowe of his wings, from all perilles and daungers both bodilie and ghostly. Thy clothes being put off, meditate thus with thy selfe. ‘Oh what a filthy, vncleane, & vgglesome carkasse doe I beare about with me, that for very shame ³had neede to bee couered with garments!’ Thinke also from what an excellent state and dignity (in regard of thy first creation) thou art fallen, by reason of the filthines of sin. Then thinke, that if thy apparell were giuen thee for verie necessities sake, to couer and hide thy shame withall, what reason haft thou to be proud thereof? For should a begger be proude of the cloutes that wrap his fores? Thinke also, that as thou ⁴canst not without thy shame stand before men, naked and bare, so canst thou not without shame and confusion of face stand before the maiestie of God, except thou be clothed & inuested with the garment of Christs righeteousnes and holinesse. Finally think, that as thou putttest off and layest aside thy materiall garment, so shalt thou once, and peraduenture before thou risest againe, put off and lay away the earthly mansion of thy ⁵body, committing it to mother earth againe, from whence it first came. When sleep commeth vpon thee, pray as followeth.

¹ D 8, back.

² sign. E.

³ sign. E 1, back.

⁴ sign. E 2.

⁵ sign. E 2, back.

A Prayer when sleepe com-
meth upon one.



Oft mercifull Father, with whome there is no difference of time, nor varietie of chaunge, seeing thou haſt appointed the daie for man to trauaile in, and the ¹night for him to take his naturall rest, I beseech thee that as my bodie hath beene occupied and employed this daie in the labours of this life, so it maie receiue by thy protection quiet rest and sleepe this night, that I may be the abler to goe forwarde in the exercise of good works, in the rest of my life that I haue to liue, to the praise and glorie of thy blessed name: and in this my sleepe defend mee, I beseech thee, from all perilles ²and daungers, and from all the force and violence of mine enemies both spirituall and corporall. And as it maie please thee to graunt to my bodie quiet rest and sleepe; so let it be thy good pleasure to make my soule watchfull and vigilant to waite vpon thee, and diligently to looke for the comming of thy deare sonne Iefus Christ vnto iudgement for my redemption. Keepe me from all fearefull dreams and visions, from all phantaſtical apparitions & diuelish illusions of the wicked enemie, from all carnall pollutions & vngodlie fuggetions of the wicked spirite. Finally graunt, that both my bodie and my soule, resting vnder thy diuine protection, may be safe from all enmitie & hostilitie whatsoeuer, and at the last maie attaine euerlasting life, thorough Iefus Christ, my onelie Sauiour & Redeemer. This done, dispose thy selfe to rest, com⁴mitting both thy bodie and soule into the hands of God, praying him to be thy watchman that night. Then descend thou into the secrets⁵ closets and priuie chambers of thine heart, search every place, and ransacke euerie corner; and if thou findeſt anie filthinesſe or vncleanenesſe therein (as indeed thou ſhalt finde nothing else) wash it away with the teares of repentance, & make it cleane with the broome of contrition. Then thinke thus ⁶with thy ſelfe; ‘ My bed dooth represent vnto me my

¹ sign. E 3.

⁴ secretest? or ſecret

² sign. E 3, back.

⁵ E 4, back.

³ sign. E 4

⁶ E 5.

graue, wherein I must once sleepe; and the clothes, the earth, where-withall I shall shortlie be couered in my sepulchre or graue: And as these fleas and gnats do bite & gnaw my skinne, so shall the wormes eate and consume the frame of my bodie, in the dust of the earth, when the Lord doth please.' When the morning beginneth to dawn, and the daystarre to appeare,¹ thinke thus; 'As now the morning commeth on, and the daie starre beginneth to appeare, so shall Christ Iesus, the true morning star, shew himselfe at the time appointed of his Father, to judge both the quicke and the dead.' And when thou hearest the crowing of the Cocke, the sounding of belles, or anie other noise whatsoeuer, think alwaies, that thou hearest the Trumpe of the Archangell sound, saying, 'Arise, you dead ²and come vnto iudgement.' When thou awakest out of sleepe, praiere to this effecte as followeth.

A Praier when one awakes

out of sleepe.



Ercifull father, grant that as thou haft now awaked my earthly body out of this naturall sleepe, so thou wilt also vouchsafe to raise me vp from the sleep of sin, and in the general resurrection of all ³flesh, to eternall life, thorow Iesus Christ my only Sauour & Redeemer.

⁴Christian directions for the Morning.

 Hen thou haft attired thyselfe decently and comely, not pompously, nor proudly, goe forth of thy ⁵chamber, and if thou beeest a master of a househoulde, call thy familie together, confesse your finnes, craue pardon for Iesus Christ his sake, pray for grace to resist finne hereafter, prayse God for all his benefites and blessings in mercie bestowed vpon you, pray for continuance of them. Thanke him for your protection that night, beseeching him to protect you that day, and to bleffe all your workes and labours. And fi⁶nally, desire him

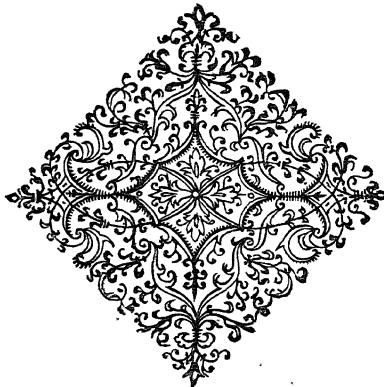
¹ E 5, back. ² E 6. ³ E 6, back. ⁴ on sign. F 3.

⁵ F 3, back.

⁶ sign. F 4.

to keepe and defend you that day, and euer, from all perils and dangers, both bodily and ghoſtly whatſoever, and to bring you to euerlaſting life at the time appointed, through the precious blood of Iefus Christ. This done, goe forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things with ſingle eie and good conſcience, to the praise of him that made thee; being assured that as in mercie hee will not leauē the leaſt¹ good worke that wee do, vnrewarded; ſo in iuſtice hee will not leauē the leaſt euill that wee doe commit, either in thought, word, or deed, vnpunished, except we repent. To God, therefore, our Father, to Christ Iefus our Sauour and redeemer, and to God the Holie-ghoſt our Comforter and Sanctifier, three persons and one true and euerliuing God, bee all honour, glorie, praife, dominion & thanks-giuing for euermore. Amen.

¹ F 4, back.



A S H O R T
Treatise, of praiers
and Supplica-
tions;

C O M P R I S I N G

a brief summe of all such
things as we stand
in need of in this
life.

By the same Authour,

P. S. Gent.

¹A Praier for the Queenes
Maiestie.



E render all prayse and thanks to thee, oh ²king of all kings, and gouernour of all things, for that in the multitude of thy mercies thou hast vouchesafe to place ouer vs thy little flock, so godly & vertuous a guide, so gracious & wise a princes, as the worlde neuer had her peere.

And we humblie pray thee, holie father, with thy fauourable countenance to beholde the same thy seruant, our souereigne Ladie and gouernessee. And so sanctifie her heart with the grace of thy ³holie spir[i]te, that shee maie bend all her studie and indeuour to y^e setting forth of thy glorie, y^e maintenance of thy holie religion, the aduaancement of true vertue and godlines, the supplanting of vice and commoditie of this her maiesties common weale vnder thee: kindle in her a feruent zeale of thy glory and a vehement desire to establish whatsoeuer is defectiue or wanteth in this thy Church & vineyard in England, for the ⁴true & sincere discipline & gouernment of thy church & common welth. Saue and defend her from al forreigne power, & authoritie, from all traitterous conspiracies, plots and practises, either of papists, Atheists, or any other sectaries whatsoeuer. Giue her godlie, wife, & religious counsailers, such as may respect onlie thy glorie, that her maiestie ruling acording to thy wil, they counselling according to the inspiration of thy holy spirit, ⁵and we her subiects faithfully obeying, may altogether in the end receiue the incorruptible crowne of eternall glorie in the heauenlie Hierusalem, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

¹ From ed. 1592, sign. G 6, back. ² sign. G 7. ³ G 7, back.
⁴ sign. G 8. ⁵ G 8, back.

A Prayer for a Competent &
a necessary living.

O Lord our GOD, most gratiouſe & holie father,¹ whose loue towardes men in Christ Iefus is infinite and vnspeakeable, & whose tender care ouer him is ſuch, that thou haſt promiſed that whosoeuer beleeweth in thee, dependeth vpon thy prouidence, and ſeeketh his relieve at thy bleſſed handes, ſhall neuer want anie good thing, eyther neceſſarie for foule or bodie: Therefore, moſt gracious Father, I thy fielie creature, of my ſelfe poore, yea, pouertie and nakedneſſe ²it ſelfe, moſt intirelie beſeech thee, for Iefus Christ his fake, that thou wilt giue vnto mee a competent and a neceſſarie liuing, as meate, drinke, and cloth, with all other things needfull for my bodie; that pinching pouertie oppreſſe mee not, nor that I be not drawen to attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes for the main-tenance of my life. To this end therefore (good father) bleſſe my ſtore, and repleniſh my basket with thy ³blessings, that I maie be able, thorow thy beneficiale liberalitie, to liue out of debt and danger of all men, and to occupie my ſelfe in the exerciſe & praetiſe of good workeſ, to the relieve of them that haue neede, and the ſetting forth of thy honor & glory, thorow Iefus Christ our Lord. Amen.

⁴A praier to be ſaid of thoſe
that be unmaried.

SH Lord our God, in as much as thou haſt commaunded in thy bleſſed word, the word of truthe, that wee, abſtayning from all whooredome, and fornication, and vncleanneſſe, ſhould keepe our veſſelles in holineſſe, and not in ye filthy luſts of the fleſh, as do the heathen, who know not thee: I beſeech thee therfore to giue mee grace to perform this thy moſt holy Commandement, and graunt that I neuer pollute nor defile my bodie with whoredome, fornication, nor any other vncleanneſſe. And because, O Lord, chaſtitie of the bodie

¹ sign. H 6.

² sign. H 6, back.

³ sign. H 7.

⁴ sign. K 2, back.

⁵ K 3.

is nothing, without the continencie of the minde, bridle therefore, I beseech thee, all the motions and affections of my heart ; that I, banishing all wicked thoughts and vncleane imaginations out of ¹my mind, may liue in all holy innocencie, puritie, and integrity, both of bodie & soule, vnto my liues ende, thorow the efficacy, power, & strength of the pretious bloud of Iesus Christ, Amen.

A Prayer to bee said
*of those that be
maried.*

Oly Father, wee are taught by thy sacred word, the breath of thy own mouth, that after ²thou hadst created all things, the last of all other thou createdst man, & woman of a rib of his fide, giuing her vnto him in holy wedlocke, adding vnto them thy bleffing, saying : ‘ Increase and multiplie, and replenish the earth : ’ I giue thee most humble & harty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to call me to the honorable state of mariage. And I most heartily beseech thee that we may liue together in thy true faith, feare, and loue, all the daies of ³our liues. Giue vs grace, the one to loue the other, & both of vs to loue thee, and our brethren for thy sake. Keepe vs (good lord) farre from all wicked ielosie, hatred, malice, and contention one with the other. And as our bodies are incorporate together, and become, as it were, but one bodie ; so vouchsafe, holy father, that as thy owne Turtle doves, we may liue togither in chasfitie and continencie, both of bodies and mindes, ⁴without defrauding one the other. And if it please thee to bleffe vs with children, giue vs grace to bring them vp in such holy exercises, discipline, and learning, as thou requirest of vs in this life. Grant that wee may labour and trauaile, either of vs in our vocation, that by thy bleffing, we may alwaies haue sufficient to maintain our estates withall in thy holie feare ; that wee be not chargeable to others, but liuing forth of debt ⁵and

¹ sign. K 3, back.

⁴ sign. K 5.

² sign. K 4.

³ sign. K 4, back.

⁵ sign. K 5, back.

danger of all men, maie be rich & plentifull in all good works, to the praiſe & glorie of thy blessed name, thorow Iefus Christ our Lord, to whom be praiſe and glorie for euermore, Amen.

A Prayer to be said of
*thoſe that be masters
 of houſholds.*



Hou haſt commanded (oh gratiouſ Lord God) by thy bleſſed Apoſtle, *that* maſters ¹ ſhould intreate their ſeruants gently and courteouſly, putting away all biſterneſſe and threatning, doing vnto them all equitie and iuſtice, knowing *that* thou art our common maſter in heauen: graunt me grace, therfore (good Lord), ſo to order my ſeruants, as I neuer attempt nor enterpriſe anie vnrighteous thing againſt them, but ſo to execute my authoritiue ouer them, as I maie alwayes remember that thou art the Lord and ² maſter of vs all, and reſpecteſt no mans person. Make me, O Lord, to be the ſame vnto them, that a good Paſtor is to his flocke, to teach them by wordes thy holie lawes, and by example of life, true righteouſneſſe and holineſſe in conuerſation, that they and I togither, in thy good time, may all inherite euerlaſting life, by Christ our Lord, Amen.

³ A Prayer to be ſaid of
ſeruants.

 Lord our GOD, ſeeing thou haſt ordayneſt ſundry degrees and ſtaſtes of men in this life, and amonſt them all haſt appointed ⁴ mee to bee a Seruant, giue me grace, I beſeech thee, to ſerue in my vocation faithfully, and to obey willinglie in all things not repugnant to thy bleſſed will, not with eye ſeruice as ⁵ ſtudying to please men, but with all ſinceritie and ſinglenesse of heart, as ſeeking to glorifie thee: being thorowlie perfwaded that in ſeruing them, I ſerue thee, and of thee ſhall receiue my reward. Giue mee grace to demeane

¹ sign. K 6.

² K 6, back.

³ sign. K 7.

⁴ Appointest, orig.

⁵ sign. K 7, back.

my selfe faithfully, iuſtie, and trulie towards all men, in all things, and not to inrich my ſelfe by picking, ſtealing, imbezeling, purloyning, or conueyng anie thing from anie man by any finifter practice ¹whatſoever; but ſo to behauē my ſelfe towards all men, as there may be no fault found in me: that thy name may be glorified, and my ſaluation in Christ Iefus fealed vp vnto mee. Grant this, O Lord, for thy mercies ſake, Amen.

²A Prayer in the time of Pestilence.

AT is no marueil, O moft righteous Father, that the elements of this worlde are fierce againſt vs, ſometime with earthquakes, ſometime with tempeſts & lightnings, ſometimes with ouerflowing ³of Seas & Riuers, ſometime with peſtilent concouſes of the heauenlie lights, and ſometime with corruption of the infected ayre: for we do commonly abufe thy gifts. We acknowledge, that euē in this caſe alſo the creatures ferue and obeie their Creator, whose commandements wee neglect ſo oftentimes. Alſo wee acknowledge thy fatherlie nurturing of vs, whereby thou calleſt vs backe from ⁴the truſt of this world with gentle correction, and draweſt vs to the deſire of the euerlaſting life. We humblie beſeech thee to remember thy mercy euē in thy wrath, and fauorablie to withdrawe the affiſtions which thou haſt laid vpon vs in thy diſpleaſure. The infection of ye peſtilence ſhall do vs no great harm, if we withdrawe our ſelues from the infection of finne. But both thoſe things are of thy gift, O ⁵Father of mercie, namelie, as well to haue our mindes free from the poſon of finne, as to haue our bodies ſafe from ye infection of ye plague. Such as haue fastened the Anchor of their hope in this life, are wont in their perils to flie for remedie to ſuch ſhifts as theſe: namely, ſome to certain Saints, as to S. Rooke, or S. Anthonie; and ſome to the pernicious Art of witchcraft. But we, who are fully perſuaded that no ⁶man can eſcape thy hand

¹ sign. K 8.

² On sign. T 5.

³ sign. T 5, back.

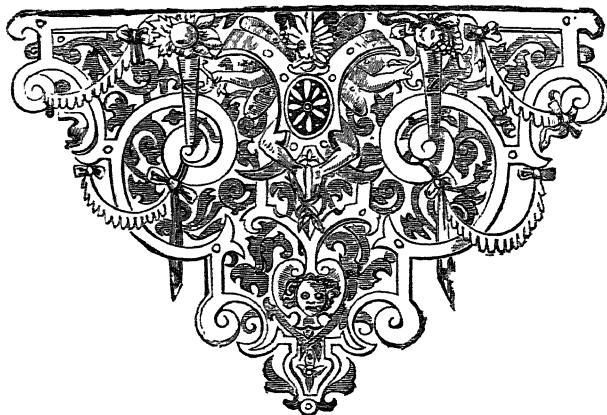
⁴ sign. T 6.

⁵ sign. T 6, back.

⁶ sign. T 7.

beleeue there is no such safetie as to refert to thy selfe, and to flie from thy iustice to thy mercie, as to the surest and safest sanctuarie that can be, forasmuch as thou neuer forlakeſt them that put theyr trust in thy goodneſſe ; vnder whose protection, euen they that dye are ſafe. To thee therefore bee praife for euermore, Amen.

F I N I S.



¹A praier to be said of all such
*as be maiestrates and rulers in
 the common wealth.*



Orafmuch as it hath pleased thee, oh eternall God, ruler of all kinges and ²kingdoms, to constitute and appoint me (though altogether vneworthie) to be a ruler and gouernour of thy people vnder my soueraigne, I beseech thee, giue me grace, so to execute my office, and minister iustice in the common wealth, that I maie please thee in all things, iniurie no man, opprefse no man, damnifie no man, neither in bodie, nor in goods, but by thy gracious working, may iudge iustly³, neither fauoring ⁴the rich nor mightie for defire of gifts, nor yet despising the poore for want of rewardes, that I, seeking thy glorie, the aduaancement of thy holie word, and Gospell, and the common benefite of all men, may be found acceptable vnto thee in thy beloued, and may heare that sweete haruest song⁵, ‘well, good seruant, thou hast beene faithfull in small thinges of this life, (which are but vanities and trifles to the things in the life to come) enter into the ioy of the Lord’. Oh Lord, let it be so, for Iesus Christ his sake. Amen.

¹ From ed. 1592, sign. G 8, back. Given for Justice Shallow's sake.

² sign. H.

³ Compare *2 Henry IV*, Act V. sc. i. :—

Davy. I beseech you, sir, to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the hill.

Shal. There are many complaints, Davy, against that Visor; that Visor is an arrant knave on my knowledge.

Davy. I grant your worship, that he is a knave, sir: but yet, God forbid sir, but a knave should have some countenance at his friend's request. An honest man, sir, is able to speak for himself, when a knave is not. I have served your worship truly, sir, these eight years; and if I cannot once or twice in a quarter bear out a knave against an honest man, I have but a very little credit with your worship. The knave is mine honest friend, sir; therefore, I beseech your worship, let him be countenanced.

Shal. Go to; I say, he shall have no wrong. Look about, Davy.

[*Exit Davy.*]

⁴ H 1, back.

⁵ sung, ed. 1592; song, ed. 1610.

NOTES.

p. vi, l. 10: *whose gawld backes are tutched*. “But what o’ that? Your Maiestie, and wee that haue free soules, it touches vs not; let the gall’d iade winch: our withers are vnrunng.” *Hamlet*, III. ii. 251-3; 1st Folio, *Trag.* p. 268, col. 2.

p. viii, l. 7 from foot; p. xii, *veluers*; p. 32, *velvet*.—Cotgrave distinguishes between *velvet* and *velure*: “*Velours*: m. Veluet . . . *Tripe de Velours*, Valure, Mocke Veluet, Fustian an Apes. *Tripe*: f. . . Valure, Irish Tuftaffata, Fustian an Apes;” and as Harrison says that wool was used for *vellures*, the stuff must have been a kind of ‘velvet-pile cloth’ like that which ladies wore a few seasons ago, and which was all wool. ‘Velveteen’ and ‘cotton velvet’ have, I am told, no wool in them. Common velvets have a cotton back and silk face. The French have also *velours* in silk, cotton and wool (Littré):—

“In time past, the vse of this commoditie [wool] consisted (for the most part) in cloth and woolsteds: but now by meanes of strangers succoured here from domesticall persecution, the same hath beene imploied vnto sundrie other vses, as mockados, baies, *vellures*, grograines, &c.; whereby the makers haue reaped no small commoditie” (not in ed. 1577), 1587. W. Harrison, *Description of England*, bk. 3, chap. 1, p. 221, l. 31-7; my ed. Pt. II. 1878, p. 6.

“at Westminster . . . the bragging *velure*-canioned [with wool-velvet knee-rolls] hobby-horses prance up and down as if some o’ the tilters had ridden ‘em.” 1607. Webster & Dekker’s *Northward Ho*, Act II. sc. 1, p. 257, col. 1, of *Webster’s Works*, ed. Dyce, 1857. (On *Canions*, see p. 246 below.)

On the etymology of *velvet*, *velure*, Mr Henry Nicol says:—“The second *v* of *velvet* is an alteration of *w* (*velwet*, *Promptorium*), and this of *u* (*feluet* Launfal—misprinted in Stratmann *felvet*—*veluet*, Chaucer). That the *u* of Mid. E. *veluet* formed a separate syllable is shown by the metre of

And co[u]ered it | with ve|lu-et|tes blew|e
(*Squire’s Tale*, Ellesmere MS. 6-Text, p. 496, l. 644)

and by the Cambridge MS. spelling *velowetys*. Mid. E. *veluet* comes from Old Fr. *veluet* (Roquefort—who misprints *velvet*), also spelt *velluet* (Hippeau), for which no references are given; but which occurs latinised as *velluetum*. *Veluet* corresponds to a hypothetical Latin *villütūm*, being a diminutive of Fr. *velu*, hypothetic Lat. *villütūm* (Ital. *velluto*, Span. *velludo*), which shows the usual Fr.

loss of Lat. single *t* between vowels, and (like the other words here considered) has for its primitive Lat. *villus*. Another diminutive of *velu* is Old Fr. *velueau* (Roquefort, with quotation), later *veluan* and *veluyan*, latinised *velludellum*, and corresponding to a hypothetical Lat. *villūtūlum*.

"E. *velure* (Shakspeare *velure*, Cotgrave—probably by misprint—*valure*) is probably Early Mod. Fr. *veleure* (Cotgrave), meaning 'shag'; so far there is no authority for either word before the 16th century. The Old Fr. may be either *velure* (four syllables), hypothetical Lat. *villātūram*, with the common Fr. suffix, or *veloure* (-ore, -ure, three syllables), hypothetical Lat. *villōram*, with a rare suffix, existing in the Provincial Span. *vellora* ('knot or lump taken off woollen cloth'). If E. *velure* existed before the 14th century, it points to an Old Fr. *veléure*, as if from *veloure* it would have been *vellour* in Early Mod. E., change of suffix by analogy being unlikely. But if borrowed later, when Old Fr. *veloure* had become *veleure*, either F. form (with *eu* = Late Mod. F. *eu*, or *eu* = Late Mod. F. *u*) would suit. It is very unlikely that E. *veilure* comes from Mod. Fr. *velours*, as the *s* of this, though now always silent, would be pronounced in many cases in the 16th century. *Velours* is a Mod. form for Old Fr. *velous*, which is Lat. *villōsum* (Ital. *veloso*, Span. *veloso*); Froissart's *velus* is possibly influenced by *velu*, but probably the vowel, as Scheler says, was altered for the sake of the rhyme with *Lus*. The Mod. Burgundian *veleur*, *velor*, quoted by Littré, is probably *velours* in phonetic spelling, hardly Early Mod. Fr. *veleure*; an exactly parallel example of inserted *r* in the termination *ous* is noted by Scheler in the Mod. Dutch *jaloorsch* ('jealous'), which presupposes a Fr. *jalours* for *jaloux* (Lat. *zelosum*)."

p. xii : *the inferiour sorte onely.* See p. 237, &c., below.

p. i. *Anatomie of Abuses.* Compare Thomas Nashe's "The Anatomie of Absurditie: Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short description of the severall practices of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times. No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembered, especially by those who live more licentiously, or are addicted to a more nyce stoycall austteritie." . . . 1589. 4to, black letter, 23 leaves. Br. Museum. *Hazlitt's Handbook*. See the evils of Elizabeth's and James's time described in the play of *No-Body and Some-Body*, 1606, printed in Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 348-351 (and reprinted in facsimile by Mr. Alexander Smith of the Hunterian Club, Glasgow). They are, engrossing corn, racking rents, debasing the coinage, absentee landlords, city wives' whoredom, harlot-keeping, watch-beating, seduction of girls at 13 years old, pick-pocketing, purse-cutting, &c.

p. i. *Abuses.*—See in S. Rowlands's *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot*, 1614, sign. E 3 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 37), a list of

" *Certaine common abuses*

" **A** Common Alehouse in this age of sinne,
Is now become a common Drunkards Inne :
A common seller, and a common buyer,
Are turned common swearer, common lyer

A common Gamester, shifts hath basely made
 A common Cheater, at the Dicing trade :
 A¹ common Thiefe, in Newgate common Layle,
 Of Tyborne common hye-way cannot fayle :
 A common Vag'rant, should by law be stript,
 And by a common Beadle soundly whipt :
 A common Scould, her furious heate must coole :
 Wash'd by her diuing in a Cucking stoole :
 A common Bawd, and filthy Pander slaye,
 Must common Cart, and Brid-well whipping haue ;
 A common Rogue is tennant for the Stockes,
 A common Companyon² for the Pockes."

Also see the set of folk whom Rowlands threatens to stab in his *Looke to it* :
for Ile Stabbe ye, 1604.

p. 22, l. 11 : *who so sitteth at home*. Cp. Shakspere, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. i. 2-8, Folio, p. 20, col. 1 :

"Home-keeping-youth, haue euer homely wits.
 Wer 't not affection chaines thy tender dayes
 To the sweet glaunces of thy honour'd Loue,
 I rather would entreat thy company
 To see the wonders of the world abroad,
 Then (living dully sluggardiz'd at home)
 Weare out thy youth with shapelesse idlenesse."

p. 23. *A pleasant & famous Iland*. Cp. Shakspere in *Rich. II*, "This royll Throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle," &c., Folio, *Hist.* p. 28, col. 2, &c. &c. ; and on 'the strong kinde of people', the extracts in the Forewords to *Harrison*, Parts I and II, and *Harrison*, I. p. 221, &c. ; my *Andrew Boorde*, p. 117-119 (and see its Index).

p. 24, l. 11—10 from foot. Our Saviour * * * with his *Taratantara*. Extract from Luther's *Danger of delaying Repentance* quoted in the *Philobiblion*, vol. i. p. 251. New York. 1862. "The kettle-drum and trumpet of our good God sounds thus: *Poumerle poump! poumerle poump! pliz! pluz! schmi! schmir!*³ This was the drumming of the Lord, or as Saint Paul says, the voice of the archangel and the trumpet of God, for when God shall thunder at the last day, it will be suddenly, and like beating the kettle-drum, *poumerle poump!* This will be the war-cry and the *taratantara* of our good God. Then the whole heaven will resound with this noise: *Kir! Kir! poumerle poump!*" &c.—S. (W. G. Stone.)

p. 27, l. 2 : *two kindes of sinne*. "For sothe, synne is in two maneres: outher it is venial, or dedly synne. Sothly, when man lovith any creature more than Jhesu Crist oure creatour, thanne it is dedly synne; and venial synne is, if a

¹ Orig. Of.

² Read it with 4 syllables, Com-pa-ny-on.
³ *schmi, schmir!* in the *Philobiblion*. Perhaps it should be *schmi schmu!* like *poumerle poump!*—S.

man love Jhesu Crist lesse than him oughte. For sothe the dede of this venial synne is ful perilous, for it amenisith the love that men schulde have to God, more and more." ? 1398-1400.—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Works, ed. Morris, iii. 290.

p. 27. *Pride . . . the verie efficient cause of all euils.* "thanne is Pride the general roote of alle harmes. For of this roote spryngen certein braunches : as Ire, Enuye, Accidie or Slewthe, Auarice (or Couetise, to commune vnderstandinge), Glotonye, and Lecherye."—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Group I, l. 388, Ellesmere MS., p. 615.

p. 28, l. 13. *Pride is tripartite.* Chaucer, in his *Parson's Tale*—evidently following some monk's treatise—first divides Pride into 16 Twigs:—1. Disobedience, 2. Boasting, 3. Hypocrisy, 4. Despite, 5. Arrogance, 6. Impudence, 7. Swelling of Heart (rejoicing in harm done), 8. Insolence, 9. Elation, 10. Impatience, 11. Contumacy, 12. Presumption, 13. Irreverence, 14. Pertinacity, 15. Vain-glory, 16. Jangling (or Chattering). Then he tells of a private kind of Pride (like his Host's Wife's and the Wife of Bath's), wanting to go to offering first, &c. And then he gives the more important division of Pride into two kinds: I. within man's heart; II. without; II. being the sign of I, 'as the gaye leefsel (*portico, verandah*) atte Taverne is sign of the wyn that is in the Celer.' This II, or Outside Pride, is shown in 1. dear Clothing, 2. Horses & Grooms, 3. Household, keeping too many retainers, 4. Table, not asking the poor, having too fine dishes, cups, &c., and too choice minstrelsy. (From my Contents of the *Parson's Tale*, Ellesmere MS.)

p. 28. *Pride, &c.*—Compare "Luxury, Pride and Vanity, the Bane of the British Nation," 8vo, p. 61, London, N.D. (about 1750):—

"A scathing satire throwing curious light with all the vividness of a Hogarth on the vices of a century ago. Among the subjects treated of are the Increase of the Wine Trade; a new piece of Frugality among men of quality in keeping their mistresses in their own dwelling-houses; Beggars & Scotchmen, their respective consumption of white bread, 'with diverse other entertaining subjects, serious and comical'"—*Secondhand-book Catalogue*.

p. 29. *Dame Nature.* "And eek we been alle of o fader, and of o mooder; and alle we been of o nature, roten and corrupt, both riche and poure."—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Group I, 461, Ellesmere MS., p. 621.

p. 31. *Other nations dress.* Compare in Andrew Boorde's *Introduction* the High German's 'I wyll not chaunge my olde father's fashyon,' p. 159; the Dane's 'Symple rayment shal serue me ful wel; My old fashion I do vse to kepe,' p. 163; the Bohemian's 'Of our appael we were never nyce; We be content if our cotes be of fryce,' p. 166; the Hungarian's 'The fashion of my apparel, I do never chaunge', p. 171; the Sicilian's 'we loue no newe fashions', p. 176; the Neapolitan's 'Al new fashyons to Englund I do bequeue; I am content with my meane aray', p. 177; the Italian's 'in my apparel I am not mutable', p. 178.

p. 31, last line. English Men's absurd dress is contrasted with the Italians' sober dress, in Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, p. 259, quoted in *Harrison*, Pt. II. p. 64.

Notes on pp. 31—33. *Exports and Imports.* 235

p. 31. *Pride & Luxury in England.*

“Who can endure to see
The fury of men’s gullets and their groins ?
What fires, what cooks, what kitchens, might be spared ?
What stews, ponds, parks, coops, garners, magazines ?
What velvets, tissues, scarfs, embroideries,
And laces they might lack ? . . . what need hath nature
Of silver dishes or gold chamber-pots ?
Of perfumed napkins, or a numerous family
To see her eat ?”

1625.—Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, III. ii. *Works*, ii. 314, col. 1.

p. 32: *new fangles* :—“*Cilechi*, iests, toyes, new fangles.” 1598 Florio.
Worlde of Wordes.

p. 33. *English valubles exchanged for foreign trifles* : see *Harrison*, I.? In
The Three Ladies of London, by R. W., 1584. Hazlitt’s *Dodsley*, vi. 276, *Lucre*
speaks thus of English exports and imports there :—

“Thou must carry over wheat, pease, barley, oats, and vetches, and all kind of
grain

Which is well sold beyond sea, and bring such merchants great gain.

Then thou must carry beside, leather, tallow, beef, bacon, bell-metal and
everything :

And for these good commodities, trifles into England thou must bring,
As bugles to make bables, coloured bones, glass beads to make bracelets
withal,

For every day gentlewomen of England do ask for such trifles from stall to
stall :

And you must bring more, as amber, jet, coral, crystal, and every such bable
That is slight, pretty, and pleasant : they care not to have it profitable.

And if they demand wherefore your wares and merchandise agree,
You must say ‘jet will take up a straw : amber will make one fat :
Coral will look pale when you be sick, and crystal staunch blood,’
So with lying, flattering and glosing, you must utter your ware,
And you shall win me to your will, if you can deceitfully swear.”

* * * * *

Lucre. Then, Signor Mercatore, I am forthwith to send ye
From hence to search for some new toys in Barbary and in Turkey ;
Such trifles as you think will please wantons best,
For you know in this country ’tis their chiefest request.

Mercatore. Indeed, de gentlewoman here by so much vain toys,
Dat we strangers laugh-a to tink wherein day have their joys.”

1584.—R. W., *The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt’s *Dodsley*, vi. 306.

‘*Triquedondaines* : f. All kind of superfluous trifles vsed, or vsually bought,
by women ; hence, any trash, nifies, or paltre stuffe.’ 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 33. Compare a modern writer :—“The hard times are slowly and surely
working out their own cure. It is a painful and tedious process, but one sure in

236 Notes on p. 33. ‘*Far-fetcht and dear-bought.*’

the end to restore health to the business interests of the country—not the feverish speculative activity that followed the war, and continued until the crash of 1873, but a condition of moderate and reliable prosperity. People are adapting their habits to their reduced incomes, are denying themselves useless luxuries, and are discovering that they can live just as comfortably with less outside display. The importations of foreign goods have fallen largely, and for the first time in sixteen years the balance of trade is in favour of the United States, a calamity to the importers, no doubt, but a benefit to the country at large. *Fever velvets, laces, diamonds, Worth's dresses, French wines, and gimcracks* are brought across the Atlantic, but no political economist will see anything but a hopeful sign in that fact.”—*Daily News*, Oct. 5, 1876, p. 6, col. 1, United-States’ Correspondent.

p. 33, l. 16; p. 65, l. 16: *far refetched and deare boughte is good for Ladyes* :—“*Mendoza.* What shape! Why, any quick-done fiction . . . some such anything. Some *far fet trick good for ladies*, some stale-toy or other, no matter so ‘t be of our devising.”—Marston & Webster’s *Malcontent*, V. ii., Webster’s Works, ed. Dyce, 1857, p. 358, col. 2. Dyce notes *far-fet*, i. e. far-fetched. An allusion to the proverb, “*Far-fet is good for ladies.*” So in Jonson’s *Cynthia’s Revels*, Act IV. sc. i, “Marry, and this may be *good for us ladies*; for it seems ‘tis *far-fet* by their stay.” See my *Tell-Troth*, p. 6, l. 7, & *Stafford*, N. Sh. Soc. p. 106; also Lyly’s *Euphues*, p. 33, ‘*far fet, and dere bought, is good for ladies.*’ Again :—

“*Mineuer.* God neuer gaue me the grace to be a Lady, yet I haue all implements belonging to the vocation of a Lady.

Sir Vaughan. I trust, mistris Mineuer, you han all a honest oman shud haue.

Mineuer. Yes perdie, as my Coach, and my fan, and a man or two that serue my turne, and other things which Ide bee loath eury one should see, because they shal not be common. I am in manner of a Lady in one point.

Sir Vaughan. I pray, mistris Mineuers, let vs all see that point for our better understanding.

Mineuer. For I ha some thinges that were *ficht* (I am sure) as *farre* as some of the Low Countries; and I payde sweetly for them too; and they tolde me they were *good for Ladies.*” 1602.—T. Dekker, *Satiromastix*. Works, 1873, i. 204. See too Latimer’s use of the phrase, p. 254 below.

p. 33, p. 52. *Pride in England. Peasants' dress & extravagance.*

The pride of “And the pride of England is, as it were, set up upon the highest mountain of the world, seen and scorned even of the very infidels of the earth: such as know not God make marvel of our monstrous attire, which exceedeth not only in cost and colour, but in weight and fashion. O pull it down: it is not fit for such as are taking the way to the kingdome of heaven; it agreeth not with the guest which lodgeth in us the Spirit of God; it is no fit ornament to deck the house of our silly souls, for it stinketh and polluteth all corners of the house. O remove it, and send every country his fashion again: be not beholden to any nation for such trumpery, neither to the garment-maker, whose study therein, though it please the vain-glorious for a time, it will bring repentance, too late, to the work and the workman. It is from the court come

into the country, a dangerous evil, and hath infected the poor ploughman, that a year's wages sufficeth not one suit of attire. If I should tell all, The *carte* and the carter would step in with his courtly gards, and will defy eth in pride him that is not of the fashion ; men and women, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, are too far gone in this sickness : the Lord give a timely medicine lest we perish therein.” 1596.—J. Norden, *Progress of Piety* (Parker Soc.), pp. 172-3. Compare also the Surveyor John Norden (is he the same as the writer of the religious tracts?) :—“where in those days [Henry VI’s] Farmers and their wiues were content with meane dyet and base attire, and held their children to some austere gouernment, without haunting Alehouses, Tauerns, Dice, Cards, & vaine delites of charge, the case is altered : the *Husbandman* will be equal to the *Yoman*, the *Yoman* to the *Gentleman*, the *Gentleman* to the *Squire*, the *Squire* [to] his Superiour, and so the rest, every one so farre exceeding the corruptions [? consumptions] held in former times, that I will speake without reprehension, there is at this day thirty times as much vainely spent in a family of like multitude and quality, as was in former ages whereof I speake.” 1607.—John Norden, *The Surveyors Dialogue*, p. 14.

p. 36, l. 12: *his wife her persuasions*. See note on p. 36, l. 3, of *Tell Troth* New Sh. Soc.—S.

p. 36, l. 10 from foot: *some are so brasen faced &c so impudent, &c.* Cf. *Two Gen. of Ver.*, II. vii. ll. 53—56 (Lucetta and the codpiece to Julia’s round hose), and *Much Ado*, III. iii. l. 146 (Hercules & the same article).—S.

p. 37: *in leather*. Compare *Edward III*, II. ii. 120, Leopold Shakspere, p. 1044, col. 1: “Since leathern Adam till this youngest hour.”

p. 39, l. 7: *it maketh a man to bee accepted and esteemed of.*

“Keep good clothes on thy backe, and nearely weare them ;
What want soever comes, doe not pawne them ;
For, once being gotten in the Deuils iawes,
He will surely keepe them in with his pawes.
In thy Apparell be something clenly,
Though in thy purse thou hast nev’r a penny :
Men may in some measure it esteeme thee,
And a farther grace happily giue thee.
Doe not seeme bace, though penilesse thou art ;
But looke about, of whom to get a part.”

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 15.

p. 42, l. 8 from foot: *what preuyayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, &c.* Compare Chaucer’s *Gentleness* in Scogan’s Poem in Thynne’s Chaucer, lf. 380, bk. col. 1; Urry’s, p. 547, col. 1; Morris’s, vol. vi, p. 296.

“This firste stoke was ful of rightwisenesse,
Trewe of his worde, soboure, pitous and free,
Cleene of his gooste, and lovid besynesse,
Ageynste the vice of slowthe in honeste ;

238 Notes on pp. 42—49. *Men's Dress, Starch, &c.*

And, but his heire loue vertu, as did he,
He nis not gentille, thouhe him richē seme,
Al were he mytre, corone, or diademē."

'The idea of course is not new. It is found frequently enough in the Greek & Latin literature. It occurs, we believe, for the first time in the fragments of Epicharmus:—

ἀγαθὸς δ' ἄνηρ
Κάν' Ἀιθίοψ καὶ δοῦλος, εὐγενῆς ἔφυ

and afterwards it is found in Euripides, Horace, Juvenal,—“Stemmata quid faciunt?” and lastly in Seneca. Doubtless Jean de Meung took it from Seneca.'—W. Besant, in the *British Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1871, p. 388. See Shakspere's *Meas. for Meas.*, Tennyson's *Lady Clara Vere de Vere*, &c.

p. 43, l. 14: *tagge and ragge*. Compare John Partridge in *The Worthie Historie of . . . Plasidas*, 1566, “To walles they go, both tagge and ragge, Their citie to defende,” and the other quotations in Mr. H. B. Wheatley's *Dict. of Reduplicated Words*, Philolog. Soc. 1865, p. 85-6.

p. 44. *Pride & Apparel*.—See Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* (*Works*, ed. Morris, iii. 296-8) on Pride, as shown “in superfluite of clotheyng” in his day, the embroidering, indenting, waving, furring, chisel-punching, dagging, of gowns, their trailing in the mire; the short coats and tight particoloured hose or breeches showing the shameful members of man, and making em look as if flayn, &c. &c. See also *Piers Plowman*, Roberde of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, &c.

p. 49, l. 5: *abhorring the christian povertie, &c.*

“Be rich, I say ; nay boy, be rich and wise !
Gold is an actious [so] mettle for the eyes .
Why? rich men haue much monie and gaie geare,
And goodly houses, and most daintie cheare ;
Faire wiues, fine pictures, playes and morris-dances,
And many cheates, that come by many chances ;
Fine Ciuet-boxes, sweet perfumes, and waters,
And twentie other such kind of matters.
While the poore man, that pines for want of friends,
May sit and sigh, and picke his fingers ends,
And euery morning wash his face with teares,
And wipe his blubbered cheeke with shealed heares.
It is a heauie sence, where coyne is wanting ;
At such a time of care, friends are scanting.”

1613.—*The Vnscaling of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 22.

p. 52, l. 6: *liqueide matter which they call Starch*. Howell relates that Mrs. Turner, the poisoner of Sir Thomas Overbury, “the first inventress of *yellow Starch* was executed in a Cobweb Lawn Ruff of that colour at *Tyburn*; and with her I believe that *yellow Starch*, which so much disfigured our Nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and fantastic, will receive its Funeral.”—*Epistola Ho-Eliana*, p. 19, ed. 1737.—S.

p. 53, last line : *if they stand upon their pantoffles.* See notes in *Tell Troth* on p. 55, last line.—S.

MEN'S ABSURD DRESS, &c.

See Harrison's amusing Chapter 7, in his Book II, our Part I, p. 167; *Father Hubburds Tales* at the end of Dyce's *Middleton*, vol. v, &c.

p. 49, 60. *Spanish, French, &c. Dutch fashion.* Men's changeable fashions and Women's extravagant dress also moved Schoolmaster Averell to wrath in 1588. In his “*A meruailous combat of contrarieties. Malignantlie striuing in the members of mans bodie allegoricallie representing unto vs the enued state of our florishing Common wealth: wherin dialogue-wise by the way, are touched the extreme vices of this present time, &c. &c.* by W. A.” he makes “The Bellie” say (sig. B. 1 & 2) :—

“ Why, had euer Prometheus more shapes, then the backe sutes? or ye Hydra more new heads then the back new Garments? not so variable for their matter, as changable for their fashion : to daie French, to morrow English, the next day Spanish, to daie Italianate, to morrow for fashion a deuill incarnat, *O tempora, o mores!* To daie you shine in sutes of silke, to morrow you iet it out in cloth of Golde, one daie in blacke for shew of grauitie, an other daie in white in token of brauerie, this day that culour, the next day another, nowe short wasted, anon long bellied, by and by after great Buttoned, and straight after plaine laced, or els your Buttons as strange for smalnes, as they were monstrous before for greatness, this yeere bumbd like a Barrell, the next shottend like a Herring, nowe your hose hang loose like a bowe case, the next daie as straite as a pudding skinne, one while buskind for lack of stocks, another while booted for want of shooes, and thus from you that are the grand Maister, doo the inferiour members fetch their fashions, & these be the mutabilitys of men.”

[The continuation of the passage, on Women, is on p. 253, below.]

See too Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III. Sect. 2, Memb. 3, subs.

3. “Artificial Allurements,” p. 295 of edition 1676 :—

“ Women are bad, & men worse ; no difference at all betwixt their & our times. *Good manners* (as Seneca complains) are extinct with wantonness : in tricking up themselves men go beyond women, they wear harlots colours, and do not walk, but jet and dance, hic mulier, hac vir, more like Players, Butterflies, Baboons, Apes, Anticks, than men. So ridiculous moreover are we in our attires, and for cost so excessive, that as Hierom said of old, ‘Vno filo villarum insunt pretia, uno lino decies sestertiū inseritur’ ; ‘tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand Oaks, & an hundred Oxen into a suit of apparel, to wear a whole manner on his back. What with shoo-ties, hangers, points, caps and feathers, scarfs, bands, cuffs, &c., in a short space their whole patrimonies are consumed.”

Compare also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 343, and Shakspere, in *Henry VIII*, I. i. 80-85, ‘many Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em For this great journey,’ &c. Also in *Histrio-mastix*, by Peele and Marston, 1590-1600, pr.

1610, we find the Serving man saying to his master (*School of Shakspere*, ii. 47) :—

“We breake your backs? No! 'tis your rich lac'd sutes,
And straight lac'd mutton: those break all your backs.”

See too in ‘A Supplycacyon to . . . Kynge Henry the Eyght,’ 1544 (E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 52) : “Is there not such excesse and costelynes of apparel / bycause of dyueryte and chaunge of fasshyons, that scarce a worshipfull mans landes, which in tymes paste was wonte to fynde and maynteyne twenty or thirty tall yowmen / a good plentyfull howsholde for the releyfe and conforte of many poor and neadye / and the same nowe is not suffycyent and able to maynteyne the heyre of the same landes / his wiffe / her gentle woman or mayde / two yowmen / and one lackey? The pryncypall cause herof is their costly apparell / and specially their manyfolde and dyuerse chaunges of fasshyons whiche the man, and specially the woman, muste weare vpon bothe theadde and bodye. Somtyme cappe / somtyme hoode / nowe the Frenshe fasshyon, nowe the Spanshe fasshyon; than the Italiany fasshyon / and then the Myllen fasshyon; so that there is noo ende of consumyng of substaunce . . . and all to please the prowde folyshe man and womans fantasye. Hereof spryngethe great myserye and neede.” See too the Note for p. 53, l. 4-6, p. 245, below.

p. 49, l. 9: *one sute for the forenoone, &c.* See the note from Bp. Pilkington (for p. 58), p. 248, below.

p. 50: *hats, standing collars, ruffs, shoestrings, &c.*

“Good Card-makers (if there be any goodnes in you)
Apparrell vs with more respected Care,
Put vs in Hats, our Caps are worne thread-bare,
Let vs haue standing Collers, in the fashion:
(All are become a stiffe-necke generation)
Rose Hat-hands, with the shagged-ragged-Ruffe:
Great Cabbage-shoestrings (pray you bigge enough)
French Doublet, and the Spanish Hose to breech it:
Short Cloakes, like old Mandilions (wee beseech it)
Exchange our Swords, and take away our Bils,
Let vs haue Rapiers, (knaues loue fight that kils¹)
Put vs in Bootes, and make vs leather legs,
This, *Harts* most humbly, and his fellowes, begs.”

1612.—Samuel Rowlands, *The Knaves of Harts* (1874, Hunterian Club, p. 12-13).

The dress obtaind is describd in Rowlands’s *More Knaues yet?* (1611?) sign. A 4 (ed. 1874 and p. 5) :—

“. . . now the honest Printer hath bin kinde,
Bootes, and Stockins, to our Legs doth finde,
Garters, Polonia Heeles, and Rose Shooe-strings,
Which somewhat vs two Knaues in fashion brings . . .

¹ See the extract from Howes, in *Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 31*.

Well, other friends I hope we shall beseech
For the great large abominable breech
Like Brewers Hopsackes : yet, since new they be,
Each knaue will haue them, and why should not wee?
Some Laundresse we also will entreate
For Bands and Ruffes
Scarffes we doe want to hange our weapons by . . .
. hats of newest blocke " . . .

p. 50. *Hat & feathers, &c.*

" His hat, himselfe, small crowne and huge great brim,
Faire outward shew, and little wit within.
And all the band with feathers he doth fill,
Which is a signe of a fantastick still,
As sure as (some doe tell me) evermore
A goate¹ doth stand before a brothell dore.
His clothes perfum'd, his fustie mouth is ayred,
His chynne new swept, his very cheekes are glared."

1598.—Jn. Marston, *Satyre III.* Works, 1856, iii. 223-4 : see p. 216 too.

p. 51: *feathers, wings, breeches, cloak, rapier, hangers, boots, spurs.* The dress of a young dandy in 1604 is thus described by T. M. in his *Father Hubbards Tales*, reprinted (in modern spelling) at the end of vol. v. of Dyce's ed. of Middleton's Works, as probably Middleton's. "At last, to close up the lamentable tragedy of us ploughmen, enters our young landlord, so metamorphosed into the shape of a French puppet, that at the first we started, and thought one of the baboons had marched-in in man's apparel. His head was dressed up in white feathers like a shuttlecock, which agreed so well with his brain, being nothing but cork, that two of the biggest of the guard might very easily have tossed him with battledores, and made good sport with him in his majesty's great hall. His doublet was of a strange cut ; and shew the furye of his humour, the collar of it rose up so high and sharp as if it would have cut his throat by daylight. His wings,² according to the fashion now, were as little and diminutive as a puritan's ruff, which shewed he ne'er meant to fly out of England, nor do any exploit beyond sea, but live and die about London, though he begged in Finsbury. His breeches, a wonder to see, were full as deep³ as the middle of winter, or the roadway between London and Winchester, and so longe and wide withal, that I think within a twelvemonth he might very well put all his lands in

¹ The emblem of lechery, as the sparrow also was. See the picture of Lechery in the Cambr. Univ. Library's MS. Gg. 4. 27, Chaucer's Parson's Tale, autotyped for the Chaucer Society.

² See p. 524, Dyce's *Middleton*, v : T. M.'s *Blacke Booke*, 1604 : "apparell'd in villainous packthread, in a wicked suit of coarse hop-bags, the wings and skirts faced with the ruins of dishclouts." 'Wings, lateral prominencies extending from each shoulder.' Whalley's note on B. Jonson's *Works*, ii. 103, ed. Giff.

³ 'They strangle and cloke more velvet in a deep-gathered hose, than would serve to line through my lord What-call-ye-him's coach.' 1604.—T. M., *Blacke Booke*. Dyce's *Middleton*, v. 524.

them ; and then you may imagine they were big enough, when they would outreach a thousand acres : moreover, they differed so far from our [old] fashioned hose¹ in the country, and from his father's old gascoynes,² that his back-part seemed to us like a monster ; the roll of the breeches standing so low, that we conjectured his house of office, sir-reverence,³ stood in his hams. All this while his French monkey bore his cloak of three pounds a yard, lined clean through with purple velvet,⁴ which did so dazzle our coarse eyes, that we thought we should have been purblind ever after, what with the prodigal aspect of that and his glorious rapier and hangers all bost [= embosst] with pillars of gold, fairer in show than the pillars in Paul's or the tombs at Westminster ; beside, it drunk up the price of all my plough-land in very pearl, which stuck as thick upon these hangers as the white measles upon a hog's flesh. When I had well viewed that gay gaudy cloak and those unthrifty wasteful hangers, I muttered thus to myself : 'That is no cloak for the pain, sure ; nor those no hangers for Derrick' ; when of a sudden, casting mine eyes lower, I beheld a curious pair of boots of king Philip's [= Spanish] leather, in such artificial wrinkles, sets and plaits, as if they had been starched lately and came new from the laundress's, such was my ignorance and simple acquaintance with the fashion, and I dare swear my fellows and neighbours here are all as ignorant as myself. But that which struck us most into admiration : upon those fantastical boots stood such huge and wide tops, which so swallowed up his thighs, that had he sworn as other gallants did, this common oath, 'would I might sink as I stand !' all his body might very well have sunk down and been damned in his boots. Lastly he walked the chamber with such a pestilent gingle⁵ that his spurs oversqueaked the lawyer, and made him reach his voice three notes above his fee ; but after we had spied the rowels of his spurs, how we blest ourselves ! they did so much and so far exceed the compass of our fashion, that they looked more like the forerunners of wheelbarrows. Thus was our young landlord accoutred in such a strange and prodigal shape [= dress] that it amounted to above two years' rent in apparel."—T. M. *The Ant and the Nightingale, or Father Hubbards Tales*, 1604.

"Asper . . . But that a rook, by wearing a pyed feather,
The cable hatband, or the three-piled ruff,
A yard of shoe-tye, or the Switzer's knot

¹ breeches. ² galligaskins. ³ See note, Dyce's *Middleton*, ii. 227.

⁴ "There is no fool to the satin fool, the velvet fool, the perfumed fool ; and therefore the witty tailors of this age put them, under colour of kindness, into a pair of cloth bags, where a voider will not serve the turn." 1602.—*Return from Parnassus*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 184.

⁵ 'Caused by the large loose rowels which are presently mentioned ; they were commonly of silver.' Compare—

"Fastidious Brisk. . . my gray hobby . . . a fine fiery little slave, he runs like a—oh, excellent, excellent—with the very sound of the spur.

Carlo. How ! the sound of the spur ?

Fast. O, it's your only humour now extant, sir : a good gingle, a good gingle." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, II. i., *Works*, i. 80, col. 2 ; and in II. ii. p. 93, col. 2 :

"*Fungoso.* I had spurs of mine own before, but they were not ginglers."

On his French garters, should affect a humour !
O, it is more than most ridiculous."

Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted 1599). Induction, *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 67, col. 1. See the Cap's complaint about the Feathers stuck in him in "*A Pleasant/ Dialogue or Disputation betweene the Cap,/ and the Head./*" 1564, quoted in my Thynne's *Animadversions* (E. E. T. Soc.), p. cxxxii.

p. 51, l. 3: *hats without bands; feathers in hats, scarfs, &c.*

"*EPIGRAMS.* Epig. 27.

Aske *Humors*, why a Feather he doth weare ?
It is his humor (by the Lord) heele sweare.
Or what he doth with such a Horse-taile locke ?
Or why vpon a Whoore he spendes his stocke ?
He hath a Humor doth determine so.
Why in the Stop-throate fashion doth he go,
With Scarfe about his necke? *Hat without band?*
It is his humor, sweete sir, vnderstand . . .
Object, why Bootes and Spurres are still in season ?
His Humor answeres : Humor is the reason.
If you perceiue his wittes in wetting shrunke,
It commeth of a Humor, to be drunke.
When you behould his lookes pale, thin, and poore,
Th' occ[a]sion is, his Humor, and a Whore :
And every thing that he doth vndertake,
It is a vaine, for sencelesse Humors sake."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, sign. C (ed. 1874, p. 33).

p. 51, &c.: *dress, &c. starcht ruffs & rabatos.*—"There was then [in Adam's days] neither the Spanish slop, nor the skipper's galligaskin, the Switzer's blistered codpiece¹, nor the Danish sleeve sagging down like a Welsh wallet, the Italian's close strosser, nor the French standing collar: your treble-quadruple dædalian ruffs, nor your stiffnecked rabatos, that have more arches for Pride to row under than can stand under five London bridges, durst not then set themselves out in print, for the patent for starch could by no means be signed. Fashions then was counted a disease, and horses died of it²; but now, thanks to folly, it is held the only rare physic, and the purest golden asses live upon it." 1609.—T. Dekker. *Guls Hornbook*, ch. i., ed. 1862, p. 8.

¹ See Coryat's *Crudities* on this. Rowlands makes it Danish:—

" His faces chiefest ornament, is nose,
Full furnished with many a Clarret staine,
As large as any Codpiece of a Dane,
Embossed curious : "

1600.—S. Rowlands, *Letting of Humours Blood*, sign. D 3 (1874, p. 53).

² *Lobado en el cuerpo*, bunches in the flesh, the fashion in a horse, *Tuber struma*. 1591. R. Perciuale. Spanish Dict. '*Lobbado*, m. bunches in the flesh' a disease in a horse, called the fashions.' 1623. Jn. Minsheu's enlarged *Perciuale*.

244 Notes on pp. 51, 52. *Men's Bands, &c.*

p. 51. *Ruff & Band, &c.* (See p. 259 below, note on p. 70-1.)

"Behold, at length in London streetes he shoues.
His *ruffe* did eate more time in neatest setting,
Then Woodstocks worke in painfull perfecting;
It hath more doubles farre than Ajax shield,
When he gainst Troy did furious battle weild.
Nay, he doth weare an embleme bout his neck ;
For under that fayre *ruffe* so sprucely set,
Appeares a *fall*, a *falling-band* forsooth !
O dapper, rare, compleate, sweet nittie youth !
Jesu Maria ! How his clothes appeare
Crost and recrost with lace ! sure, for some feare
Least that some spirit with a tippet mace
Should with a gasty show affright his face."

1598.—Jn. Marston, *Satyre III.*, Works, 1856, iii. 223.

p. 52. "Lambskin. My father was a starch-maker, and my mother a laundress; so, being partners, they did occupy¹ long together before they were married; then was I born." 1632.—Wm. Rowley, *A Woman never vexed*, in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xii. 137.

p. 52, second side-note : *Euery peasant hath his stately bands.* See Fairholt's capital quotations in *Hist. of Costume in England*, p. 216, from Lodge's *Wits Miseric*, 1596, and *Euphues Golden Legacie*, 1592. The first is, "The plowman, that in times past was contented in russet, must now a daies have his doublet of the fashion, with wide cuts, his garters of fine silk of Granada, to meet his Sis on Sunday. The farmer, that was contented in times past with his russet frock and mockado sleeves, now sells a cow against Easter, to buy him silken geere for his credit." See too in *Harrison*, II, 36*, what Howes says : "men of meane ranke weare Garters and shooe Roses, of more then five pound price ; and some weare scarffes from ten pounds a piece, vnto thirtie pounds or more. The like may be truly said concerning wrought Wastcoates." The dresses of a smart Tailor (p. 19), a Baker (p. 29), a Dancing-master, and a Vintner (p. 30), a Grasier (p. 31), an Informer (p. 32), a Husbandman (p. 33), a Cumberland copyholder's family (p. 35), are described in *The Debate between Pride and Lowliness* wrongly ascribed to Francis Thynne, old Shakesp. Soc. 1841. The author has 15 men on his Jury, and rejects 3 : Greene, in his prose *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, which was modelled on the earlier poem, has 24 men in his Jury, and rejects 27 : this Quip should be read for its sketches of the characters. See my *Trial-Forewords to my Six-Text of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, p. 101-2.

¹ 'Enjoy, in the sense of a man having knowledge of a woman. Doll Tear-sheet says of Pistol, in the *Second Part of Henry IV*, "These villains will make the word 'captain' as odious as the word *occupy*, which was an excellent good word before it was ill-sorted." See Nares, edit. 1859 in v.; and Percy Folio MS. *Loose and Humorous Songs*, p. 29.'

p. 53, l. 4-6: *result of extravagance in dress, &c.:*—

“yet take . . . the cost with the pleasure, and tell me then if once in seauen yeares, when your state is weakened and your Land wasted, your Woods untimbered, your Pastures vnstored, and your Houses decayed: then tell me whether you find the prouerbe true, of the Courtier young and old.”¹ 1618.—N. Breton, *The Court and Country* (1868), p. 178. See too the interesting ‘Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruicingmen,’ by I. M., 1598, in the same vol. Hazlitt’s *Inedited Tracts*, 1868, p. 95; also, *Quips upon Questions*, 1600, sign. G 2.

“Carlo.—First, to be an accomplished gentleman, that is, a gentleman of the time, you must give over housekeeping in the country, and live altogether in the city amongst gallants; where, at your first appearance, ‘twere good you turned four or five hundred acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparel.’ 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, I. i., *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 73, col. 1. In II. i, p. 87, col. 2, Fungoso puts the cost of his suit at about £40 of our money: “Let me see, the doublet: say fifty shillings the doublet; and between three or [=and] four pound the hose; then boots, hat, and band: some ten or eleven pound will do it all, and suit me, for the heavens.” 1596-8.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii., *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 21, col. 1.

p. 53: *shirts.* When Fastidious Brisk is describing the articles of his dress injured in his duel, in Ben Jonson’s *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted A.D. 1599; 4to. 1600, fol. 1616), IV. iv, Carlo says, “I wonder he speaks not of his wrought shirt” [he does, 14 lines lower]; and Gifford notes: “The linen, both of men and women, was either so worked as to resemble the finest lace, or was ornamented, by the needle, with representations of fruits, flowers, passages of history,” &c. The Puritans, it appears, turned the mode to account, and substituted texts of Scripture for the usual embellishments. There is a pleasant allusion to this practice in the *City Match*:

“Sir, she’s a Puritan at her needle too:
My smock sleeves have such holy embroideries,
And are so learned, that I fear in time
All my apparel will be quoted by
Some pure instructor.”

Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 120, Act II, sc. ii.

In Ben Jonson’s *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599) Puntarvolo describes his dress in the account of his duel with Luculento: “He again lights me here,—

¹ “And if thou be a Courtier, know thy place:
But do not serue for onely shew of grace,
But let thy profit answer thy expence,
Least want do proue a wofull patience,
And thou do proue the prouerbe often tolde,
‘A carelesse Courtier yong, a Begger olde.’”

1613.—*The Vnmasking of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne: With the Answeres to the same*, p. 7.

I had on a gold cable hatband, then new come up, which I wore about a murrey French hat I had,—cuts my hatband,—and yet it was massy goldsmith's work—cuts my brims, which, by good fortune, being thick embroidered with gold twist and spangles, disappointed the force of the blow: nevertheless it grazed on my shoulder, takes me away six purls of an Italian cut-work band I wore, cost me three pound in the Exchange but three days before . . . He, making a reverse blow, falls upon my embossed girdle—I had thrown off the hangers¹ . . . strikes off a skirt of a thick-laced satin doublet I had, lined with four taffatas, cuts off two panes embroidered with pearl, rends through the drawings-out of tissue, enters the linings, and skips the flesh . . . not having leisure to put off my silver spurs, one of the rowels catched hold of the ruffle² of my boot, and being Spanish leather, and subject to tear, overthrows me, rends me two pair of silk stockings that I put on,—being somewhat a raw morning,—a peach colour and another, and strikes me some half inch deep into the side of the calf; he . . . takes horse, and away; I, having bound up my wound with a piece of my wrought shirt . . . rid after him." Act IV. sc. iv. *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 119, col. 2.

p. 54: *men tender now*.—Cp. *Harrison*, Part I, p. 337-8, "when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie . . . altogether of straw," &c.

p. 55. *Doublets with great bellies*. "Fungoso. look you, that's the suit, sir: I would have mine such a suit without difference, such stuff, such a wing, such a sleeve, such a shirt, *belly* and all; therefore, pray you observe it." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, III. i., *Works*, i. 101, col. 1.

p. 56. *With Canions annexed*.—See the Velure-canioned hobbyhorses, in *Northward Ho*, p. 231 above. "*Canons de Chausse*, Cannions. *Chausses à queue de merlus*. Round breeches with strait canions; hauing in the seat a peece like a fishes tayle; and worne by old men, schollers, and such like niggardlie or needie persons." 1611.—Cotgrave. "*Canions* were rolls of stuff which terminated the breeches or hose at the knee (fig. 135," [where 2 heavyish rolls or sausages all round the knee are cut]), Fairholt: he refers to Henslowe's diary, "under April, 1598, he [H.] disburses £6 8s. for a bugell doblett and a payer of paned hose of bugell panes drawne out with cloth of silver and *canyons* to the same," &c.

p. 56: *gally-hosen*; also Gally-gascoynes. See that word in Fairholt, p. 454.

p. 56: *hosen of a Marke price*.—This was an extravagant price in William Rufus's day, when 3s. was the figure. See the anecdote about the king's hose in Robert of Gloster's *Chronicle*, quoted by Fairholt under *hose*, p. 512.

p. 56: *trunk hose*.—"Sometimes I have seene Tarleton play the clowne, and vse no other breeches than such *sloppes* or *slivings* as now many gentlemen wear:

¹ "The fringed loops appended to the girdle, in which the dagger or small sword usually hung."

² The turn-over fringe or scollop of fine leather, often edgd with gold lace. "Ruffle your brow like a new boot." *Ib.* I. i. p. 73.

they are almost capable of a bushel of wheate; and if they be of sackecloth, they would serve to carrie mawlt to the mill. This absurd, clownish, and unseemly attire, only by custome now is not misliked, but rather approved." 1601.—Thos. Wright. *The Passions of the Minde in generall.* (Dedicated to Lord Southampton; and has Verses by Ben Jonson.) See also the interesting extracts and cut in Fairholt's *Costume*, p. 217. He was before me, I see, in quoting the following:—

"When Tarlton clown'd it in a pleasant vaine,
And with conceites, did good opinions gaine
Vpon the Stage, his merry humors shop,
Clownes knew the Clowne, by his great clownish *slop*.
But now th'are gull'd, for present fashion sayes,
Dicke Tarltons part, Gentlemens breeches playes:
In every streete where any Gallant goes,
The swagg'ring *Sloppe*, is Tarltons clownish hose."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, C 2, back (ed. 1874, p. 36). See too the bit from *More Knaves Yet*, p. 240, above, and Ben Jonson's "I'll go near to fill that huge tumbrel-slop of yours with somewhat, an I have good luck: your Garagantua breech cannot carry it away so." 1598—1601.—*Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii, *Works*, i. 18, col. 1.

"And for false cards and dice, let my great slops,
And his big bellied dublet both be sercht,
And see which harbors most hypocrisie."

1606.—*No-Body and Some-Body*, Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, i. 353.

"The rest of France takes the modell of the court, as a rule unto it selfe to follow. Let Courtiers first begin to leave off and loath these filthy and apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret parts: the bumbasting of long pease-cod-bellied doublets, which makes us seeme so far from what we are, and which are so combersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and *Beso las manos* in saluting of our friends: (a ceremonie heretofore only due unto Princes:)" 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essaies*, 1634, p. 146.

"In our Old Plays, the humor Love and Passion,
Like Doublet, Hose and Cloak, are out of fashion."

1667.—Prologue to James Shirley's *Love-Tricks*, first calld *The Schoole of Complement*, 1631. (Shirley died in Oct. 1666.)

p. 57: *nether-stocks*, the stockings, as distinguist from the *hose*, when the latter became *breeches*. See the *Debate between Pride and Lowliness*—wrongly attributed to Francis Thynne, from the forged 'F. Th.' on its title-page—'The neatherstockes of pure Granada silke,' and other authorities quoted by Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 1860, p. 211.

p. 57: *shoes*.—See Fairholt, *Costume in England*, p. 385-7. "*Pinsnet*, apparently the same as *Pinson*, a thin-soled shoe. 'Calceamen and calcearium is

a shoo, *pinson*, socke.'—*Withals' Dictionarie*, ed. 1608, p. 211." Nares, by Halliwell and Wright. *Pinçon*, *pinçonnet* are not in any French Dictionary or Glossary that Mr. Henry Nicol or I can find; and my friend Prof. Paul Meyer doesn't know the words. See p. 266 below.

p. 58: *boots with wide tops*.—"if thy quicksilver can run so far on thy errand as to fetch thee boots out of S. Martin's, let it be thy prudence to have the tops of them wide as the mouth of a wallet, and those with fringed boot-hose over them to hang down to thy ancles." 1609.—T. Dekker. *Guls Hornbook*, ch. iii. (1862), p. 16.

Instead of high-soled cork shoes, the earlier dandies had piked ones: See the passage at the end of *Gregory's Chronicle*, after his death, p. 238. Camden Soc. 1876. "A.D. 1468-9. Alle so that yere the Pope sende a bulle for the Cordyners, and cursyd thou that made any longe *pykys* passyng ij yenchys of lengthe, and that no Cordyner shuld not sylle no schone a-pone the Sonday, ne put no schoo a-pon no man-ys fote, ne goo to noo fayrys a-pon the Sonday, uppon Payne of cursynge. And the kynge grauntyd in a conseil and in the Parlement that hyt shulde be put in execucyon, and thys was proclaymyd at Poulys Crosse. And sum men sayd that they wolde were longe *pykys* whethyr Pope wylle or nylle, for they sayde the Popys curse wolde not kylle a flye. God amend thys! And within schorte tyme aftyr, sum of the Cordyners gate prevy selys and proteccyon to make long *pykys*, and causyd the same men of hyr crafte that labordyd to the Pope for the destruccyon of longe *pykys* to be trebelyd and in grete donger."

"1582. In this Queenes dayes [Anne of Bohemia, Rich. II's Queen], began the detestable vse of piked shooes, tyed to their knees with chaines of siluer and gilt. Also noble women vsed high attire on their heads, piked like hornes, with long trained gownes, and rode on side saddles, after the example of the Queene, who first brought that fashion into this land, for before, women were vsed to ride astride like men." 1605.—Jn. Stowe. *Annales*, p. 471.

p. 58. *Coats, &c.*

"But these tender pernels must have one gown for the day, another for the night; one long, another short; one for winter, another for summer; one furred through, another but faced; one for the work day, another for the holy day; one of this colour, and another of that; one of cloth, another of silk or damask; change of apparel, one afore dinner, another after, one of Spanish fashion, another Turkey; and to be brief, never content with enough, but always devising new fashions and strange; yea, a ruffian will have more in a ruff and his hose than he should spend in a year. I read of a painter that would paint every country man in his accustomed apparel, the Dutch, the Spaniard, the Italian, the Frenchman; but when he came to the English man, he painted him naked, English and gave him clothe,¹ and bad him make it himself, for he changed his apparel fashion so often, that he knew not how to make it; such be our fickle

¹ See the cut opposite, from Andrew Boorde.

and unstable heads, ever devising and desiring new toys." 1560.—Bishop Pilkington, *Exp. upon Aggrus, Works* (Parker Soc., 1842), p. 56.



¶ I am an English man, and naked I stand here,
Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were,
For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that ;
Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.

1542.—ANDREW BOORDE. *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, chap. i. p. 116 of my edition, E. E. Text Soc., 1870.

p. 59. *Cold charitiie to the poore.*

" Wealthye Cittizens.
You Cittizens that are of *Dives* Wealth,
His costly cloathing, and his dainty fare,
Regarding nothing but selfe-ease and health,
How euer Lazarus lyes poore and bare :
Your Dogges are not so kinde to liche their sores,
But rather serue to bite them from your dores.
You that do make your Tables Poulters stalles,
Great prouocation to the sinfull flesh,
And though the famish'd, hunger-starued, calles

250 Notes on pp. 59—61. *Men's foreign fashions.*

' For Jesus sake, with Crummes our wantes refresh,'
Your Dishes haue the food for which they cry :
You play with that, for which they pine and die.
 Ile Stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Looke to it : for, Ile Stabbe ye*, B 2, back ; p. 12, ed. 1872. Compare the corn-hoarer Sordido, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), I. i., *Works*, i. 78 :

" O, but (say some) the poor are like to starve.
Why, let 'em starve ; what's that to me ? Are bees
Bound to keep life in drones and idle moths ? No."

p. 59-61. *Men's Coats, Cloaks, Gowns, Caps, Chains.*

The madness " To behold the vain and foolish light fashions of apparel used of Englishmen among us, it is too much wonderful. I think no realm in the world, no, not among the Turks and Saracens, doth so much in the vanity of their apparel, as the Englishmen do at this present. Their coat must be made after the Italian fashion, their cloak after the use of the Spaniards, their gown after the manner of the Turks : their cap must be of the French fashion ; and at the last their dagger must be Scottish with a Venetian tassel of silk. I speak nothing of their doublets and hoses, which for the most part are so minced, cut, and jagged, that shortly after they become both torn and ragged. I leave off also to speak of the vanity of certain light-brains, which, because nothing should want to the setting of their fondness, will rather wear a Martin chain¹ the price of eight-pence, than they would be unchained. O what a monster and a beast of many heads is the Englishman now become ! To whom may he be compared worthily, but to Esop's crow ? For as the crow decked herself with feathers of all kind of birds to make herself beautiful, even so doth the vain Englishman, for the fond apparelling of himself, borrow of every nation to set forth himself gallant in the face of the world. He is an Englishman : he is also an Italian, a Spaniard, a Turk, a Frenchman, a Scot, a Venetian, and, at the last, what not ? He is not much unlike a monster called chimæra, which hath three heads, one like a lion, another like a goat, the third like a dragon." ? 1550.—Becon. *Jewel of Joy*, in *The Catechism*, &c. Parker Soc., 1844, p. 438. (This extract is continued at p. 255, below.)

p. 60. *Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion.*—Other articles of dress besides Cloakes were imported :—

" Behold, a most accomplish'd Caualeere,
That the world's Ape of Fashions doth appeare,
Walking the streets, his humors to disclose,
In the French Doublet, and the Germane Hose :

¹ *Martin chain* : of counterfeit or base metal. So also St. Martin's rings. "They are like rings and chaines bought at Saint Martin's, that were faire for a little time, but shortly after will prove alchimy or rather pure copper." Minshull, *Essays*, p. 23.

The Muffes Cloake, Spanish Hat, Toledo blade,
Italian ruffe, a Shooe right Flemish made :
Like Lord of Misrule, where he comes he'e'reuel,
And lie for wagers with the lying'st diuell."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, ed. 1874,
Hunterian Club, p. 32.

"*Col. Tipto.* . . . I would put on
The Savoy chain about my neck, the ruff
And cuffs of Flanders, then the Naples hat,
With the Rome hatband and the Florentine agat,
The Milan sword, the cloke of Genoa, set
With Brabant buttons ; all my given pieces
Except my gloves, the natives of Madrid."

1629.—Ben Jonson, *The New Inn*, II. ii., *Works*, ii. 354, col. 1.

" . . . but leather and cloth both cannot suffice us at this time, be it never so fine and costious, except we add thereto all kinds of silks and velvets. Against vain But what do of these things? gold, silver, pearl, precious stones, apparel ouches and what not, is now-a-days worn even of inferior persons, when the poor members of Christ have neither wherewith they may clothe themselves, nor yet comfort their hungry and thirsty bodies. O lamentable case !

Mark " And what shall I say of the manifold and strange fashions of the well garments that are used now-a-days? I think Satan studieth not so much to invent new fashions to bring Christian men into his snare, as the tailors now-a-days are compelled to excogitate, invent, and imagine diversities of fashions for apparel, that they may satisfy the foolish desire of certain light brains and wild oats, which are altogether given to new fangleness. O most vain vanity! Some-
Nova times we follow the fashion of the Frenchmen. Another time we have a placent trick of the Spaniards. Shortly after, that beginneth to wax naught : we must therefore now have the Italian fashion. Within few days after, we are weary of all the fashions that are used in Christendom ; we will therefore now, and God will, practise the manner of going among the Turks and Saracens : would God that with the Turks' apparel we were not also right Turks and infidels in our life, conversation and manners!" . . . ? 1540-50.—Thomas Becon, *The Nosegay*, in *Early Works* (Parker Soc.), p. 204.

p. 60. *Cloaks*.—See Fairholt's *Costume*, p. 419.

p. 61. *Boot-hose*.—Did these hose go inside the boot, or were they overalls, outside it, and so corresponding, more or less, to the Wife of Bath's 'foot-mantel' as shown in the Ellesmere MS? See the woodcut overleaf. Cotgrave (1611) has 'Triguehouse : f. A boot-hose ; or a thicke hose worne in stead of a boot.'

p. 62. *Rapiers* : *silver hilts & velvet sheaths*.

"*Brainworm.* I assure you the blade may become the side or thigh of the best prince in Europe.



E. Knowell. Ay, with a *velvet scabbard*, I think.

Stephen. Nay, an't be mine, it shall have a *velvet scabbard*, coz, that's flat :
I'd not wear it as it is, an you would give me an angel.

Brai. At your worship's pleasure, sir : nay, 'tis a most pure Toledo.

Stephen. I had rather it were a Spaniard. But tell me what shall I give you
for it ? An it had a *silver hilt*."

p. 62. On how the young men of and about this time spent their days, see Sir John Davies's *In Fuscum*, Epig. XXXIX., Marlowe's Works (stereo.), p. 269, quoted in *Harrison*, I. lxxx. ; also Marston's rebuke and ridicule of them in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 305-6. Compare too Rowlands :

"Epig. 7.

Speake, Gentlemen, what shall we do to day ?
Drinke some braue health vpon the Dutch carouse ?
Or shall we go to the *Globe*, and see a Play ?
Or visit *Shorditch*, for a bawdie house ?
Lets call for Cardes or Dice, and haue a Game,
To sit thus idle, is both sinne and shame.

This speakes *Sir Reuell*, furnisht out with Fashion,
From dish-crownd Hat, vnto th' Shooes square toe ;
That haunts a Whore-house but for recreation,
Playes but at Dice, to connycatch, or so ;

Notes on pp. 62, 64. Men's Days. Women. 253

Drinkes drunke in kindnes, for good fellowship ;
Or to the Play goes, but some Purse to nip."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 13. Again,

"A Fantasticall Knaue.

Sirra, come hither, I must send you straight
To diuers places, about things of waight :
First to my Barber, at his Bason signe,
Bid him be heere to morrow about nine :
Next to my Taylor, and will him be heere
About eleuen, and his Bill Ile cleere :
My Shoomaker by twelue, haste bid him make
About the Russet Bootes that I bespake.
Stay, harke, I had forgot, at any hand,
First to my Laundresse for a yellow Band ;
And point the Feather-maker not to faille
To plume my head with his best Estridge tayle . . .
Step to the Cutler for my fighting blade,
And know if that my riding sword be made ;
Bid him trim vp my walking Rapier neat,
My dancing Rapiers pummell is too great"

1613.—S. Rowlands, *A Paire of Spy-Knaues*, sign. B 3, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 8).

"But now of the contrarie let vs consider our exercises, and how we vse to reckon our faultes, and examine the whole day againe at night ere we go to rest, and slepe. Now are we occupied? Verily we kepe ioly cheare one with another in banqueting, surfeiting, and dronkenesse; also we vse all the night long in ranging from town to town, and from house to house, with mummeries and maskes, dice-playing, carding, and dauncing, hauing nothing lesse in our memories than the day of death." 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing*, etc., ed. 1840, p. 15. See p. 265 below, on Parents' neglect.

WOMEN'S DRESS, FALSE HAIR, BARE BREASTS,
KISSING, &c., p. 64.

Schoolmaster Averell, in his *merualous Combat of Contrarieites*, 1588, quoted above on p. 239, says :—

"As for women, you make them through your pride in lookes like Lais, in fashions like Flora, in maners like Thais, more wauering then the wind, and more mutable then the Moone; in Gate & iesture most daintie, in the Church most angelicall, in the streetees modest & amiable, abroade among men in finenes superficiall, but at home by themselves most sluttish and bestiall. Yet I meane not all, but the worst, and such as entertaine your pride, who from the top

to the toe, are so disguised, that though they be in sexe Women, yet in attire they appearre to be men, and are like Androgini, who counterfayting the shape of either kind, are in deede neither, so while they are in condition women, and woulde seeme in apparrell men, they are neither men nor women, but plaine Monsters.

“ Their heads set out with strange hayre, (to supply nature that waie defeated, or rather by their periwigges infected) do appeare like the head of Gorgon, sauing that they want the crawling Snakes of Medusa, to hang sprawleng in their haire along their faces, & yet they retaine the propertie of this Daughter of Phorcus, for they turn a number of their beholders into stones, who while they affectionatlie gaze on their painted pride, doe lose the reason of men and become like stones, without anie feeling of a vertuous mind, the onelie Image of a man.

“ But as they are Venerian Dames, euen so in their flatteries to beguile fooles, they imitate the nature of the Cyprian women, who comining into Syria, and seruing in y^e Court would courfe downe and become footstooles for the Ladies, thereby to ascend into their Coaches, for which cause they were called Climacidae, of Climaca, which y^e Assirians name a Ladder; but heerin onlie they differ, in that our Phrynae and Cytherean Damsels, become not Ladders for Women, but footstooles, yea, and pillowes, for Men. And therefore it is not without cause that Tyresias saide, (being chosen an Arbitre betweene Iupiter and Juno,) that there were *In viero, tres amoris unciae, in femina, nouem*, in a man three ounces of lust, in a woman nine; for what meaneth els their outward tricking and daintie trimming of their heads, the laying out of their hayres, the painting and washing of their faces, the opening of their breasts, & discouering them to their wastes, their bents of Whale bone to beare out their bummes, their great sleevees and bumbasted shoulders, squared in breadth to make their wastes small, their culloured hose, their variable shooes? and all these are but outward shewes. As for the rest, least their rehearsall might rather hurt, then profit the honest eares, I will couer them with silence: but all these are your prouocations, these are the fruities of your pride, the signes of your waste, and the abridgment of my fare, for while you spend so frelie upon your Backe, the least share falles to the Bellie, nay, I am faine oftentimes to fast, to beare out the prodigalitie of your pride, and then wanting nourishment to feede the members, I am complained on for your fault.” Sign. B 1 & 2. See also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 170-2, and Latimer’s address to his ‘sisters, the women,’ in his last Sermon before Edward VI, in 1550 (*Sermons*, Parker Soc., p. 252-4): ‘ Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean mens wives; they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degrees, whether t^heir husbands will or no . . . Paul saith, that ‘a woman ought to have a power on her head’ . . . But this ‘power’ that some of them have, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it . . . But now here is a vengeance devil: we must have our ‘power’ from Turkey, of velvet; and gay it must be; *far fetched, dear bought*; and when it cometh, it is a false sign . . It is a false sign when it covereth not their heads as it should do. For if they would keep it under the ‘power’ as they ought to do, there should not any such tussocks

nor tufts be seen as there be; nor such laying out of the hair, nor braiding to have it open . . Of these tussocks that are laid out now-a-days, there is no mention made in scriptures, because . . they were not yet come to be so far out of order as to lay out such tussocks and tufts." And see his (*Latimer's Remains*, ed. 1845, p. 108.

"*Tactus* . . five hours ago I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentlewoman; but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning, unpinning, unsettling, formings and conformings; painting blue veins and cheeks; such stir with sticks and combs, cascanets, dressings, purls, falls, squares, busks, bodies, scarfs, necklaces, carcanets, rebatoes, borders, tires, fans, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muff, pusles, fusles, partlets, frislets, bandlets, fillets, crosslets, pendules, amulets, annulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she's scarce dressed to the girdle; and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk-points, shooeties, &c., that seven pedlars' shops,—nay, all Stourbridge fair—will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigged by far, than a gentlewoman made ready." ? 1602 (printed 1607), *Lingua*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 426. See the extract from Dekker's *Satromastix*, in the Notes for p. 150, below.

"Sir Francis Ilford . . if thou wilt have their true characters, I'll give it thee. Women are the purgatory of men's purses, the paradise of their bodies, and the hell of their minds: marry none of them. Women¹ are in churches, saints; abroad, angels; at home, devils. Here are married men enough know this; marry none of them." 1607.—George Wilkins, *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 475.

The apparel "I pass over the light and wanton apparel of women now-a-days, of women partly because it is so monstrous, and partly because I haue not been, nor yet am much acquainted with them, whereby I might be the more able to describe their proud peacocks' tails, if not at the full, which were an infinite labour, yet at the least somewhat to set it forth as a painter doth, before he do lay on colours. But of this am I certain, that they observe not in their apparel the rule of the holy scriptures. For Saint Peter saith, that 'the apparel of honest and virtuous women should not be outward with broided hair, and hanging on of gold, either in putting-on of gorgeous apparel'; . . . It is enough for chaste and pure maids to wear clean and simple apparel, as a Maids testimony of the uncorruption and cleanness both of their body & mind, without the flaring out and colouring of their hair, without the painting of their faces, without the putting-on of wanton and light array, whereby they be enticed rather to pride and whoredom than to humility, shamefacedness, and cleanness of life." ? 1550.—Becon, *Jewel of Joy*, in *The Catechism*, etc. (Parker Soc. 1844), p. 439.

Sir Thos. More reproves face-painting in his *Utopia*, p. 317, ed. Roberts, 1878. See the authorities referrd-to there, and in the *Supplemental Notes*, p. 402: 'The Loathesomenesse of Long Haire; with an Appendix against painting spots, naked backs and breasts,' by Thomas Hall, B.D. London, 1654, 12mo., &c. [Painting] "is the badge of an harlot; rotten posts are painted, and

¹ 'See Mr. Steevens's note on *Othello*, Act II, sc. i. But compare Middleton's *Blurt, Master Constable*, 1602. *Works*, by Dyce, i. 280.'

gilded nutmegs are usually the worst . . . though I dare not say they are all harlots that paint, yet I may safely say, they have the harlot's badge, and their chastity is questionable."—T. Hall.

"Proud Gentlewomen."

You gentle-puppets of the proudest size,
That are, like Horses, troubled with the Fashions,
Not caring how you do your selues disguise,
In sinfull, shameles, Hels abhominations,
You whom the Deuill (Prides father) doth perswade
To *paint your face*, & mende the worke God made.

You with the Hood, the Falling-band, and Ruffe,
The Monky wast, the breeching like a Beare ;
The Perriwig, the Maske, the Fanne, the Muffe,
The Bodkin, and the Bussard in your heare ;
You Veluet-cambricke-silken-feather'd toy,
That with your pride do all the world annoy,
Ile Stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Look to it; for, Ile Stabbe ye*, sign. D 2, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 28).

"The yong woman commeth, married to an old man."

The young woman. Another passeth on, passing portly, a sweete woman, she smelleth hither : and a rolling eye she hath, it turneth with a trice on both sides : a faire haire, if it be her owne : a rare face, *if it be not painted* ; a white skinne, if it be not plastered : a full breast, if it be not bolstered : a straite backe, if it be not helped ; a slender waste, if it be not pinched ; a likely leg, if it be not lined ; a pretty foote, if it be not in the Shoomakers stockes ; a faire, rare, sweete, meete body, if it be not dishonest." 1613.—Anthony Nixon, *A Straunge Foot-Post*, E 1, back.

p. 64, 67, 78, &c. *Women's coquetry &c dress.* — See *The Pedlers Prophecie*, 1595, attributed by the late R. Simpson to Robert Crowley, (who printed *Piers Plowman* and wrote the *Epigrams*, &c., and died on June 18, 1588,) on the strength of Greene's allusions, in his *Farewell to Folly*, 1591, to the Sexton of St. Giles Cripplegate [Crowley's Church], and "Theological poets which . . . get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses" [which the writer of *The Pedlers Prophecie* does not].

"Proud lookes, stretcht out neckes, and wanton eies,
Their frolike cheare, their fine walkes, and tripping,
With all their pleasures which they now do devise,
Their feasting, disguising, their kissing and clipping.
Rich shewes, strange funerals, precious abilliments,
Golden collars, spangs, bracelets, bonnets and hoods,
Painted and laid-out haire, filides, and nether ornaments,
Their chains and sumptuous apparrell, that cost great goods,

Notes on p. 64. *Women's Dress and Paint.* 257

Earing jewels, jemmes, to set out their faces,
Chauge of garments, cassocks, vales, launes fine,
Needles, glasses, partlets, fillets, and bungraces,
With culours curious, to make the face shine."

"In the interesting but extremely rare volume by John Dickenson, entitled "GREENE IN CONCEIPT: new raised from his graue to write the Tragique Historie of Faire Valeria of London," 1598, he tells of the extravagance in costume, which is one token of her downward career:—

"She ware alwaies such ouersumptuous attyre, that many in desert and dignitie farre exceeding hir, were in this as farre behind hir. No common fashion could please hir fancie, but it must be strange and stately, drawing many eyes to gaze on hir, which aym'd wholly at singularitie, glorying to bee peerelesse in hir pompe. Neuer was any to hir power more lauish in variety of wastefull vanities: neuer any so peruerse in pride, and with such difficulty to be pleased: For were the least stitch in hir Attyre not as shee would haue it, though the garment most fayre and costly, the Tailor most rare and cunning, yet would shee furiously fling it from hir, with purpose neuer to weare it; so that the sillye workeman set at his *non plus*, lost both his custome and the credit of his workmanshippe" (p. 24). Evidently, Petruchio knew the expensive habits of ladies in regard to their dressmakers, and by his captious objections to the hat and the "sleeves curiously cut," reads Katharina a lesson.' J. W. Ebsworth, p. 1017, *Bagford Ballads*.

p. 64. *Face-painting*.—"Another point that plainly struck Shakspere, and disgusted him [coming from the country], in London society, was, the fashion of women—the good, like the bad—painting their faces, and wearing sham hair,—which latter [tho' tis now happily gone out of fashion] has long offended many of us Victorian men too. He alludes to the face-painting, not only in this, his first play [*Love's Labours Lost*], IV. iii. 259, 'painting and usurping hair,' but in his *Sonnets* also, 67, l. 5: 68, l. 2-8, and again and again in his later plays.¹"—My *Leopold Sh. Introd.* p. xxiii. See the Montaigne note, p. 261 below

"Maquerelle. . . Do you know Doctor Plaster-face? By this curde, hee is the most exquisite in forging of veines, sprightning of eyes, dying of haire, sleeking of skinnes, blushing of cheeke, surphleing of breastes, blanching and bleachinge of teeth, that ever made an old lady gracious by torch-light,—by this curd, law!" 1604.—Jn. Marston, *The Malcontent*, II. iv. *W.ks*, 1856, ii. 233.

See also Drayton's *Muses' Elysium* (A. D. 1630), Nymphal VII., *Works*, 1793, p. 626, col. i, on the 'night-masks, plaster'd well within, to supp'e wrinkles,' the paper

" In which was painting, both for white and red;
And next, a piece of silk, wherein there lies
For the decay'd, false breasts, false teeth, false eyes."

¹ Two Gent. II. i. 55-58: *Meas. for Meas.* III. ii. 80; IV. ii. 38; *Ham'et*, III. i. 148; V. i. 201; *Ant. & Cleop.* I. ii. 18; *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii. 101, &c.

p. 67. *women's hair and painted faces.*

"These flaming heads with staring
haire,
These wyers turnde like hornes of
ram :
These painted faces which they
weare :

Can any tell from whence they
cam ?
Dan Sathan, Lord of fayned
lyes,
All these new fangeles did
devise."

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, 1866, p. 252.

p. 68 : *false hair* :—See Shakspere, *Love's Labours lost*, IV. iii. 259; *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 92-6; *Henry V*, III. vii. 60; *Sonnets* 68, l. 2-8.

"I cannot tell the greate foole hee is wise,
Nor tell fowle ladies, they are wondrous faire ;
I ne're applaude aboue heauns-spangled skies,
The curl'd-worne tresses of dead-borrowd haire.

Like Northern blaste, I breathe my critick aire :
I am noe Mimyck ape ; I loathe and hate
Each light-braind giddy-head, to Imytate."

? 1611.—W. Goddard. A Satyricall Dialogue, sign. B, back.

p. 69, l. 3 : *cappe*.—See Petruchio's ridicule of the one brought for Katherine¹; and her 'gentlewomen wear such caps as these,' in the *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 63-70, and 81-5. And Kitely says in *Every Man in his Humour*, Ben Jonson's Works, i. 28, col. I (see the note there) :

"Our great heads
Within this city, never were in safety
Since our wives wore these little *caps* : I'll change 'em.
I'll change em straight in mine : mine shall no more
Wear three-piled acorns, to make my horns ake."

p. 69. *Cawles* :—

"These glittering cawles of golden
plate,
Wherewith their heads are richlie
dect,
Make them to seeme an angels mate

In judgement of the simple sect :
To peacockes I compare them
right,
That glorieth in their feathers
bright." (See p. 259, 271.)

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, 1866, iv. 252.

p. 70. *Ruffes, Starch, Supportasses* : see the woodcuts above.

"This starch, and these rebating props,
As though ruffes² were some rotten
house,
All this new pelfe now sold in
shops,

In value true not worth a louse ;
They are his dogs [the Devil's],
he, hunter sharp ;
By them a thousand he doth
warpe."

1595-6.—Stephen Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, iv. 253.

¹ "Why, this was moulded on a porringer ;
A velvet dish : fie, fie ! 'tis lewd and filthy :
Why 'tis a cockle or a walnut-shell,
A knack, a toy, a trick, a baby's cap."—64-7.

² See the long and interesting note in Hazlitt, *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 252-3.

Gosson's 'rebating props' were Stubbess's 'supportasses,' I suppose. The Ruffs were got into shape by *poking-sticks* :—

"What lack ye? What lack ye?	Come, cheap ¹ for love, or buy for money.
What is it you will buy?	Any coney, coney-skins,
Any points, pins, or laces,	For laces, points, or pins?
Any laces, points or pins?	Fair maids, come choose or buy.
Fine gloves, fine glasses,	I have pretty <i>poking-sticks</i> ,
Any busks or masks?	And many other tricks;
Or any other pretty things?	Come, choose for love, or buy for money."

1598.—A. Munday and H. Chettle, *Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, viii. 161.

See the interesting extract from the Second Part of Stubbess's *Anatomie* about Poking-Sticks, Ruffs, &c., in my notes to *Captain Cox* or *Laneham's Letter*, 1575, p. 72-3 (Ballad Soc.). I've already noted from Stowe, in *Harrison*, II, 34*, that about the 16 Eliz., Novr. 1573-4, 'began the making of steele poking-stickes ; and vntill that time all Lawndresses used setting stickes, made of wood or bone.'

p. 70, l. 1: *wanton Sempronians*.—There seems to be an allusion here to Sempronia, a Roman matron who took part in Cataline's conspiracy. Stubbess was perhaps thinking of Sallust's description of her, in some such words as these : 'libidine sic accensa Sempronia ut viros sapient peteret quam peteretur'.—*Catalina*, xxv.—S.

p. 70-1: *ruff*.—These seem to have been succeeded by falling bands, unless the following passage is a 'double entente.' (See p. 244 above.)

"*Maquarelle*. And by my troth, beauties, why do you not put you into the fashion? This is a stale cut; you must come in fashion. Looke yee, you must be all felt—fealt and feather—a fealt upon your bare hair. Looke ye, these tiring thinges are justly out of request now: and do ye heare? you must weare *falling bands*; you must come into the falling fashion. There is such a deal a pinning these ruffles, when a fine cleane *fall* is worth all; and agen, if you should chance to take a nap in the afternoone, your *falling band* requires no poting sticke to recover his forme. Believe me, no fashion to the falling, say I." 1604.—Jn. Marston, *The Malcontent*, V. iii. *Works*, 1856, ii. 284-5.

p. 71-2. Stubbess's story of the gentlewoman of Antwerp is alluded to in *Green's Tu Quoque*, by John Cooke.

" * * * for pride, the woman that had her ruff poak'd by the devil, is but a puritan to her."—Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Reed, 1780, vol. vii. p. 19.—S.

p. 71. *Women's fashions*.—" 1611. Wm. Goddard. A/ Satiry/call Dialo/gve or a shar/plye-invective conference, be/tweene Allexander the great, and/ that truelye woman-hater Diogy/nas. *Imprinted in the Lowcountryes for all/ such*

¹ Bargain, deal: A. Sax. *ceapian*.

gutl-women as are not alto[ugh]er Idle nor yet well OCVPYED. (I have this, & Goddard's other two known tracts in type, for private issue at a guinea each.)

[sign. E, back] “*The gossiping vvives complaint
against hir riche chulishe husband*

<p>“<i>Two thinges I loue ; two vsuall thinges they are ;</i></p> <p><i>The firste, newe-fashiond cloathes I loue to weare,</i></p> <p><i>Newe tires, newe ruffes ; I, and newe gesture too :</i></p> <p><i>In all newe fashions, I doe loue to goe.</i></p> <p><i>The second thing I loue, is this, I twene, To ride aboue to haue those newe cloathes seen :</i></p> <p><i>At eu'rye gossipping I am at, still, And euer wilbe, maie I haue my will, For, at ons owne howse, praze, who is't cann see</i></p> <p><i>Hove fyne in newe-found fash'ond tires wee bee ?</i></p> <p><i>Vnles our husbandes : faithe ! but very fewe !</i></p> <p><i>And whoo'd goe gaie, to please a husbands veiwe ?</i></p> <p><i>Alas, we wivies doe take but smale delight Yf none (besides our husbands) sees that sight.</i></p>	<p><i>It ioyes our heartes, to heere an other man Praise this or that attire, that we weare on.</i></p> <p><i>Wee iucond are, and think our selues much graste</i></p> <p><i>Yf we heare some one saie ‘faire wenche, faithe, in waste</i></p> <p><i>This straight-girt gowne becomes you passing well ;</i></p> <p><i>From other Taylors, yours doth beare the bell ?</i></p> <p><i>Oh, her that well cann acte-out such sweete partes,</i></p> <p><i>Throwes-up the lure whiche wynns our verye hartes.</i></p> <p><i>When we are stubborns't, then let men with skill</i></p> <p><i>Rubb'es well with th' oyle of praise ; and bend we will,</i></p> <p><i>That smoothe-fyne supple oyle of praise doth softn vs soe,</i></p> <p><i>As what ist then, we will not yield unto ? Meetings and brauerye were my delight.”</i></p>
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p. 72: starch.—City Night Cap. *Old Plays*, vol. II, p. 309:—

“*My chambermaid
Putting a little saffron in her starch,
I most unmercifully broke her head.”*—*Southey, Com. Pl. Bk. i. 514.*

p. 73: wings: starch, laundresses, &c.

“*Chloe . . And will the ladies be anything familiar with me, think you ?
Cytheris. O Juno ! why, you shall see them flock about you with their puff-
wings,¹ and ask you where you bought your lawn, and what you paid for it ?
who starches you ? and entreat you to help 'em to some pure laundresses² out of
the city.”* 1601.—*Ben Jonson, Poetaster*, IV. i. *Works*, i. 236, col. 2.

¹ “That part of their dress which sprung from the shoulders, and had the appearance of a wing, inflated or blown up.” See p. 241 above

² “This is a hit at the Puritans, many of whom followed the business of tire-women, clear-starchers, feather-makers, &c. It is not a little singular that while they declaimed most vehemently against the idol, Fashion, they should be among the most zealous in administering to its caprice. Jonson notices this with good effect in his *Bartholomew Fair*; and Randolph ridicules it no less successfully in the commencement of his *Muses' Looking-Glass*. . . .”

p. 73-5. *Women's Doublets, Gowns, &c.* The Farthingales worn by Elizabethan women are not denouct here, though they were by Latimer :

"I think Mary had not much fine linen ; she was not trimmed up as our women be now-a-days. I think indeed Mary had never a vardingal ; for she used no such superfluities as our fine damsels do now-a-days ; for in the old time women were content with honest and single garments. Now they have found out these round-abouts ; they were not invented then ; the devil was not so cunning to make such gear, he found it out afterwards. Therefore Mary had it not . . . it is nothing but a token of fair pride to wear such vardingals ; and I therefore think that every godly woman should set them aside. St. Paul speaketh of such instruments of pride as was used in his time : *Non tortis crinibus*, 'Not with laying out the hair artificially ;' *Non plicatura capillorum*, 'Not with laying out the tussocks.' I doubt not but if vardingals had been used in that time, St. Paul would have spoken against them too, like as he spake against other things which women used at that time, to shew their wantonness and foolishness." 1552.—Latimer, Sermon at Grimsthorpe. *Remains*, 1845, p. 108.

"All high and more than humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poeticall stile. Even as women, when their natural teeth faile them, use some of yuorie, and in stead of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay-on some artificiall hew ; and as they make trunk-sleeves of wyre, and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bumbasted verdugals, and, to the open-view of all men, paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties ; so doth learning." 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaigne's Essays* (writ. 1580)—p. 301, ed. 1634.

Stubbes doesn't seem to notice the Fans, Busks, Stays, Hoops, and Aprons, which Gosson condemns, though Stowe says (*Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 34*) that "Womens Maskes, Buskes, Mufs, Fanns, Perewigs, and Bodkins," having been invented "in Italy by Curtezans," came thro' France into England about the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 24 Aug. 1572. So, as they were in use in Elizabeth's time, I print Gosson's stanzas about them :—

"This cloth of price, all cut in ragges,
These monstrous bones that compasse armes ;
These buttons, pinches, fringes, jagges,
With them he [the Devil] weaveth wofull harmes.
He fisher is, they are his baytes,
Wherewith to hell he draweth huge heaps."

Gosson, *Pleasant Quipps*, in Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. p. 254.

Fans. Gosson, p. 255.

"Were fannes and flappes of feathers fond,
To fit away the flisking flies,
As taile of mare that hangs on ground,
When heat of summer doth arrise,
The wit of women we might praise,
For finding out so great an ease ;

But seeing they are stil in hand,
In house, in field, in church, in street,

In summer, winter, water, land,
 In cold, in heate, in drie, in weet,
 I judge they are for wives such tooles,
 As bables are in playes for fooles.

Busks.

The baudie buske that keepes downe flat
 The bed wherein the babe should breed,
 What doth it els but point at that
 Which faine would have somewhat to feede ;
 Where bellie want might shadow vale,
 The buske sets bellie all to sale . . .

[And] seeing such as whome they arme,
 Of all the rest do soonest yeeld,
 And that by shot they take most harme,
 When lustie gamesters come in field,
 I guess buskes are but signes to tell
 Where launderers for the campe do dwell."

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quipps*, 1866, p. 255 6.

Secret coats or stays.—Gosson, p. 256.

"These privie coates, by art made strong
 With bones,¹ with past, with such like ware,
 Whereby their backe and sides grow long,
 And now they harness gallants are ;
 Were they for use against the foe,
 Our dames for Amazones might goe.

But seeing they doe only stay
 The course that nature doth intend,
 And mothers often by them slay
 Their daughters young, and worke their end,²
 What are they els but armours stout,
 Wherein like gyants, Jove they flout ?"

¹ "Winifride . . . Oh, I could cracke my Whalebones, break my Buske, to thinke what laughter may arise from this." 1600 (ed. 1616), *Jacke Drum*, Act IV. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, ii. 182.

² John Bulwer in 1650 inveighs against the abuse of tight-lacing. Doctors and all sensible folk have done so ever since ; but English women—whose God, Fashion is, and who regularly sacrifice to it their bodies and health, and often their souls—still immolate their daughters and themselves on their Demon's shrine.

"Another foolish affection there is in young Virgins, though grown big enough to be wiser, but they are led blind-fold by custome to a fashion pernitious beyond imagination ; who thinking a *Slender-waste* a great beauty, strive all that they possibly can by streight-lacing themselves, to attain unto a wand-like smalnesse of Waste, never thinking themselves fine enough untill they can span their Waste. By which deadly artifice they reduce their Breasts into such streights that they soon purchase a stinking breath ; and while they ignorantly affect an angust or narrow Breast, and to that end by strong compulsion shut up their Wastes in a Whale-bone

Hoops, p. 257 (cp. crinolines, happily gone out of fashion, for ever, let us hope).

"These hoopes, that hippes and haunch do hide,
And heave aloft the gay hoyst traine,
As they are now in use for pride,
So did they first beginne of paine :
When whores in stewes had gotten poxe,
This French device kept coats from smocks.

I not gainsay but bastards sprout
Might arses greate at first begin ;
And that when paunch of whore grew out,
These hoopes did helpe to hide their sinne ;
And therefore tub-tailes all may rue,
That they came from so vile a crue.

prison or little-ease ; they open a door to Consumptions, and a withering rottennesse.
Hence such are justly derided by Terence in Eunicho.

Haud similis virgo, est virginum nostrarum, quas matres student : Demissis humeris esse, vincto pectori, ut gracieles fieri.

— *si qua est habitor paulo, pugilem esse ciunt, aequali cibum,*
Tamet si bona est natura, ralldunt curvatura juncoes.

So that it seems this foolish fashion was in request in the time that *Terence* lived.

"Paræus where he propounds Instruments for the mending such deformities, observes that the Bodies of young Maids or Girls (by reason they are more moist and tender then the bodies of Boyes) are made crooked in processe of time : Especially, by the wrenching aside, and crookednesse of the backbone; the most frequent cause whereof is the unhandsome and undecent scituatioun of their bodies, when they are young and tender, either in carrying, sitting or standing (and especially, when they are taught to go too soon) saluting, serving, writing, or in doing any such like thing. In the mean while he omits not the occasion of crookednes, that happens seldome to the Country people, but is much incident to the inhabitants of great Towns and Cities, which is by reason of the straitnesse and narrownesse of the garments that are worn by them ; which is occasioned by the folly of Mothers, who while they covet to have their young Daughters Bodies so small in the middle as may be possible, pluck and draw their bones awry, and make them crooked." — *Anthropometamorphosis : Man Transformed, or the Artificial Changeling*, etc., by J.[ohn]. B.[ulwer], 1650

Bulver also denounces the Absurd, tho' now happily abandona custom of swathing children in tight bands :—

"We in *England* are noted to have a most perverse custome of Swathing Children, and streightening their Breasts. Which narrownesse of Breast occasioned by hard and strict swadling them, is the cause of many inconveniences and dangerous consequences. For, all the bones of new-born Infants, especially the Ribs of the Breast, are very tender & flexible, that you may draw them to what figure you please ; which when they are too strictly swathed with Bands, reduce the Breast to so narrow a scantling, as is apt to endanger not only the health, but the life of children. For hence it is, that the greatest part of us are so subject to a Consumption and Distillations, which shorten our dayes, and bring us to an untimely Grave." 1650.— *Anthropometamorphosis : Man Transform'd* ; or, the *Artificial Changeling*, etc. J.[ohn] B.[ulwer], p. 186.

If barreld bums¹ were full of ale,
 They well might serve Tom Tapsters turne ;
 But yeelding nought but filth and stale,
 No losse it were, if they did burne . . . ”

Aprons.

“ These aprones white of finest thrid,
 So choicelie tide, so dearlie bought,
 So finely fringed, so nicelie spred,
 So quaintlie cut, so richlie wrought ;
 Were they in worke to save their cotes,
 They need not cost so many grotes.

When shooters aime at buttes and prickes,
 They set up whites, and shew the pinne ;
 It may be, aprones are like tricks,
 To teach where rovers, game may winne.
 Brave archers soone will find the marke,
 But bunglers hit it in the darke.”

1595-6. Stephen Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*. Hazlitt's *E. E. Popular Poetry*, iv. 257-8.

p. 74. *Gown layed with lace, &c.*

“ Girtred. . . O sister Mildred, though my father bee a low-capt tradesman, yet I must be a ladiie, and I praise God my mother must call me ‘ Madam ’. Does he come? Off with this gowne for shames sake! off with this gowne! let not my knight take me in the cittie-cut, in my hand! . . I tell you I cannot indure it; I must bee a lady! Doe you weare your quoiffe with a London licket, your stamen petticoate with two guardes, the buffin gowne with the tuff-taffitie cape and the *velvet lace*? I must be a lady, and I will be a lady! I like some humors of the City dames well . . to eate cherries onely at an angell a pound, good; to die rich scarlet, black, prety; to line a grogarom gowne cleane through with velvet, tollerable; their pure linen, their smocks of 3 li. a smock, are to be borne withall. But your mising niceries, taffata pipkins, durance petticoates, and silver bodkins—Gods my life, as I shall be a lady, I cannot indure it.”

1605.—Jn. Marston, *Eastward Hoe*, I. i., Works, 1856, iii. 9.

p. 75, l. 13. *Cost of dress.*—See Rowlands's “ *To Maddam Maske and Francis Fan*,” as to how woods are cut down, and tenants racket, to provide money for women's dress, &c., in his *Knaue of Spades*, 1611 (Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 37). See too the extract from Bp. Pilkington in the Note for p. 81, below.

¹ An earlier satirist, Charles Bansley, in *The Pryde and Abuse of Women*, ab. 1550 (Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, iv. 229), says—

“ Downe, for shame, wyt these bottell arste bummes,
 And theyr trappyng trinkets so wayne!
 A bounsinge packadel for the devyll to ryde on,
 To spurre theym to sorowe and payne.”—p. 238.

Notes on pp. 75-7. *Parents' neglect of Children, &c.* 265

p. 75. *Parents to blame.* "Who seeth not how fondly fathers and mothers bring vp their children in cockering and pampering them? from their infancie they bee giuen to none other thing but to pride, delicious fare, and vain idle pleasures and pastimes.

"What prodigious apparel, what vndecent behauour, what boasting, bragging, quarelling, and ietting vp and down, what quaffing, feasting, rioting, playng, dauncing and diceing, with other like fellowship that is among them, it is a wonder to see: and the parents can hereat rejoice and laugh with them, and giue libertie to theire children to doe what they liste, neuer endeauouring to tame and salue their wilde appetites. What marueylle is it if they bee found thus naughtie and vicious, when they come to their full yeares and mans state, which haue of children been trayned and entered with such vice? . . .

"Consider, I pray thee (good reader) what jolly yonkers and lusty [=lustfull] brutes, these wil be when they come to be citizens, and intermedlers of the common-welth, which by their fathers have beene thus wantonly cockered up, neuer correcting them, or chastening them for any faults and offences whatsoever? What other thing but this, is the cause that there be now so many adulterers, vnchast, and lewde persons, and idle rogues?—that we haue such plentie of dicers, carders, mummers, and dauncers? and that such wickednesse, and filthy liuers are spred about in euery quarter,—but onely naughty education and bringing vp. . .

"Also the slacknesse and vnreadinesse of the magistrates to doe and execute their office, is a great cause of this: if they that vse tauernes, playing and walk-ing vp and downe the streetes in time of a sermon; if disobedient children to their parents, if dicers, mummers, ydellers, dronkerds, swearers, rogues, and dauncers, and such as haue spent and made away their living in belly cheare and vnthriftiness, were straightly punished, surely there shud be lesse occasion giuen to offend, and also good men should not haue so great cause to complain of the maners of men of this age. Therefore, the magistrate must remember his office." Ab. 1577.—Jn. Northbrooke, *Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays and Interludes, &c.* (Shakespeare Soc. 1843), p. 11-12. See too the Note for p. 186, below.

p. 76-7. *Nether stockings, corked shooes, &c.*

"Theseworsted stockes of bravest die,
And silken garters fring'd with gold;
These corked shooestobear them hie,
Makes them to trip it on the molde:
They mince it with a pace so
strange,
Like untam'd heifers, when they
range." To carrie all this pelfe and trash,
Because their bodies are unfit,
Our wantons now in coaches dash,
From house to house, from street to
street."

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen*, Hazlitt, 1866, p. 258.

"Crispinell. Nay, good, let me still sit; we lowe statures love still to sit, least when we stand, we may be supposed to sit.

Tisself. Dost not ware high corke shooes—chopines? [Cp. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 447.]

Crisp. Monstrous on's. I am, as many other are, peec'd above, and peec'd beneath."—1605. Jn. Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, III. i. Works, 1856, ii. 147.

p. 77, l. 2, *pinsnets*,? pumps, thin shoes. See p. 247-8 above. I don't know *pinsnet* except in Stubbis. *Pinson* is common in early writers: see Way's edition of the *Promptorium*, p. 400, col. 2, and his note 3, which ought to be 4: 'the pynson-showes, les eschapins—Duwes.' In the Articles ordained on Decr. 31, 1494, by Henry VII, in that 'As for the receaving of a Queene, and the Coronation of her,' "when masse is donne, [in Westminster Abbey, the barefooted Queen is] to come downe againe to the highe altar, and there to bee howselled, and then to goe into a closett, and the Abbott to putt St. Edwards *Pinsons* on her feete."—*Household Ordinances* (1791), p. 124. Mr. Herrtage has sent me the following: "A Pynson hec pedibromita.e. dicitur a pes, -dis, & brico, & mitos gutta."—*Catholicon*. Addit. MS. 15,562, Brit. Mus.

"*Pedibomita / te. anglice (a pynson).*"—f. p. [feminine, 1st. decl.] *Ortus Vocabulorum*. W. de Worde. 1532.

"*Calcearium*. A shoe, pinson, socke."—Withals. "A pinsone, osa."—*Manipulus Vocab.* "Pynson, sho, *caffignon*."—Palsgrave, p. 254, col. 2; but "*Cassignon*: m. a pump, or thin-soled shoe."—Cotgrave. "*Soccatus*. That weareth stertups or pinsons."—Elyot. "*Detrahren soccos alicui*: to pull off one's pinsons or his stertups."—Cooper. "*Calcearium*. A shoe, pinson, or socke." *Calceo*. To put on shoes, socks, or pinsons.—ib.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot. *Pomanders*.

"*1st. Boy*. Your only way to make a good *pomander*, is this:—Take an ounce of the purest garden mould, cleansed and steeped seven days in change of motherless rosewater; then take the best ladanum, benzoine, both storaxes, ambergris, civet, and musk: incorporate them together, and work them into what form you please. This, if your breath be not too valiant, will make you smell as sweet as my lady's dog." 1602 (pr. 1607), *Lingua*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 419.—See the note there, referring to another recipe in Markham's *English Housewife*, p. 151, ed. 1631; also printed, from ed. 1675, p. 109, in Marston's *Works*, 1856, ii. 302. "Why, any sensible snout may wind Master Amoretto and his pomander." 1602.—*Lingua*, Dodsley, ix. 181.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot: *fragrant Pomanders*. "Perfumed paste, generally rolled into a ball, but sometimes moulded into other forms: it was carried in the pocket, or hung about the neck, and was considered a preservative against infection. A silver case filled with perfumes was sometimes called a pomander."—Dyce's *Webster*, ed. 1871, note on the *Malcontent*, V. i. p. 354.—S.

p. 78, l. 2: *droye*.—"Droil. A drudge, or servant. *North*.—See Malone's *Shakespeare*, xviii. 42; Tusser's *Husbandry*, p. 256."—*Halliwell's Dict.*.—S.

p. 78, l. 3: *pussle*.—Compare "Pucelle or *puzzel*, dolphin or dogfish," 1 Hen. VI, I. iv. 107, Globe ed. "Puzel or *Pussel*, Dolphin or Dog-fish."—Fol. 1623. Ladislaus, king of Naples, fell in love with his physician's daughter, "a *puzzell* verie beautifull."—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, iii. 545/ 1/52.—S. "Then, three pretty *puzzels* az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie yeere old a pees." 1575.—*Laneham's Letter*, my ed. p. 23.

p. 78: *naked breasts*.—See *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 170. Cp. Ben Jonson's side-notes in his *The Devil is an Ass*, Works, ed. Cunningham, ii. 237, on the lines,

. . . . “since Love hath the honour to approach
These sister-swelling breasts and touch this soft
And rosy hand.”

“Here he grows more familiar in his courtship.” “Wittipol plays with her paps, kisses her hands,” &c.; and in *Cynthia's Revels*, iii. 2, p. 168 (ed. Gifford), “Plays with his mistress's paps, salutes her pumps.”—P. A. D.

“*Bellula*. Let pinching city-dames orecloud their eyes :
Our breasts lie forth, like conduits of delight,
Able to tice the nicest appetite.
Mistresse Pinckanie, shall I have this Fanne ?

Pink. Madam, not this weake, do what I can.”

? 1590-1600, pr. 1610.—Peele & Marston, *Histrio-Mastix*, Act III. R. Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, ii. 50.

“Then silly old Fops, that kiss but like popes,
And call us Night Walkers and Fairies,
Go fumble old *Joan*, and let us alone,
And never come near our canary's :
We'll wear our breasts bare,¹ and curl up our hair,

¹ Mr. Ebsworth's note is, ‘The immodest exposure of the bosom had been assailed, not alone by the Puritans, but by many satirists, who could scarcely be deemed righteous over-much. But none of these had exceeded the stern rebuke uttered by Dante in the *Purgatorio*, Canto xxiii. :—

“O dolce frate, che vuoi tu, ch' io dica ?
Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto,
Cui non sara quest' ora molto antica,” etc.

‘Thus rendered by H. F. Cary:—

“What wouldest thou have me say ? A time to come
Stands full within my view, to which this hour
Shall not be counted of an ancient date,
When from the pulpit shall be loudly warn'd
The unblushing dames of Florence, lest they bare
Unkerchief'd bosoms to the common gaze.*
What savage women hath the world e'er seen,
What Saracens, for whom there needed scourge
Of spiritual or other discipline,
To force them walk with covering on their limbs.
But did they see, the shameless ones, what Heaven
Wafts on swift wing toward them while I speak,
Their mouths were op'd for howling : they shall taste
Of sorrow (unless foresight cheat me here).”

* After the Restoration, in 1678, had appeared a pamphlet “*Just and reasonable Reprehensions of Naked Breasts and Shoulders*.”

* On the Venetian courtesans' like undress, see Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611.

And shew our *Commodes* to the people ;
 But, as I'm a w——, if that you talk more,
 We'll raise them as high as Bow-steeple."

"The Vindication of Top Knots and Commodes," To
 the tune of *London Top Knot's*.—Bagford Collection, i. 124 (908, 967). Ballad Society, 1876.

Puppies and books were occasionally housd in the same soft receptacle as Stubbes's nosegays. Topsell's *Four-footed Beasts* (1607) says of the little Melitean or Sicilian dogs, "They are not above a foot, or half a foot long, and alway the lesser, the more delicate and precious... There be some wanton women which admit them to their beds, and bring up their young ones *in their own bosomes*, for they are so tender, that they seldom bring above one at a time, but they lose their life."—ed. 1658, J. Rowland, M.D., p. 128. And Mr. R. Roberts cites from Richard Brathwait's *The English Gentleman*, 1630, 4to, p. 28 :—

"But alas ; to what height of licentious libertie are these corrupte times grownne ? When that *Sex*, where Modesty should claime a native prerogative, gives way to fomentes of exposed loosenesse; by not only attending to the wanton discourse of immodest Lovers, but carrying about them (even *in their naked Bosomes*, where chasteſt desires ſhould only lodge) the amorous toyſe of *Venus* and *Adonis* : which Poem, with others of like nature, they heare with ſuch attention, peruse with ſuch devotion, and retaine with ſuch delectation, as no ſubject can equally reliſh their unſeasoned palate, like those lighter diſcourses."

'So early as 1595, in *Pleasant Quipps for upstart new-fangled Gentlewomen*, Stephen Gosson had assailed a ſimilar exposure, in Puritanical pride writing thus (Collier's Pref. to Gosson's *School of Abuse*, ed. 1841, p. xiii) :—

"These Holland smockes, ſo white as ſnowe,
 and gorgets brave with drawne-worke wrought,
 A tempting ware they are, you know,
 wherewith (as nets) vaine youths are caught," etc.
 "These periwigges, ruffes armed with pinnes,
 these ſpangles, chaines and laces all,
These naked paps, the Devil's ginnes,
 to worke vaine gazers painefull thrall :
 [He Fowler is, they are his nets,
 Wherewith of fooleſ great ſtore he gets.]"

'These ſatirifts and cynics who are perpetually decrying immodesty of feminine apparel, are invariably themſelves of impure diſpoſitions. They have a prurient longing to offensively rebuke offence.

"Fie on thee ! I can tell what thou wouldſt do
 Most mischievous foul ſin, in chiding ſin :
 For thou thyſelf hast been a libertine,
 As sensual as the brutiſh ſting itſelf :
 And all the embossed ſores and headed evils,
 That thou with license of free foot haſt caught,
 Wouldſt thou diſgorge into the general world."

As You Like It, Act ii. sc. 7.'

p. 78, l. 7 : *kissing*.—“I hold that the greatest cause of dissolutenesse in some women in England is this custome of kissing publicuely, for that by this meanes they lose their shamefastnesse, and at the very touch of the kisse there entreth into them a poison which doth infect them.” [In Spain they don’t do it] “because we are so wanton, that we need nothing to helpe our appetite, to make a thousand ill matches which would fall out if we should haue this occasion.” 1623.—J. Minshew, *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues*, p. 51-2. On p. 39 he notes the sodomising of pages by their masters (see Harrison, Pt. I. p. 130), on which Marston has a long passage in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 256-7. That kissing (smick-smack) was apt to lead to something further, see *Lusty Juzentus*, 1550, Hazlitt’s *Dodslie*, ii. 85 :—

<p>“ What a hurly-burly is here ! Smick smack, and all this gear ! You will to tick-tack,¹ I fear, If you had time :</p>	<p>Well, wanton, well : Iwisi can tell That such smock-smell Will set your nose out of tune.”</p>
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See Beatrice’s protest against the custom of indiscriminate kissing, in Marston’s *Dutch Courtezan* (1605), Act III. sc. i; *Works*, 1856, ii. 144. She’s one of Sir Herbert’s daughters, and says, “boddy a beautie ! tis one of the most unpleasing, injurious customes to ladyes ; any fellow that has but one nose on his face, and standing collar, and skirtes also lined with taffety sarcenet, must salute us on the lipps as familiarly. Soft skins save us ! There was a stub-bearded John-a-stile, with a ploydens face, saluted me last day, and stroke his bristles through my lippes : I ha spent ten shillings in pomatum since, to skinne them againe,” &c. &c. A. D. 1792, “there are many practices openly made use of betwixt the sexes which with us [the French] are considered as marks of the greatest familiarity. On the stage the actor applies his lips to those of the actress, when he salutes her ; the same is practised by the people in general; the kiss of love, and the kiss of friend-ship are impressed alike on the lips.” H. Meister (Swiss by birth). *Letters on England*, englisht 1799, p. 287-8.

p. 78. *Sweet smells of musks, &c.*

“ Their odorous smelles of Muske so sweete,
Their waters made of seemely sent,
Are lures of Luste, and farre unmeet,
Except where needes they must be spent.”

1579.—W. A., *A speciall Remedie against . . . lawlesse Love.* Collier’s Bibl. Cat. ii. 237.

“ *Mercatore*.—[I do] lack some pretty fine toy, or some fantastic new knack ; For da gentlewomans in England buy much tings for fantasy . . .

Gerontus . . As musk, amber, sweet-powders, fine odours, pleasant perfumes, and many such toys, Wherein I perceive consisteth that country[’s] gentlewomen’s joys.

¹ See *Meas. for Meas.*, I. ii. 196.

Besides, I have diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, smaradines, opals, onacles, jacinths, agates, turquoise, and almost of all kind of precious stones,

And many mo fit things to suck away money from such green-headed wantons."

1584.—R. W., *The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi. 330.

Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, is more reasonable than Stubbes :—

" *What smels sweete?*

Muske, Ciuet, Amber, and a thousand thinges
Long to rehearse, from which sweete odours springes :
Flowers are sweete, and sweetest in my minde,
For they are sweete by nature and by kinde.
Faire Women that in bosoms nosegays weare,
Kisse bvt their lippes, and say what sent they beare,
Their breath perfume, their flowers sweetly smell,
Both ioyned to her lippes, do exceeding well."

1600.—*Quips upon Questions . . .* By Clunyco de Curtanio Snuffe. F 4, back. I do not trust the evidence that has induced Mr. Ouvry, in his reprint, 1875, to assign the tract to John Singer: "Mr. Collier informs me that the name J. Singer was written in his own autograph [?] on the title-page of the volume."

p. 78-9. *Feathers, wide-gowns, face-painting.*

" *Epigram.*

WHAT feather'd fowle is this that doth approach
As if it were an Estredge in a Coach?
Three yards of feather round about her hat,
And in her hand a bable like to that :
As full of Birdes attire, as Owle, or Goose ;
And like vnto her gowne, her selfe seemes loose¹,
Cri 'ye mercie, Ladie, lewdnes are you there ?
Light feather'd stuffe befits you best to weare." (Sign. B 2, p. 11.)

1608.—S. Rowlands, *Humors Looking-Glasse* (Hunterian Club, 1872)

" **A**Gentleman, a verie friend of mine,
Hath a young wife, and she is monstrous fine :
Shee's of the new fantastique humor right,
In her attire an angell of the light.
Is she an Angell ? I : it may be well,
Not of the light, she is a light Angell.
Forsooth his dome must suffer alteration,
To entertaine her mightie huge Bom-fashion.
A hood's to base, a hat, which she doth make

¹ " *Taylor.* Inprimis, a loose-bodied gown :

Grumio. Master, if euer I said loose-bodied gowne, sow me in the skirts of it, and beate me to death with a bottome of browne thred : I said a gowne." —? 1596-7.—Shakspere, *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 135-8. Folio, p. 224, col. 2.

Notes on pp. 79, 80. *Women's Feathers, &c.* 271

With brauest feathers in the Estridge tayle,
She scornes to tredie our former proud wiues traces,
That put their glory in their o[w]n fair faces ;
In her conceit it is not faire enough,
She must reforme it with her painters stuffe ;
And she is neuer merry at the heart,
Till she be got into her leatherne Cart.
Some halfe a mile the Coach-man guides the raynes,
Then home againe ; birladie, she takes paines.
My friend, seeing what humours haunt a wife,
If he were loose, would lead a single life."

The Humors that haunt a Wife (*ib.* B 3, back, p. 14).

p. 79. *Looking-glasses : mirrors in hats, &c.*

"*Amorphus . . .* Where is your page? call for your casting-bottle, and place your mirror in your hat,¹ as I told you : so!" 1600.—Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, II. i.

p. 79 : *bracelets, rings, &c.*

"and now, my honie Loue,
Will we returne vnto thy Fathers house
And reuell it as brauely as the best,
With silken coats and caps, and golden *Rings*,
With Ruffes and Cuffes, and Fardingales and things ;
With Scarfes and Fannes, & double change of brau'ry,
With Amber *Bracelets*, Beades, and all this knau'ry."

? 1596-7.—Shakspere, *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 52-8. Folio, p. 223, col. 2.

p. 80. *Masks, face-painting, &c.*

"Peace, Cynick ; see, what yonder doth approach !
A cart ? a tumbrell ? No a badgēd coach.
What's in't ? Some man ? No, nor yet woman kinde,
But a celestiall angell, faire, refinde.
The divell as soone ! Her *maske* so hinders me,
I cannot see her beauties deitie,
Now that is off, she is so vizarded,
So steepet in Lemons juyce, so surphuled,
I cannot see her face. Under one hoode
Two faces : but I never understood
Or saw one face under two hoods till now :
'Tis the right semblance of old Janus brow.
Her *maske*, her *vizard*, her loose-hanging gowne
(For her loose-lying body), her bright spangled crowne,

¹ Both sexes wore them publicly ; the men, as brooches or ornaments in their hats, and the women at their girdles (see *Massinger*, vol. iv. p. 8), or on their breasts ; nay, sometimes in the centre of their fans, which were then made of feathers, inserted into silver or ivory tubes. Lovelace has a poem on his mistress's fan, 'with a looking-glass in it.' Gifford, in *Works*, i. 160, col. 2.

Her long slit sleeves, stiffe buske, puffe verdingall,
Is all that makes her thus angelcall.

Alas ! her soule struts round about her neck ;

Her seate of sense is her rebato set ;

Her intellectuall is a fained nicenesse,

Nothing but clothes and simpring precisenesse.

Out on these puppets, painted images,

Haberdashers shops, torch-light maskerries,

Perfuming pans, Dutch ancients, glowe-worms bright

That soyle our soules, and dampe our reasons light !

Away ! away ! hence ! coach-man, goe inshrine

Thy new-glas'd puppet in port Esqueline ! ”

599.—Jn. Marston, *Scourge of Villanie. Works*, 1856, iii. 283.

p. 80. *Visors made of velvet*: Of Masks, Gosson says, *Pleasant Quipps*, E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 254 :—

“ . . . on each wight, now are they seene,	What else do maskes but maskers show?
The tallow-pale, the browning-bay,	And maskers can both dance and play :
The swarthie-black, the grassie-greene,	Our masking dames can sport, you knowe,
The pudding red, the dapple graie,	Sometime by night, some time by day :
So might we judge them toyes	‘ Can you hit it ’ ¹ is oft their
aright	daunce,
To keepe sweet beautie still in	Deuse-ace ² fals stil to be their
plight.	chance.”

“ *Higgen*. We stand here for an epilogue
Ladies, your bounties first ! the rest will follow ;
For women’s favours are a leading alms :
If you be pleas’d, look cheerly, throw your eyes
Out at your *masks*.

Prigg. And let your beauties sparkle ! ”

1622.—Fletcher. *The Beggars Bush*, Works, i. 231.

p. 81 : *makers of new fashions*.—Compare Massinger, in his *Picture*, 1629-30. Act II, sc. ii, p. 220, col. 1, Moxon’s ed.—

“ *Eubulus*. There are some of you,
Whom I forbear to name, whose coining heads
Are the mints of all new fashions, that have done
More hurt to the kingdom by superfluous bravery,
Which the foolish gentry imitate, than a war
Or a long famine. All the treasure, by
This foul excess, is got into the merchant,
Embroiderer, silkman, jeweller, tailor’s hand,
And the third part of the land too, the nobility
Engrossing titles only.”

¹ Compare Rosaline: ‘Thou canst not hit it, my good man,’ *L. L. Lost*, IV. ii.; Ritson’s *Robin Hood*, ii. 213; *Wily Beguil’d* (1602-3), in Hazlitt, p. 254-5, and p. 371.

² A male’s genitals.

Notes on p. 81. *Women's Pride and Dress.* 273

p. 81. *Heathen women an example to Christian ones.*

"And all dainty dames may here learn of these gentlewomen to set more by working at God's house than by trimming of themselves. Would God they would spend that on the poor members of Christ and citizens of this spiritual Jerusalem, that they wastefully bestow on themselves, and would pity their poverty something like as they pamper themselves! St. Peter biddeth them leave their 'gold and frizzled hair, and their costly apparel' and so modestly behave themselves that 'their husbands, seeing their honest behaviour, may be won' to the Lord by them; for so Sara and other holy women did attire themselves, &c.

"But it is to be feared, that many desire rather to be like dallying Dinah than sober Sara. And if the husband will not maintain it, though he sell a piece of land, break up house, borrow on interest, raise rents, or make like hard shifts, little obedience will be shewed. Placilla the empress, the worthy wife of Theodosius the emperor would visit the sick folks in their houses herself, and help them; would taste of their broths, how they were made, bring them dishes to lay their meat in, and wash their cups; and if any would forbid her, she said she offered her labour for the empire, to God that gave it. And she would oft say to her husband, 'Remember what ye were, and who ye be now, and so shall ye always be thankful unto God.' It were comfortable to hear of such great women in these days, where the most part are so fine that they cannot abide to look at a poor body, and so costly in apparel that that will not suffice them in jewels, which their elders would have kept good hospitality withal. When Moses moved the people to bring such stuff as was meet for the making of God's tabernacle and other jewels in it, the women were as ready as the men, and they 'brought their bracelets, ear-rings, rings, and chains, all of gold;' and the women 'did spin with their own hands' both silk and goats hair: they wrought and brought so much willingly, that Moses made proclamation they should bring no more.

"Compare this people's devotion with ours that be called Christians, and ye shall find that all that may be scratched is too little to buy jewels for my mistress, though she be but of mean degree; and if anything can be pulled from God's house, or any that serveth in it, that is well gotten, and all is too little for them. God grant such costly dames to consider what metal they be made of! for if they were so fine of themselves as they would seem to be, none of these glorious things needed to be hanged upon them to make them gay withal. Filthy things need washing, painting, colouring, and trimming, and not those that be cleanly and comely of themselves: such decking and colouring maketh wise men to think, that all is not well underneath: content yourselves with that colour, comeliness, and shape, that God hath given you by nature, and disfigure not yourselves with your own devices; ye cannot amend God's doings, nor beautify that which he hath in that order appointed." . . . 1575.—Bishop Pilkington on Nehemiah (pr. 1585), *Works* (Parker Soc. 1842), pp. 385-387.

p. 82, l. 10 from foot. *In High Germany the Women use in effect one kind of apparel, &c.*—Munster (*Cosmography*, bk. iii, p. 325, ed. 1550) says that when he was a boy (circa 1497) his countrymen dressed plainly now they follow foreign

fashions, but the German women have returned to the ancient frugality in apparel which distinguished the men. "Hæ depositis multiplicibus & plicatissimis peplis, quibus grandia olim faciebant capita, unico tantum hodie velantur, modestiusque incedunt. Satis honestus hodie est quarundam mulierum uestitus, nisi quòd superne nimium excavatur."—S.

p. 87. *Women's dress : its motive :—*

"For, why is all this rigging and fine tackle, mistress,
 If your neat handsome vessels, of good sail,
 Put not forth ever and anon with your nets
 Abroad into the world? It is your fishing.
 There, you shall choose your friends, your servants, lady,
 Your squires of honour. I'll convey your letters,
 Fetch answers, do you all the offices
 That can belong to your blood and beauty."

1616.—Ben Jonson. *The Devil is an Ass*, Act II. sc. i. p. 352, col. 2.

p. 87.—*How the day's spent by Women :—*

"Daily till ten a clocke a bed she lyes,
 And then againe her Lady-ship¹ doth rise,
 Her Maid must make a fire, and attend
 To make her ready; then for wine sheele send,
 (A morning pint) she sayes her stomach's weake,
 And counterfeits as if shee could not speake,
 Vntill eleuen, or a little past,
 About which time, euer she breakes her fast;
 Then (very sullen) she wil pout and loure,
 And sit downe by the fire some halfe an houre.
 At twelue a clocke her dinner time she keepes,
 Then gets into her chaire, and there she sleepes
 Perhaps til foure, or somewhat thereabout;
 And when that lazie humour is worne out,
 She cals her dog, and takes him in her lap,
 Or fals a beating of her maid (perhap)
 Or hath a Gossip come to tell a Tale,
 Or else at me sheele curse, and sweare, and rale,
 Or walke a turne or two about the Hall,
 And so to supper and to bed: heeres all
 This paines she takes; and yet I do abuse her!
 But no wise man, I thinke, so kind would vse her.² . . ."

1609.—S. Rowlands, *A whole crew of kind Gossips, all met to be merry*, sign. D 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 29). See the rest of this amusing piece, on the faults the Six Wives find with their Husbands, and the latters' answers finding fault with their Wives.

¹ Ironical. She has no title.

² See S. Rowlands's sketch of a *Jealous husband*, in his *Diogenes Lanthorne*, 1607, sign. B 3 (ed. 1873, p. 13).

p. 87. And see in Rowlands's *Lore to it: first, Ille Stabbe ye, 1604*, the *Idiots huswife*, sign. E, back, p. 34, of the Hunterian Club reprint, 1872:—

“**F**yne, neate, and carious mistris Butter fye,
The Idle-toy to please an Idiots eye,
You that wish all Good-huswiues hang'd for why ;
Your dayes work's done each morning when you rise,
Put on your Gowne, your Ruffe, your Masske, your Chaine,
Then dine & sup, & go to bed againe.
You that will call your Husband ‘Gull & Clowne,’
If he refuse to let you haue your Will :
You that will poute and lowere, and fret and frowne,
Vnlesse his purse be laish open still,
You that will hane it, get it how he can,
Or he shall weare a Vulcans brow, poore man,
Ille Stabbe thee.”

Compare too an older complaint in *The Schole-House of Women*, 1541 (ed. 1572), in Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 111-112:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>¶ Wed them once, and then adue,
Farwel, all trust and huswifery ;
Keep their chambers, and them
self mew,
For staining of their fisnamy
[complexion],
And in their bed all day doo lye ;
Must, once or twice euery week,
Fain them self for to be sick.</p> | <p>¶ Then must she haue maidens two or
three,
That may then gossips togither
bring ;
Set them to labour to blere the eye ;
Them self wil neither wash ne wring,
Bake ne brue, ne any thing ;
Sit by the fire, let the maidens trot,
Brew of the best in a halfpenny pot.</p> |
| <p>¶ Send for this, and send for that ;
Little or nothing may them please ;
Come in, good gossip, and keep
me chat,
I trust it shall do me great ease ;
Complain of many a sundry disease ;
A gossip's cup between vs twain,
Til we be gotten vp again.</p> | <p>¶ Play who wil, the man must labour,
And bring to house all that he may ;
The wife again dooth nought but
glaour,
And holde him vp with yea and nay ;
But of her cup he shall not assay,
Other she saith, it is to thin,
Or els, iwis, there is nothing in.” &c.</p> |

p. 87, l. 10 from foot. *Othersome spende the greatest parte of the daie, in sittynge at the doore.*—“They [Englishwomen] sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by.” Emanuel van Meteren's *History of the Netherlands*, in Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 72; *Harrison*, Pt. I, p. lxiii.—S.

“*Builer*. I am now going to their place of resi lence, situate in the choicest place of the city, and at the sign of the Wolf, just against Goldsmiths' Row [see *Harrison*, Part II, Forewords, § 1], where you shall meet me ; but ask not for

me, only walk to and fro ; and, to avoid suspicion, you may spend some conference with the shopkeepers' wives : they have seats built a purpose for such familiar entertainment." 1607.—G. Wilkins, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 537-8.

That tradesmen us'd their wives as lures, seems certain. Compare, in Marston's *Dutch Courtezan* (1605), Act III. sc. i. (*Works*, 1856, ii. 155). Mistresse Mulligrub speaking to Lionell, the man of Mister Burnish, a Goldsmith, about his master and mistress :—

"An honest man hee is, and a crafty. Hee comes forward in the world well, I warrant him ; and his wife is a proper woman ; that she is ! Well, she has ben as proper a woman as any in Cheape. She paints now, and yet she keeps her husbands old customers to him still. In troth, a fine-fac'd wife, in a wainscot-carv'd seat, is a worthy ornament to a tradesmans shop, and an attractive, I warrant : her husband shall find it in the custome of his ware, Ile assure him." And at p. 157, Master Mulligrub says,

"All thinges with me shall seeme honest that can be profitable.
He must nere winch, that would or thrive or save,
To be cald nigard, *cuckold*, cut-throat, knave ! "

And in his Satyre I, 1598, *Works*, iii. 215, Marston says :—

"Who would not chuck to see such pleasing sport,
To see such troupes of gallants still resort
Unto Cornutos shop? What other cause
But chast Brownetta, Sporo thether drawes ? "

Machiavelli's *Instructions to his Son* how to make money and get on in life,—which, if not meant as a Satire, is an utterly base and mean-in-spirit, tho' worldly-wise book—says on this subject :—

"If that thy wife be faire, and thou but poore,
Let her stand like a picture at thy doore,
Where, though she do but pick her fingers ends,
Faire eies, fond looks, will gaine a world of friends.
Taske her not to worke, if she be prettie ;
Bid her forbeare ; her toyle makes thee pittie ;
Shee may with ease, haue meanes for greater gaines,
With rich rewards, and pleasure for her paines.
Play at bo-peep, see me and see me not ;
It comes off well, that is so closely got ;
And euermore say, 'aye ! well fare the vent
That paies the charges of the house, and rent !'
Come, come, tis no matter, be rul'd by this,
The finest Dames doth some times do amisse,
Yet walke demure, like puritants indeede,
And earely rise to a Sermon for a neede,
And make great shew of deuoutest praiier,
When she only goes to meeete her louer.

Turning backe, poore foole desires the text ;
Shee tels him any thing that comefn next ;
And turning o're the leafe to reade the verse,
Scarse for laughing, one word can rehearse,
But prettily turnes it off with some iest :
He beares with all ; he knowes it is his best.

If that thy wife be olde, thy Daughters yong,
And faire of face, and of a fluent tongue,
If by her sutors, siluer may be had,
Beare with small faults ; the good will help the bad.
Be not too seuere, time may mend their faults ;
He is a foole, before a cripple haults ;
Or he that findes a fault where gaine comes in,
Tis pittie but his cheeke should e're look thin :
What though thou knowst that vice doe gaine it all ;
Will vertue helpe, when thou beginst to fall ?
This is no world for vertuous men to thriue ;
Tis worke enough to keepe thy selfe aliuie.
Let Wife and Daughters loue to make thee wealthie ;
Thou knowst that gold will seeke to make thee healthie.

If thy maid-servants be kinde-hearted wenches,
And closely make kinde bargins on the benches,
Let them haue libertie, loue and pleasure ;
All these are helps to bring in thy treasure ;
Let them laugh and be merrie ; it yelds content ;
Thei're humor all, till all their coyne is spent.
If by their pleasures, may thy profit grow,
Winke at a wanton who hath not beeene so."

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiavils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 13-14.

"The Answer to Machiavels Vncasing" says, *ib.* sign. F 2, back :—

"An honest minde in evry trade doth well,
The winde blowes ill, that blowes the soule to hell.
Doe not before the Diuell a Candle hold,
Seeke no corrupt meanes for siluer or gold.

If that thy wife be faire, be thou not foule,
To let her play the Ape, and thou the Owle.
Winke at no faults ; it is but misery,
By bestiall meanes to releue necessity.
If thou bee a Husband, gouerne so thy wife,
That her peeuiish meanes worke not thy strife ;
Giue her not too much lawe, to run before ;
Too much boldnesse doth bring thy ouerthrow ;
Yet abridge her not too much by any meane ;
But let her still be thy companion.

And to thy daughter proue a better sire,
 Then [=than], like a hacknie, let her out to hire.
 What a greeuous case were this for thee,
 To extoll thy selfe to prosperity
 By such insatiat meanes ! a heauy sense
 Deseruing nought but hell for recompence."

Then the Answer goes on to advise that austerity and distance between Father and Child which is in such markt contrast with our modern notions and practice, but is recommended in *King Solomon's Book of Wisdom*, in my *Adam Davie* (E. E. T. Soc., 1878), and other early books on the treatment of children (see my *Babees Book*, &c., E. E. Text Soc.) :—

" Like a kinde father, loue thy children deare,
 Yet to outward view let not loue appeare,
 Least too boldly they, presuming on thy loue,
 By audacious meanes doe audacious proue.
 Seeme not a companion in any case
 To thy children : leарne them know who's in place,
 That due obedience to thee be done ;
 The end must nedes be good, that's well begonne.
 Thus may thy children be at thy commaund,
 With willing heart, still helpefull at thy hand.
 Familiarity, contempt doth breed ;
 By no meanes doe thou stoope vnto thy seede :
 Whilst the twig is yong, bend it as thou list ;
 Once being growne, thei'll stubbornely resist,
 Caring not for parents nor their talking,
 Commending their owne wits ; age is doting.
 Looke well to youth and how their time is spent,
 Least thou by leisure afterwards repent . . .
 Vse no corrections in an angry vaine,
 Which will but vexe thee much, increase thy paine . . .
 The greefe is thine, when children goe astray ;
 Give them not too much liberty to play,
 Least that they doe to a custome bring it,
 And euer after forbear to leaue it."

* * * * *
 [sign. G 2] " Machiauels rules, let Machiauels reade ;
 Loue thou thy God ; his spirit be thy speede."

p. 87-8. The following applies to a woman who keeps a shop herself :—

" Tell mistris minkes, shee that keepes the shop,
 Shee is a Ship that beares a gallant top ;
 Shee is a Lady for her louely face,
 And her countenance hath a Princes grace,
 And that her beautie hath inthrald thee soe,

Notes on pp. 87, 88. *Shopwomen, Gardens.* 279

Except shee yeelds remorse, shee workes thy woe ;
Then cast thine eye vpon her beautious cheeke,
Protesting that thou neuer saw'st the like :
Her smooth forehead and her comly dressing ;
Her louely Breasts, cause loues increasing ;
Her Iuorie teeth, her lip and chin ;
Her snow white hand, the like was neuer seene ;
Her leg and foote, with her gate so comlie,
Her apparel's worne so neate and seemely :
Thus o're-worne with care thou mai'st seeme to be,
Till thou hast made her proude herselfe to see ;
Then she nods the head with smiling fauor,
That thou shouldest bestow such loue vpon her.
Then bite the lip, winke and hang the head,
And giue a sigh, as though thy heart were dead ;
And shew strange passions of affections sence,
That she may pittie loue sirreuerence,
Wishing her selfe worthie of thy fauor,
Which is a meanes to gaine some thing by her.
Thus let the issue of this cunning be,
That from her purse, some profit come to thee,
A peece of Sattin, Fustian, or some Stiffe,
A Falling-Band, or a three Double-ruffe ;
A Hat, a Shirt, a Cloack-cloath or a Ring,
Kniues, Purses, Gloues, or some such prettie thing,
Some-what hath some sauour, 'tis this gaine
That still iuention giues his sweetest vaine."

1615.—*The Vncasing of Machinels Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 11-12.

p. 88, l. 8 : *thei have Gardens, &c.*—Compare the description of Angelo's garden in *Measure for Measure*, IV. i. 28—33. In it was a garden-house, V. i. 212. Corisca says, "I have a couch and a banqueting-house in my orchard, Where many a man of honour has not scorn'd To spend an afternoon."—Massinger's *Bondman*, ed. Gifford, 1840, Act I. sc. iii. p. 93, col. 1.—S.

"This yeaer is like to prouefall to such as followe the *Garden Alleyes*, for, as some haue gone before, so the rest are like to followe, and marre their drinking with an hempen twist vnlesse they leauie Harlote-hunting, with more good will then Millers haue minde to morning prayer if the wnde serue them in any corner on Sundaies." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, *The Black Yeare*, C 3, back.

In *Skialetheia*, 1598, mention is made of an old citizen,

" who, comming from the
Curtaine [in Shoreditch] sneaketh in
To some odde garden noted house of sinne ; "

and West, in a rare poem, *The Court of Conscience*, 1607, tells a libertine,

" Towards the Curtaine then you must be gon,

The garden alleyes paled on either side ;
Ift be too narrow walking, there you slide."

(See p. 308 below.) Halliwell's *Illustrations*, p. 38.

Also in 1606, *No-Body and Some-Body*, Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, i. 352 :—

" *Somebody* doth maintaine a common strumpet
Ith Garden-allies, and undid himselfe."

FORNICATION AND ADULTERY.

p. 89, 90. *Harlots & Brothels*.—See S. Rowlands's *Doctor Merrie-Man*, 1609, sign. C 3 (p. 21, Hunt. Club, 1877), and the fun she makes of the men she takes in :—

" I am a protest Courtezan,
That liue by peoples sinne :
With halfe a dozen Puncks I keepe,
I haue great comming in.
Such store of Traders haunt my house,
To finde a lusty Wench,
That twentie Gallants in a weeke,
Doe entertaine the *French* ;
Your Courtier, and your Citizen,
Your very rustique Clowne,
Will spend an Angell on the Poxe,
Euen ready mony downe.
I striue to liue most Lady-like,
And scorne those foolish Queanes,
That doe not rattle in their Silkes
And yet haue able meanees
I haue my Coach, as if I were
A Countesse, I protest,
I haue my daintie Musicke playes
When I would take my rest.
I haue my Seruing-men that waite
Vpon mee in blew Coates ;

I haue my Oares that [do] attend
My pleasure, with their boates :
I haue my Champions that will fight,
My Louers that do fawne :
I haue my Hat, my Hood¹, my Maske,
My Fanne, my Cobweb Lawne ;
To giue my Gloue vnto a Gull,
Is mighty fauour found,
When for the wearing of the same,
It costs him twentie pound.
My Garter, as a gracious thing,
Another takes away :
And for the same, a silken Goune
The Prodigall doth pay. . . .
Another lowly-minded youth,
Forsooth my Shooe-string craves,
And that he putteth through his eare,
Calling the rest, bace slaves.
Thus fit I Fooles in humours still,
That come to me for game,
I punish them for Venerie,
Leauing their Purses lame."

And see Macilente's chaff of Fastidious Brisk in prison, brought there by buying presents for smart ladies :

" What, do you sigh? this it is to kiss the hand of a countess, to have her coach sent for you, to hang poniards in ladies' garters, to wear bracelets of their hair, and for every one of these great favours, to give some slight jewel of five

¹ " Alice. The poor common whores can have no traffic for the priuy rich ones ; your caps and hoods of velvet call away our customers, and lick the fat from us." 1616.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iii. *Works*, ii. 192, col. 1.

hundred crowns or so : why, 'tis nothing ! Now, monsieur, you see the plague that treads on the heels o' your foppery : well, go your ways in, remove yourself to the two-penny ward quickly to save charges." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, V. vii. ; *Works*, i p. 138, col. 2.

p. 97, L 13 : *huggle*, to embrace closely.

"Lye still, lye still, thou little Musgrave,
And *huggle* me from the cold."

Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard, ll. 61-2. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.—S.

p. 97. *Cottages in every lane end*. Against this evil was past, in 1589, the Act 31 Eliz. c. 7. "An acte agaistne erectinge and mayntayninge of Cottages. For the avoydinge of the great Inconveniences whiche are founde by experiance to grove by the erectinge and buylinge of great nombers and multitude of Cottages, which are daylie more and more increased in manye partes of this Realme : Be it enacted . . . That . . . noe person shall, within this Realme of England, make buylde or erect . . . any manner of Cottage for habitacion or dwelling, nor convert or ordeyne anye Buyldinge or Howsinge . . . as a Cottage for habitacion or dwelinge, unlesse the same person doe assigne and laye to the same Cottage or Buyldinge fower acres of Grownde at the least . . . beinge his or her owne Freehold and Inheritaunce lienge nere to the said Cottage, to be contynuallie occupied & manured therewith, so longe as the same Cottage shalbe inhabited." The Penalty for breaking the Act was £10, and 40s. a Month for keeping such a Cottage.

p. 98. *Whoredom to be punisht*.

"In this Treatise (louing countrimen) you shall see what . . . inconuenience may come by following flattering strumpets. I know not, I, what should be the cause why so innumerable harlots and Cartizans abide about London, but because that good lawes are not looked vnto : is there not one appointed for the apprehending of such hell-moths, that eat a man out of bodie & soule? And yet there be more notorious strumpets & their mates about the Citie and the suburbs, than euer were before the Marshall was appointed : idle mates, I meane, that vnder the habit of a Gentleman or seruing man, think themselues free from the whip, although they can giue no honest account of their life." 1602.—S. Rowlands, *Greene's Ghost haunting Coniecatchers*, sign. A 2, back (Hunterian Club, 1872, p. 4-5).

Compare in C. Bansley's *Pryde and Abuse of Women*, ab. 1550, Hazlitt's *E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 233 :

"Take no example by shyre townes,
Nor of the Cytie of London :
For therein dwell proude wycked
ones,
The poyon of all this region. | For a stewde strumpet can not so soone
Gette up a lyght lewde fashyon,
But everye wanton Jelot wyll lyke it
well,
And catch it up anon."

And Latimer's 6th Sermon, in 1549, before Edward VI. : "O Lord, what whoredom is used now-a-days . . . how God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of London ; yea, the Bank [Southwark], when it stood, was never so common ! . . . It is wonderful that the city of London doth suffer such whoredom

unpunished . . . There is some place in London [the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand], as they say, ‘Immunity, impunity :’ what should I call it ! A privileged place for whoredom. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there ; the sheriffs, they cannot meddle with it ; and the quest, they do not inquire of it : and there men do bring their whores, yea, other men’s wives, and there is no reformation of it.” *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196. See the further extract in the note for p. 174, on p. 317 below.

But that the complaint was in the country too, see the “manifolde Enormities” in Lancashire and Cheshire, about 1590 :

“XXV. Sundrie notoriouse vises abowndinge, by meanes of y^e former confusion in y^e Ecclesiasticall state.

1. Unlawfull and vnresonable vsurie, in no Cuntrie more Common.
2. *ffornication and Adulterie in all sortes shamefully prostituted.* [? practist.]
3. Drunkennes maintayned by the multitude of Alehouses, and vnresonable strength of Ale soulde with owte sise of Statute : a vise altogether vnpunished, and not any way punishable that we knowe. (See the old Exeter regulations against it in Mr. A. Hamilton’s *Quarter-Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne*.)
4. Seditiowse and mutinowse talkinge vpon the Alebench, and openly in their street assemblies, tendinge to the depravinge of Religion and the ministerie now established, and to the advancement of Poperie and Popishe practises.
5. Continall sweringe and Blaspheminge the name of god in the mouthe of owlde and young, Riche and poore ; no way punished or punishable.”

Remains, Hist. & Lit. Chetham Soc. 1875, p. 12.

p. 99 : *punishment for Whoredom*. Compare Latimer, last Sermon before Edward VI., in 1550 :—“I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death ; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not be then so much adultery, whoredom, and lechery in England as there is . . I would wish that adultery should be punished with death . . If this law were made, there would not be so much adultery nor lechery used in the realm as there is. Well, I trust once yet, as old as I am, to see the day that lechery shall be punished : it was never more need, for there was never more lechery used in England than is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle ; but it is a sad matter, and an earnest matter, for lechery is a great sin.” *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 244 : and see the note there from Sir T. More and Dr. Legh. Harrison would have made adulterers slaves : I. 326.

p. 100, l. 9. *There was a man whose name was W. Ratsurb.*—“On the third of Februarie [1583-4] being sundaie, William Bruistar habardasher (a man of more than threescore yeares old) being lodged ouer the south-west porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstreet, with a woman named Marie Breame (whome the same Bruistar had bailed out of Bridewell) were both found smothered to death, in maner following. On the same sundaie in the morning, a marriage being solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt, which was thought to haue beene the burning of old shooes or such like, in some gentlemans chamber there about, thereby to supprese the infection of the plague. But in the afternoone before euening praier, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of Bruistars chamber, and therupon

made hast to the dore, which they found fast locked, and were forced to breake it open, but could not enter, till they had ripped vp the lead and roofe of the chamber to let out the smothering stench : which being doone, they found Bruistar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in his apparell and close trussed) his right thigh & right arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire of a small pan of coales that stood before him, but now b.ing cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke of aire. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether part of hir bodie before to hir brest, and behind to the shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but the bottome of the settle whereon Bruistar sat."—*Holinsched*, ed. 1587, p. 1353, coll. 1 & 2, ll. 60—15. There were various surmises about this affair, but it was never explained. Pamphlets were written on it.—S. Holinsched's account is, as usual, from Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1173. Stow adds: "Marie Breame had bene accused by her husband to be a nice [foolish, bad] woman of her bodie, but her husband being a bad man, and hauing spent faire and large possessions and all whatsoever, hauing but two pence left in his purse, hung himselfe on a tree, against a stone wall at Marten abbey in Surrey about Whitsontide, in Anno 1592."

p. 101.—See the fourth Gossip's complaint of her stingy gambling Husband, in S. Rowlands's *Crew of kinde Gossips*, 1609, sign. B 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 13):

"Looke, heere's the best apparrell that I haue,
The very wedding Gowne my Father gaue.
He [my Husband] neuer gaue me yet a paire of Gloues,
I am beholding more to others loues
Then vnto him,—in honest manner tho, [irony]
And (Gossips) I beseech you take it so.—
There are kinde Gentlemen, some two or three,
And they indeed my louing Kinsmen be,
Which will not see me want, I know it, I :
Two of them at my house in Terme time lye,
And comfort me with iests and odde deuice,
When as my Husbands out a nights at Dice.
For if I were without a merry friend,
I could not liue a twelue-month to an end ;
One of them gaue me this same Ruffe of Lawne,—
It cost three pound, but last week in the Pawne,—
Do y' thinke my husband would haue bin so free ?
Alas he neuer made so much of mee."

(See the rest, about the Hat she sees in church, and the Husband's answer, p. 28.)

p. 101. *Wives live by whoredom.*

"Knockem. . . I'll provide you a coach to take the air in.

Mrs. Littlewit. But do you think you can get one?

Knockem. O, they are common as wheelbarrows where there are great dunghills. Every petitfogger's wife has 'em ; for first he buys a coach that he

may marry, and then he marries that he may be made cuckold in't; for if their wives ride not to their cuckolding, they do them no credit." 1614.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iii. *Works*, ed. Cunningham, ii. 192, col. 2.

GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.

p. 102: *glutton*.—“What good can the great gloton do w^t his bely standing a strote, like a taber, & his noll toty with drink, but balk vp his brewes in y^e middes of his matters, or lye down and slepe like a swine. And who douteth but y^e the body dilicately fed, maketh, as y^e rumour saith, an vnchast bed.” d. 1535, Sir T. More, *Works* (1557), p. 100.—R. Roberts.

“London, look on, this matter nips thee near:
Leave off thy riot, pride, and sumptuous cheer;
Spend less at board, and spare not at the door,
But aid the infant, and relieve the poor;
Else, seeking mercy, being merciless,
Thou be adjudg'd to endless heaviness.”

Lodge & Greene's *Looking-Glass for London & England*, pr. 1594; p. 120, col. ii., ed. Dyce.

p. 102. *Gluttony*: see the ‘Gluttone’ in Rowlands’s *Ile Stabbe yee*, 1604 (1872, p. 36); S. Rowlands, ‘To a Gormandizing Glutton’, in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 35; his *Letting of Humours Blood* (1600), ed. 1874, p. 85. See too W. Averell, in 1588, on Gluttony and Drunkenness:

“What should I speake of your two greatest Gods *πολυφασία* and *πολυποσία*, gluttonous feeding and excessiue drinking, by which you make a number, not men but beastes, that haue their soules but in stedde of salt, to keepe their bodies from noysome stincke, who, though they appeare men, are indeede but Ventres, that place their pleasure in long feeding, and their delight in strong drinking.

“I [the Back] am not so changable in fashions, as you [the Belly] are choyse in dishes: what boyling, what baking, what roasting, what stewing, what curious and daintie conseruing, what Syropes, what sauces, with a thousand deuices to moue an appetite without necessitie, and charge nature without neede. I talk not of other effects that accompany your gluttonous bellie when it is fant with wine. What lasciuiousnes in wordes, what wantonnes in gestures, what filthines in deedes, what swearing and blaspheming, what quarrelling and brawling, what murder and bloodshed, nay what wickednes is not vntemperat belly subiect to, and most readie to accomplish?

“Besides, howe doth your gluttonie chaunge Natures comlines into foule deformednes? how do the eyes flame with fierines, the face flush with rednes, the hands shake wyth vnstedfastnes, and the feete reele through drunkeneses? the head swimmes, the eyes dazell, the tongue stammers, the stomach is ouercharged, the body distempered, and the feeble legges ouerburdened, which beeing not able

to beare an vnralie Lord, doo lay him in ye durt like an ouer ruled slave ; and so through your distemperature, your selfe not alone weakened, but the other members so diseased, as to reckon vpp the sicknesses and sores of which the Bellie is cause, were to purge the stables of Augea king of Elis, or to sette them downe which were never knowne to Auicen, Galien, Hippocrates, nor all the Phisitions that ever liued, so that by these means it may be saide, that a gluttonous Bellye makes rich Phisitions and fat Churchyarde."—*A mernailous combat of contrarieties*, by W. [illiam] A. [verell] 1588, sign. B 2, back, B 3.

p. 102. *Drunkard*: see S. Rowlands' sketch of one in his *He Stabbe yee*, 1604, C 3, p. 21; *Diogenes Lanthorne*, 1607 (ed. 1873, p. 7-8); also his Epigrams 21 and 22 in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600 (ed. 1874, p. 27-8); and his praise of good liquor in *Letting*, &c., p. 76-8. On 'How to make Drunken folk Sober,' see Sir Wm. Vaughan's *Naturall and Artificiall Directions for Health*, 1608. Compare also the Act :—

A.D. 1606-7. 4 James I, chap. v. "An Acte for repressinge the odious and loathsome synne of Drunckenes. Whereas the loathsome and odious Synne of Drunkennes is of late growen into common use within this Realme, beinge the roote and foundation of many other enormous Synnes, as Bloodshed, Stabbinge, Murder, Swearinge, Fornication, Adulterye, and such lyke, to the great dishonour of God and of our Nacion, the overthrowe of many good Artes and Manuell Trades, the disablinge of dyvers Workmen, and the generall ympoverishing of many good Subjectes abusively wasting the good Creatures of God : Be it therefore enacted . . . That all and every person or persons which, after Fortie Dayes next followinge the end of this present Session of Parliament, shalbe drunke, and of the same Offence of Drunkennes shall be lawfullie convicted, shall for every such Offence forfeite and loose Fyve Shillinges . . . to be paid within one week next after his her or their Conviccion thereof, to the Handes of the Churchwardens of that Parish where the Offence shalbe commyted, who shalbe accomable therefore to the use of the Poore of the same Parishes ."

§ III puts a Penalty of 3*s. 4d.*, or the Stocke, on Persons found tippling, on View of any Mayor, Justices, &c. (On Church-Ales, &c., see p. 307-9 below.)

See too in Lupton's *Sivquila* (*Aliquis*), 1580, p. 57-60, the judgment on a rich drunkard and a poor one, in *Nusquam* or Nowhere, Lupton's 'Utopia' :—

"A, thou churle, more churlish than a hog or swine ! for though Niggardly and drunken sometimes they driue their fellowes from the meat, and eate by churles worse than swyne, yet when they haue filled themselues sufficiently, they themselues, yet when they haue filled themselues sufficiently, they

goe awaye, and leaue the reste, eate it who wil. But thou, greedie cormorant, when thou hast taken more than is sufficient, thou dost not only consume more on thy selfe, but also the rest thou keepest from the poore hungry brother, and wilt not leaue anye thing for him, as the swine doth. And now, seeing Gods lawe cannot moue thee to go vnto Heaven, I will see if our law can stay thee from Hel. Therfore, bycause thou hast so much welth that thou canst not tel how to bestow the same wel, and more liuing than thou art worthy of ; therefore I wil, according to the lawe made for drunkards, that thou shalt give yerely during thy life, a prechers stipend a drunckarde. to a godly learned man, for his better maintenance ; who shall

[1. To pay a Preacher to preach to him 3 times a week.] be bounde euery weeke, three times, during thy life, not only to attend vpon thee one halfe houre at a time, then instructing thee (by the Scriptures) thy dutie to God and man, and the way to saluation, persuading thee also from drunkennesse, and shewing also howe detestable it is before God, and what is the gaine thereof; But also shall preache three dayes every weeke in the parishe Churche where thou dwellest. And thou shalt sitte also three market dayes in the open Market, with a pot in thy hand, & a wryting on thy forehead, as followeth: ‘*This is the Drunkarde that spente as muche dayly at the Tauerne and for wine, as tenne of his nexte neyghbours did spende daylye in their houses.*’ And this being ended, thou shalte remayne one halfe yeare in prison, and there thou shalt be taught to fast for thy long excesse: for euerye dinner thou shalte be allowed not aboue a grote, in breade, drinke, and meate: and thou shalte be allowed nothing but breade and drinke at night in steade of thy supper, whiche shall not be aboue the value of a penny.’ The poor man who is a drunkard is to “sitte in the open market as the riche man did, but he shal not be imprisoned, . . . he must not drinke in anye Tipling-house or Tauerne the space of one whole yeare after. And bycause he may be knownen, he shall weare on his bosome the picture of a swine, al that while, whensoeter he shall be out of his owne house . . . and every Sondaye during that yere, he shal sit before the Pulpit al the Sermon tyme, to heare the word of God, and learne to abyde drunkennesse.” Then, after complaining of the richer drunkards in England, *Sirquila* says “And the poorer sort, though they are not so able as they (the rich), nor can not so conueniently as they, yet on the Sundaye at the furthest they wyll bee even wyt them, (if one days drinking will serue) for they wyll so tipple almost al the daye, and perhaps the next night, that all their whole weekes worke will scantily paye their Sundayes shotte: but some of them (not worth verye much) if they worke one day, they will loyter and drinke three for it, (I will not saye they will be drunke two and a halfe of the same.)”

See also the extract on drunkards from Bullein in my *Babes Book*, p. 247, and Andrew Boorde’s *Introduction*, my edn., p. 147, 149, 337-8.

“And I would to God, that in our time also wee had not iust cause to complaine of this vicious plant of unmeasurable Boalling [bowl-ing] . . . For it is not sufferable in a Christian Countrie, that men should thus labour with great contention, and strive, for the maistrie (as it were) to offende God, in so wilfull waste of his gratiouse benefits.” 1570-1601.—W. Lambarde. *Perambulation of Kent*, 1826 reprint, p. 320-1.

“Awake, thou noblest drunkard Bacchus; thou must likewise stand to me, if thou canst for reeling. Teach me, you sovereign skinker, how to take the German’s upsye-freeze, the Danish rousa, the Switzer’s stoop of rhenish, the Italian’s parmizant, the Englishmans healths, his hoops, cans, half-cans, gloves, frolics, and flapdragons, together with the most notorious qualities of the truest tosspots, as, when to cast, when to quarrel, when to fight, and where to sleep: hide not a drop of thy moist mystery from me, thou plumpest swill-bowl; but, like an honest red-nosed wine-bibber, lay open all thy secrets, and the mystical hieroglyphic of rashers o’ th’ coals, modicums, and shoeing-horns, and

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why they were invented, for what occupations, and when to be used." 1609.
T. Dekker. *Gul's Hornbook, Praemium*, ed. 1862, p. 4.

My friend Prof. Paul Meyer, in his interesting Preface to his edition of *Le Début des Héritants d'Armes* (ab. 1545), and John Cokie's Answer to it (1550), for his *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 1877, notes, that among the kindly remarks on England of the French Middle-Age writers—for France and England were then nearly one,—the only reproach was that *Anglia fstat*¹, or *Li mid dre bavar en Angletorre*,² though William of Normandy says in his *Besant*³ that Pride has married in England her 3 eldest daughters, Envy, Lechery, Drunkenness. The most fertile source of early chaff against the English was the legend of their having tails, being *An̄glici caudati*, as their apostle St. Augustine bare witness. See the article *caudati* in Du Cange; A de Montaignon, *Angiennes Poesies Fran̄aises* VI, 347, &c. P. Meyer. See also Robert of Brunne's *Chronicle*.

p. 103. *England better in old times*.—See the other side of the question, in S. Rowlands's "Twas a merry world in the old time" in his *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot*, 1614 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 28-9).

p. 103: *rough fare of our Forefathers: roots, pulse, herbes, &c.* Compare the Ploughman's food in Will's *Vision*, Text B, Passus VI, l. 282, 321, p. 107-110, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Skeat, bearing out this assertion, more or less. In Edward VI.'s time, Wm. Forrest says in his *Plasauant Poesye of Princelie Practise* (Starkey's *Life & Letters*, E. E. T. Soc. 1878, Extra Series, ed. Herritage) :—

MS. Reg. 17 D III. lf 61 (dated, on lf 8, A. D. 1548).

"So, for that Ox whiche hathe beene the like soldē,
for fforttie shealingis nowe takethe hee fyue pownde :
yea, seauny is more, I haue herde it so tolde :
hee cannot els lyue ; so deare is his grownde.
Sheepe, thonghe they neauer so plentie abownde,
suche price they beare whiche shame is to here tell,
that scace the pooareman can bye a morsell.

Twoe pense (in Beeif) hee cannot haue serued,
other in **Mutton**, the price is so hye :
vndre a groate hee can haue none kerued :
so goethe hee (and his) to bedde hungrylye,
and risethe agayne wiþe bellies emptie,
whiche turnethe to tawnye their white englisch skyn,
like to the swarthie coelored Fflawndrekyn.

Wheare they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy & stowte, [lf 6r, back.]
to shooþe, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate :
to matche all natyonys dwellinge heere abowte,
as hitherto (manlye) they holde the chief seate ;

¹ *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Wright & Halliwell, i. 5 (Cotton MS. Vesp. B xiii). *Archives des Missions*, 2nd series, iii. 183 (Digby MS. 53, Bodleian Library).

² Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Proverbes*, ii. 281.

³ ed. Martin, l. 2000-3 : cp. the editor's note on this passage.

if they bee pinched and weynd from meate,
I wisse, O kynge, they, in penurye thus pende,
shall not bee able thye Royalme to defende.

Owre Englische nature cannot lyue by Rooatis,
by water herbys, or suche beggerye baggage,
that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis.
geeue Englische men meate, after their olde vsage,
Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage ;
and then I dare to this byll sett my hande :
they shall defende this owre noble Englande."

TREATMENT OF THE POOR, USURY, &c.

p. 105. *Stinginess of the Rich to the Poor.*—“The poore with vs, woulde thinke themselves happy, if they migthe haue a messe of potage, or the scraps that come from the Rich mens tables, two or three houres after they begin their dinner or supper, and to haue the same giuen them at their doore. But many of The wicked and the saide rich greedie guttes, caring for nothing, but for the hillng cruel vsing of and filling of their owne backe and bellie, can not be content to the poore. goe by their poore pitiful brethren and glie them nothing, but they will moste vncharitably and vnchristianly rebuke them, chide them, rattle them, yea, and threat them, that the poore, being chekct of them that shoulde chearishe them, are almost driuen to despaire.” 1580.—T. Lupton. *Sivquila*, p. 28-9.

p. 116. *Neglect of the poor.*—See Robert Copland’s most interesting account of the Beggars, Ne’er-do-wells, and Unthrifys of Henry VIII’s time in his *Her Way to the Spytel Hous* (The folk who come to St. Bartholomew’s Hospital), about 1532-5 A.D., in Hazlitt’s *Popular Poetry*, iv. 17-72. On the poor dying in the streets, and vagrants lying there, he says, p. 30-I :—

‘ . . . I haue sene at sondry hospytalles
That many haue *lyne dead without the walles*,
And for lacke of socour *haue dyed wretchedly*,
Unto your foundacyon, I thynke, contrary.
Moche people resort here, and haue lodgyng ;
But yet I maruell greatly of one thyng,
That in the nyght so many lodge without :
For in the whatche whan that we go about,
Under the stalles, in porches, and in doores,
(I wote not whither they be theues or hoores,
But surely,) every nyght ther is found
One or other lyeng by the pound,
In the shepe-cootes, or in the hey-loft ;
And at Saynt Barthylmews chyrch dore full ofte.

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And euen here by this brycke wall
We do them fynd, that do bothe chyde and brall ;
And lyke as bestes togyder they be throng,
Bothe lame, and seke, and hole, them among,
And in many corners wher that we go,
Wheroft I wondre greatly why they do so,
But oftymes when they vs se,
They do rezne a great deal faster than we."

p. 116. *Inclosures.* See the series of extracts on this subject in my *Ballads from MSS.*, Part I., Ballad Society; the *Supplications* edited by Mr. J. M. Cowper and me for the E. E. Text Soc., 1871, and his edition of Starkey's *England in Henry VIII's Time*, E. E. Text Soc. 1871; *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 306-7, &c. &c. And let us always remember that Shakspere, before he died, "told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe", the open landbrow—since enclosed—whence one best sees his Stratford. (*Leop. Sh. Introd.*, p. cix.)

"Where, by the way, the country Rook deplor'd
The grip and hunger of his ravenous lord,
The cruel Castrel, which, with devilish claws
Scratcheth out of the miserable jaws
Of thee, poor tenant, to his ruin bent,
Raising new fines, redoubling ancient rent,
And, by th' inclosure of old common land,
Racks the dear sweat from his laborious hand ;
Whilst he that digs for breath out of the stones,
Cracks his stiff sinew, and consumes his bones . . .
 and when he can no more,
The needy Rook is turn'd out of the door,
And lastly doth his wretchedness bewail,
A bond-slave to the miserable jail."

1604.—M. Drayton, *The Owl.* Works, 1793, p. 568, col. 2.

p. 117. *Lawyers.* —See *Harrison*, Part I. p. 204-7; *Father Hubbard's Tales* (1604) in the last volume of Dyce's *Middleton*, &c. The complaint starts from long before *Piers Plowman* (Text B, Prol. I. 214-15, ed. Skeat), and even still continues, more or less.

"Oh, the innumerabyl wyles, craftys, sotyltes and delayes, that be in the lawe, which the lawyers wil never spye, because of their priuate lucres sake ; wherby the comon welth is robbed. Thei be almost as euyl as the wicked bisshops and prestes of Antichryst, saue only that thei robbe us but of our temporal goodys, and not of our fayth." Ab. 1542.—Hy. Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, E. E. T. Soc. 1874, p. 21.

p. 118. *Dearth* (dearness, cost).—See my Stafford's *Compendious Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints*, 1581. New Shaksp. Soc. 1876.

"What saies the craftie Clowne in clowted shooes,
Time was ordain'd to get, and not to loose.

What though the poore lye staruing in the ditch?

It is the dearth of Corne makes Farmers rich."

1613.—*The Vncaising of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 8.

p. 119, l. 12 from foot. *Notwithstanding some mercilesse tygers, &c.*—“*Sivqila*. I knewe one that was empouerished bothe by the losse of the Sea, and by suretishep, yet notwithstanding he was caste into prison of his cruel Creditors, who hauing not sufficient lefte to satisfie them, offered to giue them all that he hadde, and to leauie himselfe nothing in the worlde but the simple clothes he went in (which were not worth the value of a Noble), and yet these mercilesse wretches wold not release him out of prison, but kept him there, saying, they woulde make *Dice of his bones*, if they hadde nothing else.”—Thomas Lupton’s *Sivqila*, p. 35. 1580.—S. See p. 293 below.

p. 119. *Covetous men buying up poor men’s land.*

“Cormerauntes, gredye gullies, yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & chyldren, are the causes of Sedition! They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leauie great (yea, vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens! . . . we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue . . . In the countrey we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues, and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vnsaciable beastes haue all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allies, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea, whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that they were wythin these .xi. yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garden grownd fre from them.” 1550.—R. Crowley, *The Way to Wealth*. Select Works, E. E. T. S., 1872, p. 132-3.

Hear also Becon, who died in 1570:—“The cause of all thys wretchednesse Gentlemen and beggery in the common weale are the gredye Gentylmen, whyche Shepinongers are shepemongers and grasyars. Whyle they study for their owne priuate commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable prycce. No meruayle, for these forstallars of the market, as they vse to saye haue gotten al thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their prycce, or else miserably staue for hongar, and wretchedly dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde true in them that S. Paul wrighteth. Al seke their own aduaantage, and not those thinges which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche in tymes past wer wont to be fathers of the contry, are now pollers and pylers of the contry. They which in times past wer wont to be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroiers of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserued, are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as seme by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vitterly to subuert the common weale, and to procure y^e final destruction of the same. They are insatiable woulfes. They know no measure. So they may reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care not who

fal to the grounle. So they may be enriched, they care not who be empouerished. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had rather slea his brother Abel, than he should haue any part with him of worldly possessions. The wyse *Gene. iiiii.* man sayeth the bread of the nedy is the life of the pore, he y^t: *Eccle. xxxviii. [21]* defraudeth him of it, is a mansleare. Do not these ryche worldlynges defraud the pore man of his bread, whereby is vnderstand al things necessary for a mans lyfe, which through their insacieble couetousnes sel Bread what it al things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where to dwell ! What other are they than, but very manslears? They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friers, *Marke well.* Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they gredely gripe." *Becon, Jewel of Joy. Works, 1564 Vol. II. fol. xvi. back—fol. xvii.*—S. J. Herrtage.

'*Les gros frissons mangent les petits:* Pro. Justly applyed to the vniust world, wherein the rich deuoure the poore, the strong the weake, the mighty the meane.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 119: *misers, or rich men, adding land to land.*—" Though all put their trust in God, with you, the most put their trust in themselues with vs : for if they did not, thei would not so greedily gather their goods together, & lay lands to lands, houses to houses, and riches to riches, as they do. Some that are worth thousands, though they loke every day to die, (being of such extreame age) haue so little trust and confidence in God, that gaue them all they haue, that they are so sparing to themselues, so niggardly to theyr neighbours, and so pinching to the pouertie, as though they should liue here euer, or else as though they had not ynough to finde themselues one day." 1580.—T. Lupton. *Sivquila*, p. 70-1.

" What mettayle is this money that makes men so mad?
 What mischiefe is it thereby is not wrought ?
 What earthly thing is not therefore to be had ?
 What hath been so loved, but money hath bought ?
 What vertue, or goodness, of us so much sought ?
 'Who doth not wish for money,' each one doth say.
 How many for money have been robbed and murthered ?
 How many false witnesses, and for money perjured ?
 How many wives from their husbands have been enticed ?
 How many maydens to folly for money allure ?
 How many for money have spirits and devills coniured ?
 How many friends, for money have beeene mortall foes ?
 Mo mischieves for money then I can disclose !
 How many kings and princes for money have been poisoned ?
 How many betrayrs of their country for money every day ?
 How many for money from true iudgment are led ?
 Did not the prophet Balaam curse God's people for money ?
 Did not Iudas, for money, his master Christ betray?" &c. &c.

1578.—T. Lupton, *All for Money*, in Halliwell's *Lit. of 16th & 17th Centuries*, p. 107. He also gives the other side of the question :

" *Pleasure.* In what case were the worlde, were it not for money ?
 Without ioye and pleasure, better be dead then aliue :

To liue like dome [dumb] goddes, who would not be wearie ?
 To satisfie mans nature with pleasures, I can contrive,
 But I conteyne them at this time and hower,
 Hawking and hunting, shooting and fishing,
 Eating and drinking, dysing and carding,
 Riding and running, swimming and singing,
 Daunsing and leaping, with all kinde of playng,
 Banketing with fine meates, and wine of all sortes,
 Dallyng with faier women, with other kinde of sportes :
 All fine apparell that makes the heart ioye.
 With musicall instruments, both with man and boye.
 Thus no sporte or ioye wherein man hath solace,
 But I doe conteyne them, though money bring them to passe."

1578.—T. Lupton. *All for money*, sign. B.j.

p. 123. *Usury*. See *Harrison*, I, p. 242. Also S. Rowlands, ‘To Mr. Mony-bag the Vsurer’ in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 26 ; and his sketch of Usury in his *Digines Lanthorne*, 1607 (Hunt. Club, 1873, p. 6-7).

See the description of Avarice in *Piers Plowman*, Text B, Pass. v. p. 67-73, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. Soc., and specially lines 257-9 :

“ Hastow pite on pore men, þat mote nedes borwe ?
 ¶ I haue as moche pite of pore men, as pedler hath of cattes,
 þat wolde kille hem, yf he cacche hem myzte, for coveteise of here
 skynnes.”

“ *Simplicity*. O that vild Usury ! he lent my father a little money ; and for
 breaking one day,
 He took the fee-simple of his house and will quite away ;
 And yet he borrowed not half a quarter as much as it cost ;
 But I think, if it had been a shilling, it had been loste,
 So he kill'd my father with sorrow, and undoed me quite.”

1584.—*The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt’s Dodsley’s *Old Plays*, vi. 259.

See the list of books against Usury in 5th Series of *N. & Q.*, x. 423, and xi. 63.

p. 123. *Every Begger almost is called Maister*.—See Lancelot’s “MAISTER Launcelet” in the *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 51, and the extract illustrating it from Sir Thomas Smith’s *Commonwealth of England*, bk. I, ch. 20 (founded on *Harrison*, I, 133, 137), which I printed in *New Sh. Soc.’s Trans.* 1877-9, p. 103-4. Also Shakspere getting his “yeoman” father arms, and making him a “gentleman” in 1596 (*Leopold Shakspere Introduction*, p. ciii) ; and p. 237, above.

p. 124. *Usury allowed by Law*. The Act 13 Elizabeth, c. 8—which revivd the 37 Hen. VIII, cap. 9, that had been repeald by 5 & 6 Edward VI, cap. 20 —authorizd the taking of 10 per cent. interest for money lent on loan or mort-gage. The rate was reduced to 5 p. c. by the 12 Anne, St. 2, ch. 16.

p. 126-7. *Prisoners for debt*.

“ *Fallace* . . . if he come with his actions upon you, Lord deliver you ! you are in for one, half-a-score year ; he kept a poor man in Ludgate once twelve

year for sixteen shillings." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, V. vii., Works, i. 137, col. 2.

"I am, Sir, a Keeper of the Counter, and there are in our wards above a hundred poore prisoners, that are like nere to come forth without satisfaction." 1606.—*No-Body and Some-Body*. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 307. In *The Play of Study*, 1605, *ib.* p. 228, the prison stink or plague is mentiond :

"Will you so much annoy your vital powers
As to oppress them with the prison stink?
You shall not, if you love me, come so near.
The place is mortally infected lately."

"A prison . . . is a Fabricke built of the same stuffe the Keepers of it are made of, stone and iron : It is an vnwholesome full-stuffed humorous body, which hath an Hole in the posteriors of it, whence it vents many stinking, noysome and vnsauory smels, which is the onely cause there is such a perpetuall sicknesse and disease in it . . . when Epimetheus opened Pandora's box, there did not more mischieses and maladies flie out of it into the world, then there is in this cursed place, for it hath more sicknesses predominating in it, then there are in twenty French Hospitals, or at the Bathe, in the spring or fall of the leafe." 1617.—Wm. Fennor, *The Compters Common-wealth, or A Voyage made to an Infernall Island long since discovered by many Captaines, &c.*, Sign. C. (Fennor had been arrested for a debt of £100, and confined in the Compter. He describes interestingly the place, the exacting jailers, the occupants of the two sides of the prison—those who could afford to pay well for food and drink, and those who couldn't—how they went on, how young men were duped and led into debt, &c. The 2nd edition in 1619 was call'd *Miseries of a Jaille, or A True Description of a Prison.*)

p. 127. *I will make dice of his bones.* The same phrase is used by Lupton (p. 290, above), and Rowlands :

"Greedy Vsurer.

THou Fur-gown'd slauer, exceeding rich and olde,
Ready to be deuoured of the Graue:
Thou that wilt sell a soule, to purchase Gold,
And gold, still gold, nothing but golde dost craue:
Thou most extreame hard-harted cruell wretch,
Whome Hell gapes for ; the Devill comes to fetch.
Thou that wilt not forbeare an howers time,
But wilt a forsayture seuererly take :
Thou that by crueltie to wealth dost clyme,
And threatnest, *Dice, of poor mens bones to make,*
Hauing that rustie gold vpon thy hand,
For which, there's thousandes perish in the land,
Ile stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Looke to it: for, Ile Stabbe ye*, sign. B 3; p. 13, ed. 1872.

1 "See Bacon, Nat. Hist. Cent. X no. 914. Besides the well-known black assizes at Oxford in 1577, there was a similar outbreak at Exeter in 1586. See Holinshed, IV. 868, and Leicester Correspondence, 224."

"Rayse Rentes apace, builde Houses, purchase Landes,
 Be alwayes raking with Oppressions handes.
 Thinke all is lawfull purchase, thou can'st catch
 from thy distressed friendles needy wretch,
 Buye thy poore neighbours House ouer his head,
 Turne him and's children out to begge their bread.
 Deale cruelly with those are in thy debt,
 And let them at thy handes no fauour get,
 Send them to Prison ; there in all distresse,
 To taste the mercie of the mercilesse.
 Ile shackle thee, for stirring handes or feete,
 Within a Coffin and a Winding-sheet."—*Ib.* p. 43-4.

"Thou that vauntest, and wilt make dice of thy debtor's bones ; be these the words of a man ?"—Of Creditors, Minshul's *Essays and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners*, 1618, ed. 1821, p. 29.—S.

p. 128. *Scriveners.* See T. M.'s *Father Hubbard's Tales* in Dyce's *Middleton's Works*, vol. v.

SWEARING.

p. 129. *Swearing.* On this in 1303, see my Roberde of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, pp. 23-7, 88-92. In 1550, R. Crowley's *Epigrams*, p. 19. On the *hunting oaths*, 1544, see the Supplication to Henry VIII. in *Four Supplications*, E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 53 : "What commessacyon / dronckenes / destable swearinge by all the partes of Christes bodye (and yet callynge them in scorne huntinge othes) extorcyon / pryd / couetuousnes / and suche other detestable vyce, raigne in this yowr realme /"

In 1542, Andrew Boorde said in his *Dyetary*, my ed. p. 243, "in all the worlde there is not suche odylle swearingyng as is vsed in Englande, specyally amonge youth & chyldren, which is a detestable thyng to here it, and no man doth go aboute to punysshē it."

p. 131. *Swearing.* It was the fashion for gallants, not only to swear generally all round, but for each to have oaths special to himself. In Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), I. i., *Works*, i. 73, "be sure you mix yourself still with such as flourish in the spring of the fashion, and are least popular [=vulgar] : study their carriage and behaviour in all ; learn to play at primero and passage ; and even [when you lose] have two or three peculiar oaths to swear by, that no man else swears." And in *Every Man in his Humour*, I. iii., Cob says : "Well, should they do so much to me, I'd forswear them all, by the foot of Pharaoh ! There's an oath ! How many water-bearers shall you hear swear such an oath ? O, I have a guest [Bobadil]—he teaches me —he does swear the legiblest of any man christened : 'By St. George ! the foot of Pharaoh ! the body of me ! as I am a gentleman and a soldier !' such dainty oaths !" Ben Jonson's *Works*, i. 12.

"Il iure comme un Gentilhomme. He sweares after a thousand pound a yeare.' *Il iure comme un Abbé* [viz. extreamly], *chartier* ; *gentilhomme* ; *prelat* [A Huguenot's comparison]. Like a Tinker, say we.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

"Old Jack of Paris-garden, canst thou get
 A faire rich sute, though foully run in debt ?
 Locke smug, smell sweet, take up commodities,
 Keepe whores, fee bauds, *belch impious blasphemies*,
 Wallow along in swaggering disguise,
 Snuffe up smoak-whiffs, and each morne, 'fore she rise,
 Visit thy drab? Canst use a false cut die
 With a cleane grace and glib facilitie?
Canst thunder common oaths, like th' rattling
 Of a huge, double, full-charg'd culvering?
 Then, Jack, troupe among our gallants, kisse thy fist,
 And call them brothers."

1599.—Jn. Marston, *Scourge of Villania*, Works, 1856, iii. 295; and see on p. 281 :—

"What, meanst thou him that in his swaggering slops
 Wallowes unbrace'd, all along the streete? . . .
 What! that ringo roote!
 Means't that wasted leg, puffe bumbast boot?
 What, he that's drawne and quartered with lace;
 That Westphalian gamon clove-stuck face?
 Why, he is nought but *huge blaspheming othes*,
 Swart snout, big looks, mishapen Switzers clothes.
 Weake meager lust hath now consumed quite,
 And wasted cleane away his martiali spright;
 Infeebling riot, all vices' confluence,
 Hath eaten out that sacred influence
 Which made him man."

p. 133, ll. 1, 2. *Christes blessed bodie, no parte thereof shalbe left untorne.*

"Our blisful Lordes body thay to-tere."

CHAUCER, *Pardoneres Tale*, l. 12. Bell's ed. iii. 73.—S.

R. Copland says of the Beggars at their Suppers in Henry VIII's time, ab. 1532-5, *Hye Way to the Spytel Hous*, Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, iv. 43 :—

"And there they reuell as vnthryfyt braggeres,
 With horyble othes swerynge as they were wood, [By Gods]
 Armes, nayles, woundes, herte, soule, and blood,
 Deth, fote, masse, flesshe, bones, lyfe, and body,
 With all other wordes of blasphemy,
 Bostynge them all in dedes of theyn myschesef,
 And thus passe the tyme with daunce, hore, pipe, these.
 The hang-man shall lede the daunce at the ende,
 For none other ways they do not pretende."

p. 135, l. 9. *There was a certayne yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire, &c.*
 —A copy of Stubbes's poem here referred to, is in the Lambeth Library, and was reprinted in the old Shakespeare Society's Papers, 1849, iv. 73-88. See my *Forewords* above.

p. 136, l. 13. There was also a woman in the Citiie of Munidnol [= Londonum], &c.—“The 11. of February, Anne Aueries, widow, for swearing her selfe for a litle money that she should haue paid for sixe pound of towe, at a shop in Woodstreete of London, fell immediatly downe speechlesse, casting vp at her mouth in great abundance, and with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should haue bene voided downewards, till she died: a terrible example of Gods iust judgement vpon such as make no conscience of falsly swearing against their brother.”—Stow’s *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1152.—S.

SUNDAY SPORTS AND SABBATH-BREAKING.

p. 136. *Keeping of Sunday* (the Christian) as identified with the Sabbath (Jewish).

As to Stage-playes, see the extract from Gosson’s *Schoole of Abuse* under Theatres, below. As to Fairs and Markets, *Harrison*, I, p. 344, and the passage, ab. 1584, quoted by Mr. J. M. Cowper in his *Crowley’s Select Works*, E. E. T. Soc., 1872, p. xxiv :—

“Go to alehouses on the Saboth daies: there is as well sold all kinde of loosenesse as vitayles. Go to Greenes: there is myrth that would wounde a Christian mans heart with heauiness. Goe to Fayres: there is a shewe and traffike, as well of all lewdnesse as of wares. Yea, goe to all other places, both in City and countrey; and what shall you see, but so many euils that prouoke God to the powryng forth of most fearefull iudgements, the Theaters, Parish garden, Tauernes, streetes, fieldes, all full and prophanely occupied, and this chiefly on the Saboth day.”—*The Vnlawfull Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, &c.*, sign. B 3, back. See p. 310, below.

Crowley himself says in his *One and thyrtye Epigrammes*, 1550 (ed. 1872, p. 9) :—

“How hallow they the Saboth, that do the tyme spende In drynkinge and idlenes till the daye be at an ende,	128
Not so well as he doeth, that goeth to the plowe, Or pitcheth vp the sheues from the carte to the mowe.”	132

And at p. 16-17 “of Bearbaytynge,” he writes :—

“What follye is thys, to kepe wyth daunger A greate mastyfe dogge and a foule ouglye beare?	376
And to thys onely ende to se them two fygth Wyth terrible tearynge: a full ougly syght.	380
And yet me thynke those men be mooste foles of all, Whose store of money is but verye smale,	384
And yet <i>euerye Sondaye</i> they will surely spende One penye or two, the bearwardes lyuyng to mende.	388
At Paryse garden, <i>eche Sondaye</i> , a man shall not fayle To fynde two or thre hundredes for the bearwardes waile.	392
One halpenye a piece they vse for to giue, When some haue no more in their purse, I belieue.”	396

So too Arthur Golding, in his ‘Discourse upon the Earthquake’ on April 6, 1580: “The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the . . . speciaill occupying of our selues in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing, and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage-playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessary consuming of mannes substances, which ought to be better employed.” (From Collier’s *Stationers’ Register*, ii. 118, and my *Captain Cox*, p. 68.)

The Dancing on Sunday had Queen Elizabeth’s countenance. This is how Sunday, July 10, 1575, was spent at Kenilworth, during Leicester’s entertainment of the Queen there:

“On Sunday: the forenoon occupied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and vacation from woork, & in diuine seruis & preaching at the parish church: The afternoon in excellent muzik of sundry swet instruments, and in *dauincing of Lordes and Ladiez*, and oother woorshipfull degrees, vttered with such lively agilitie & commendabl grace, az, whither it moought be more straunge too the eye, or pleauant too the minde, for my part indeed I coold not discern: but exceedingly well waz it (me thought) in both.” P. 12 of my edition of *Captain Cox*, or *Lanham’s Letter*, Ballad Soc. 1871.

Lanham’s capital description of the bearbaiting at Kenilworth (*ib.* p. 16-17) is well known, but J. Hooker’s listing of part of it—“It waz a sport very pleauant” to “a goodly releef”—bodily into his continuation of Holinshed’s *Chronicle*, ed. 1587, vol. iii. p. 1582, col. i, I have not seen noted.

p. 137. *Beare bayting on the Saboth day.*

“What else but gaine and Money gote	and not controlled ought,
maintaines each Saboth day	Although the same of custome be
The bayting of the Beare and Bull?	on holy Saboth wrought?
What brings this brutish play?	Now sure I thinke tys gaine or spite
What is the cause that it is borne,	against good and godly lyfe.”

1569, E. Hake. *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde*, sign. E. 6, back, ed. 1579.

The Sabbath day, says Kethe’s Sermon at Blandford, 1570, “the multitude call their revelyng day; which day is spent in bulbeatings, bearebeatings, bowlings, dicynge, cardynge, daunsynges, drunckenes and whoredome . . . in so much as men could not keepe their seruautes from lyinge out of theyr owne houses the same sabbath-day at night.” Hazlitt’s *Brand*, i. 158, note 1. See p. 301 below.

p. 137. *What comes of being at Church when you ought to be at Bear-baiting.*—“Of sayeng seruice, quod I, this is much like as at Beuterlay late, whan much of the people beyng at a bere baytyng, the church fell sodeinly down at euensonge tyme, and ouerwhelmed some that than were in it: a good felow, that after herde the tale tolde, ‘lo quod he, now maie you see what it is to be at euensong whan ye should be at the bere baytyng.’ How be it, the hurt was not ther in beinge at euensonge, but in that the churche was falsely wrought.”—Sir T. More (died 1535), *Works*, p. 208, ed. 1557.—R. Roberts.

Compare Dr. M. Busch’s *Bismarck in the Franco-German War*, 1870-1, i. 221-2 (1879):—

“And the ‘keeping holy the Sabbath-day,’ said the Chief [Bismarck], that

is a perfectly horrible tyranny. I remember, when I first went to England, and landed in Hull, that I began to whistle in the street. An Englishman, whom I had got acquainted with on board, told me that I must not whistle. ‘Pray, sir, do not whistle!’ ‘Why not; is whistling forbidden here?’ ‘No,’ said he, ‘it is not forbidden; but it is the Sabbath!’ This so disgusted me that I at once took my ticket by another steamer going to Edinburgh, [out of the frying-pan into the fire, eh?] as I did not choose not to be able to whistle when I had a mind to.”

p. 137. *Bearbaiting, &c., on Sundays*.—See the Act i Car. I [A.D. 1625], Ch I. An Acte for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lordes day called Sunday. “Forasmuch as . . . the holy keeping of the Lordes day is a principall part of the true Service of God, which in very many places of this Realme hath beeene and now is profaned and neglected by a disorderlie sort of people, in exercising and frequenting Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes, and other unlawfull exercises and pastimes upon the Lordes day; And for that many quarrelles, bloodsheddes and other great inconueniences have growen by the resort and concourse of people going out of their owne Parishes to such disordered and unlawfull exercises and pastimes, neglecting Divine service both in their own Parishes and elsewhere; Be it enacted . . . that from and after fortie dayes next after the end of this Session of Parliament there shalbe no meetings assemblies or concourse of people out of their owne Parishes on the Lordes day within this Realme of England, or any the Dominions thereof, for any sportes or pastimes whatsoeuer; nor any Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes or other unlawfull exercises or pastimes used by any person or persons within their owne Parishes, and that every person and persons offending in any the premisses, shall forfeit for every offence three shillinges four pence, The same to be employed and converted to the use of the poore of the Parish where such offence shall be committed . . .” (This Act was confirm'd and continued by later ones.)

p. 137. *Prophanation of the Saboth*.

About 1542, says Henry Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, E. E. T. Soc., 1874, p. 62-3, after the Latin service, “the people depart the church as empty of all sprytual knowledge as thei came thether. And the rest of the day thei spend in all wanton and vnlawful gamys, as dyse, cardys, dalyeng with wemen, dansing, and such lyke.” The fact that Sunday amusements were inheritances from Popery, no doubt made them doubly offensive to the Reformers and the Puritans.

22 July 1566—22 July 1567.

lacye Receyvd of Alexandre lacye for his lycense for pryntinge of a balefft the abuse of y^e sabooth of the lorde &c/ iiijd
Arber's Transcript of the Stationers Registers, i. 328.

(1578-9.) 28 Februarij.

Jhon hynde Lycenced vnto him vnder thandes of the wardens ij ballades. thone Dialogewise betwene William Wax-wise and Walter Wold-be-wanton concerning thabushe of the Sabothe Daye. thother the lamentacon of a synner troubled in consciencie . . . viijd
(*Ib.* ii. 348.)

"For further proof wherof, I call to witnesse the Theaters [Burbage's], Curtins [in Shoreditch] Heading¹ houses, Rifting boothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely [= specially] the Sabbath daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter destruction of youth." 1579.—T. F., *Newes from the North*, ed. 1585, sign. F 4, quoted in my Thynne's *Animadversions*, E. E. T. Soc., 1875, p. cxxxv. (Mr. Collier absurdly attributed the *Newes* to Francis Thynne.)

God wot "And trust me, I am of that opinion, that the Lord is never so il served on the Sabbath daies serued as on the holie-daies. For then hel breakes loose. Then wee permit our youth to haue their swinge; and when they are out of the sight of their maisters, such government haue they of themselves, that what by il companie they meete withal, & il examples they leare at plaies, I feare me, I feare me, their harts are more alienated in two houres from vertue, than againe maie wel be amended in a whole yeare." 1580.—*A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters* (ed. Hazlitt, 1869), p. 135.

Fairs. Harrison, in Part II. p. 101, complains that the "paltrie fairs . . . tendeth to the corruption of youth . . . whereby they often spend, not onelie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbath in great vanitie and riot." See too the notes on p. 152, &c., that follow below.

Fairs & Markets on Sundays. Compare the then expired Act, 22 Hen. VI. cap. 5 (englisht). "Considering the abominable Injuries and Offences done to Almighty God, and to his Saints, always Aiders and singular Assisters in our Necessities, because of Fairs and Markets upon their high and principal Feasts, as in the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord . . . in the Day of Whitsunday, in Trinity Sunday, with other Sundays . . . and on Good Friday accustomably and miserably holden and used in the Realm of England; in which principal and festival Days, for great earthly Covetise, the People is wilfully more vexed, and in bodily Labour toiled, than in other ferial Days, as in fastening and making their Booths and Stalls, bearing and carrying, lifting and placing their Wares outward and homeward, as though they did nothing remember the horrible Defiling of their Souls in buying and selling, with many deceitful Lyes, and false Perjury, with Drunkenness and Strifes, and so specially withdrawing themselves and their Servants from divine Service: the . . . King . . . hath ordained That all Manner of Fairs and Markets in the said principal Feasts and Sundays, and Good-Friday, shall clearly cease from all shewing of any Goods or Merchandises, necessary Victual only except, upon Pain of Forfeiture of all the Goods aforesaid . . . the Four Sundays in Harvest except . . ."

Sabbath Doings. See in 1579, T. F.'s *Newes from the North*. Cap. 14 . . . "For I haue partly shewed you heer, what leaue and libertie the common people, namely² youth, haue to follow their own lust and desire in all wantonnes and dessolution of life. For further proof wherof, I call to witnesse the Theaters,

¹ Robbing: "*to heue a bough*, to robbe or rifle a boeweth [booth]." 1567.—J. Harman, *Caveat: Rogues, their pelting Speche*: p. 84, E. E. T. Soc., 1869.
² specially.

Curtines¹, Heauing houses, Rysing boothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely² the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter distruption of youth" (ed. 1585, sign. F. 4). With other extracts, in my edition of F. Thynne's *Animadversions*, p. cxxxv.

"But what is he that may not on the Sabbath-day attend to hear God's word,
But he will rather run to bowls, sit at the alehouse, than one hour afford,
Telling a tale of Robin Hood, sitting at cards, playing at skittles, or some
other vain thing,

That I fear God's vengeance on our heads it will bring."

1584. *The Three Ladies of London.* Hazlitt's Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vi. 28.

p. 139, l. 13. *it chaunced that a certaine Jewe.*—“In this yere [43 Hen III.] fell that happed of the Jewe of Tewkysbury, whiche fell into a gonge vppon the Saterdaye, and wolde not for reuerence of his sabbot day be plucked out; wherof heryng the Erle of Glouceter, that the Jewe dyd so great reuerence to hys sabbot daye, thought he wolde do as myche to his holydaye, whych was Sondaye, and so kept hym there tyll Monday, at which season he was found dede.”—*Fabyan.* Quoted in *Prompt. Parv.*, s. v. Goonge. According to Munster (*Cosmography*, bk. III. p. 738, ed. 1550) this happened in Germany in 1270. Respect for the Sabbath made the Jews reject their unfortunate brother's entreaties to be released. Munster says that it was Conrad, bishop of Magdeburg, earl of Sternenberg, “*Judæis multum fuit infestus*,” who indulged in this vile jest, which the Jew seems to have survived.—S.

p. 141, l. 7 from foot. *Theopompus mingled Moyses lawe with his writinges.*—He [Demetrius Phalereus] told him [Ptolemy Philadelphus] that “Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them [the Jewish laws], but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause. Nay, indeed, he further saw a dream, that his distemper befel him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when, in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction.”—Whiston's *Josephus*, Antiq. XII. ii. § 13, vol. ii. p. 148, ed. 1818.—S.

¹ See note for p. 144 on p. 304 below.

² specially.

PLAYHOUSES, THEATRES, AND ACTORS, &c.

p. 140, &c. *Stage-Plays, Bear-baiting, &c., on Sundays.*

"The Sabbath days and holy days ordained for the hearing of God's word to the reformation of our lives, for the administration and receiving of the Sacraments to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behooveful for body or soul at God's hand by Prayer, for the minding of his benefits, and to yield praise and thanks unto him for the same, and finally, for the special occupying of ourselves in all spiritual exercises, is spent full heathenishly, in taverning, tippling, gaming, playing and beholding of Bear-baiting and Stage plays to the utter dishonour of God, impeachment of all godliness, and unnecessary consuming of men's substances which ought to be better employed."—*Liturgical Service*, time of Queen Elizabeth, p. 574, Parker Soc.

p. 144. *Theaters & curtens.* James Burbage's "Theatre" in Finsbury Fields, near Bishopsgate St.,—built ab. 1577, and said to have been the first regular theatre built (but see *Harrison*, I, Appendix I to Forewords, p. liv),—and the *Curtain*, built before 1579, in or near the present *Curtain Road* close by.

p. 140-6. Here are a few extracts from a rare tract in the Lambeth Library, made before Mr. Hazlitt reprinted it in his Roxburghe Library (1869), *English Drama and Stage, 1543-1664*.

"A second and third blast¹ of retrait from plaiers and Theatres:/ the one wherof was sounded by a reuerend Byshop dead long since² ;/ the other by a worshipful and zealous Gentleman/ now aliue :/ One showing the filthiness of plaiers in times past ; the other the abomination off Theaters in the time present :/ both expresaely prouing that the Common-weale is nigh vnto the curse of God ; where-/in either plaiers be made of, or/ Theaters main-tained./ Set forth by Anglophilie Eutheo. / Ephes. 5, verse 15, 16. / Take heede therefore that ye walke circumspectlie, not as vnwise, but as wise, redeeming the time, / because the daies are euil./ Allowed by auctoritie/ 1580

"*Evils of travelling players* —Since the reteining of these Caterpillers [Players], the credite of Noble men hath decaied, & they are thought to be couetously permitting their seruants, which cannot liue of themselues, and whome, for neerenes *Players* they wil not maintaine, to liue at the deuotion or almes of other men, bold passing from countrie to countrie,³ from one Gentlemans house to another, *beggers*. offering their seruice, which is a kind of beggerie. Who in deede, to speake more trulie, are become beggers for their seruants. For commonlie the goodwil men beare to their Lordes, makes them drawe the stringes of their purses to extend their liberalitie to them, where otherwise they would not.

"By such infamous persons much time is lost ; and manie daies of honest trauel are turned into vaine exercises. Wherein is learned nothing but abuse ; poore men

¹ Gossom's *Schoole of Abuse* was the first.

² Salviano, Bp. of Massilia, ab. 470. *De Gubernatione Dei*, bk. vi.

³ county to county.

luing on their handie labor, are by them trained vnto vnthriftnes ; schoolers, by their gaudes are allured from their studies.

" Thus the people are robbed ; youth corrupted ; the Sabbath prophaned : and of all these euils, who are counted the vpholders, but the Noble, who of right *Traiane the Emperor* should establish the iawe of the *Roman Traiane*, who commanded that no plaier, iester, nor iugler, should be admitted in his Commonweale to pick the purses of his subiects, but that they should either learne some occupation to mainteine themselves in their owne houses, or otherwise be banished out of *Rome*. But now, such like men, vnder the title of their maisters, or as reteiners, are priuiledged to roaue abroad, and permitted to publish their *Temples with plaies.* *mametree*¹ in euerie Temple of God, and that throughout England, *prophaned* vnto the horrible contempt of praier. So that now the Sanctuarie is become a plaiers stage, and a den of theeuers and adulterers." p. 75-8. *A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters, 1580.*

" Whosoeuer shal visit the chappel of Satan, I meane the Theater, shal finde *Theaters the chappels of Satan.* there no want of yong ruffins, nor lacke of harlots, vtterlie past al shame : who presse to the fore-frunt of the scaffoldes, to the end to showe their impudencie, and to be as an obiect to al mens eies.² Yea, such is their open shameles behauior, as euerie man may perceave by their wanton gestures, wherenvnto they are giuen ; yea, they seeme there to be like brothels of *The open wickidnes of harlots at places.* the stewes. For often, without respect of the place, and company which behold them, they commit that filthines openlie, which is horrible to be done in secret ; as if whatsoeuer they did, were warranted. For neither reuerence, iustice, nor anie thing beside, can gouerne them" (ed. Hazlitt, p. 139).

Against training vp of boies to plaies. (p. 110.) " As I haue had a saieng to these versi-fieng Plaie-makers, so must I likewise deale with shameles inactors. When I see by vp in filthie speeches, vnnatural and vnseemlie gestures, to be brought vp by (p. 111) these Scholemasters in bawderie, and in idlenes, I cannot chuse, but with teares and grieve of hart lament.

" O with what delight can the father behold his sonne bereft of shamefastnes, & trained vp to impudencie ! How proane are they of themselves, and apt to receiue instruction of their lewde teachers, which are the Schoolemasters of sinne in the schoole of abuse ! what do they abuse. teach them, I prae you, but to foster mischiefe in their youth, that it maie alwaies abide in them, and in their age bring them sooner vnto hel ?

" And as for those staggers themselves, are they not commonlie such kind of men in their conuersation, as they are in profession ? Are they not as variable in hart, as they are in their partes ? are they (p. 112) not for the most part. good practisers of Bawderie as inactors ? Liue they not in such sort

¹ maumetrie, idolatry.

² Cp. the ironical *Actors Remonstrance* in 1643 : " we shall for the future promise never to admit into our six-penny-rooms those unwholesome enticing Harlots that sit there merely to be taken up by Prentizes or Lawyers Clerks, nor any female of what degree soever, except they come lawfully with their husbands or neere allies." (Hazlitt, *ib.* p. 65.)

themselves, as they giue preceptis vnto others? doth not their talke on the stage declare the nature of their disposition? doth not euerie one take that part which is proper to his kind? doth not the Ploughmans tong walke of his plough; the Sea-faring man of his mast, cable, and saile: the Soldier of his harnes, speare, and shield; & bawdie mates of bawdie matters? Aske them, if in their laieng out of their partes, they choose not those partes which is most agreeing to their inclination, and that they can best discharge? And looke what exerie of them doth most delight in, that he can best handle to the contentment of others. If it be a roisting, bawdie, and lasciuious part, wherein are vnseemelie (p. 113) speeches, & that they make chiose of them as best answering, & proper to their manner of plaie: maie we not saie, by how much he exceeds in his gesture, he delightes himselfe in his part? & by so much it is pleasing to his disposition and nature? If (it be his nature) to be a bawdie plaiere, & he delight in such filthie & cursed actions, shal we not thinke him in his life to be more disordered, and to abhor virtue?

"If the good life of a man be a better instruction to repentaunce than the tong, or words, why do not plaiers, I beseech you, leaue examples of goodnes to their posterite? But which of them is so zealous, or so tendereth his owne saluation that he doth amend himselfe in those pointes, which, as they saie, others should take heede of? Are they not notoriouslie known to be those men in their life abroad, as they are on the stage, roisters, brallers, il-dealers, bosters, louers, loiterers, ruffins? So that they are alwaies exercised in plaieng their parts, and practising wickednes; making that an art, to the end they might the better gesture it in their partes. For who can better plaie the ruffin than a verie ruffian? who better the louer, than they who make it a common exercise? To conclude, the *Chiefē end of plāies.* principal end of all their interludes is, to feede the world with (p. 116) *Players infamous persons* sights & fond pastimes; to wriggle in good earnest the monie out of other mens purses into their owne hands. What shall I saie? They are infamous men." (End of the *Blast* extracts.)

"Those also haue offended in wantonnesse, that give themselues libertie to be present at, and see, such things as bee practises of wantonnesse, as *stage-playes*, which serue for nothing but to nourish filthinesse; and where they are most vsed, there filthinesse is most practised; where the man is cloathed with womans apparell; and that ordinarily is put in vse, which the Lord condemneth as an hainous abomination. Deut. (22. 5.) This is a way to breede confusion of sexes, and it is a plaine belyng of the sexe." 1615. [R. Cleaver] *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, p. 299.

On the 'light-taylde huswiues' at the Globe in 1600, see John Lane in my *Tell-Troth* volume, 1876, p. 133, and the note on p. 199; also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. lxxix, lxxx.

"as enterlude-plaiers, you shal now see them on the stage, play a King, an Emperor, or a Duke; but they are no sooner off the stage, but they are base rascals, vagabond abjects, and porterly hirelings, which is their naturall and originall condition." 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essaies* (French, 1580), ed. 1634, p. 140.

"Players shal haue libertie to be as famous in pride and idlenes, as they are dissolute in liuing, and as best in their marriages for communitie, as vnhappy in

their choyses for honesty." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, *The Black Yeare*, C 3.
"There shall be also as much strife among Players, who shall haue the greatest
Auditory, as is warre among the foure knaues at Cardes, for superioritie." *Ib.* B
2, back.

p. 144, at foot.—Gosson has an amusing passage in his *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579
(old Shakesp. Soc., 1841, p. 25), on men's behaviour to girls at the theatre or
play-house, and their making it a place for picking one another up on Sundays:

"In our assemblies at playes in London, you shall see suche heaving and
shooving, suche ytching and shoudering, to sytte by women; suche care for their
garments that they be not trode on; suche eyes to their lappes, that no chippes
lighte in them; such pillowes to their backes, that they take no hurte: suche
masking in their eares, I know not what; suche geving them pippins¹ to passe
the time; such playing at foote saunt without cardes; such tickling, such toying,
such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home when the sportes are
ended, that it is a right comedie to marke their behaviour, to watch their con-
ceates, as the catte for the mouse, and as good as a course at the game it selfe, to
dogge them a little, or follow aloofe by the printe of their feete, and so discover
by slotte where the deare taketh soyle."

"If this were as well noted as il seene, or as openly punished as secretlye
practised, I have no doubt but the cause woulde be seared, to drye up the effect,
and these prettie rabbets verye cunninglie ferretted from their borrowes. For
they that lacke customers all the weeke, either because their haunt is unknownen,
or the constables and officers of their parish watch them so narrowly that they
dare not queatche, to celebrate the Sabbath, flocke too theaters, and there keepe
a generall market of bawdrie. Not that any filthinesse, in deede, is committed
within the compasse of that ground, as was once done in Rome, but that every
wanton and [his] paramour, everye man and his mistresse, every John and his
Joane, every knave and his queane, are there first acquainted, and cheapen the
marchandise in that place, which they pay for else where, as they can agree.
These wormes, when they dare not nestle in the pescod at home, find refuge
abrode, and ar hidde in the eares of other mens corne."

p. 144-5. *playhouse*.—See chapter vi. of Dekker's *Guls Hornbook*, 1609,
"How a Gallant should behave himself in a Playhouse."

LORDS OF MISRULE, MAY-GAMES, CHURCH-ALES, &c.

p. 146. *Lords of Misrule*.—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1841,
i. 272-8 (Stubbs is the chief authority), and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 272-281: the
latter has several valuable fresh extracts.

p. 147. *Lords of Misrule in the Churchyard*.

"Whether the minister and churchwardens have suffered any lords of misrule
or summer lords or ladies, or any disguised persons, or others, in Christmas or

¹ See the extract from Gosson's *Playes confuted* (ab. 1580) in *Harrison*, Pt. I.
p. lxxx: 'they give them pippines; they daily with their garments,' &c.

at May-games, or any morris-dancers, or at any other times, to come unreverently into the church or churchyard, and there to dance or play any unseemly parts, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures or ribald talk, namely [=specially] in the time of Common Prayer. . . ."—1576. Arch-Bishop Grindal, *Articles for the Province of Canterbury, Remains*, p. 175, Parker Soc. 1843.

" . . . that their churches and chapels be kept clean and decently, that they be not loathsome to any, either by dust, sand, gravel, or any filth; and that there be no feasts, dinners, or common drinking kept in the Church; and that the Church-yard be well fenced, and cleanly kept, and that *no folks be suffered to dance in the same*."—1571-2. Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains*, 1843, p. 135.

p. 148-9. *Maie games.* See the latter part of the extract from Northbrooke, in the note for p. 155, below, p. 314. Compare Herrick's kindlier account:

"Come, my Corinna, come ; and comming, marke
How each field turns a street ; each street a parke
Made green, and trimm'd with trees : see how
Devotion gives each house a bough,
Or branch : each porch, each doore, ere this,
An arke, a tabernacle is
Made up of white-thorn neatly enterwove ;
As if here were those cooler shades of love.
Can such delights be in the street,
And open fields, and we not see't ?
Come, we'll abroad ; and let's obey
The proclamation made for May :
And sin no more, as we have done, by staying ;
But, my Corinna, come, let's goe a Maying.
There's not a budding boy, or girle, this day,
But is got up, and gone to bring in May.
A deale of youth, ere this, is come
Back, and with White-thorn laden home.
Some have dispatcht their cakes and creame,
Before that we have left to dreame :
And some have wept, and woo'd, and plighted troth,
And chose their priest, ere we can cast off sloth :
Many a green-gown has been given ;
Many a kisse, both odde and even :
Many a glance too has been sent
From out the eye, love's firmament :
Many a jest told of the keyes betraying
This night, and locks pickt, yet w're not a Maying."

Herrick's Hesperides (1869), p. 70.

I remember getting up before sunrise, forty years ago, on the First of May and eight succeeding mornings, and washing my face in dew to take away freckles, for which washing in May-dew nine mornings together was said to be a cure.—R. Roberts.

p. 149. *Maygimes*. Stafford, in 1581, says that these, and wakes, revels, wagers at wrestling, &c., had been 'layde downe now', p. 16 of my N. Sh. Soc. edition. He can have meant only 'partly disused.'

"Littlewit. He was a baker, sir, but he does dream now, and see visions ; he has given over his trade.

Quarlous. I remember that too : out of a scruple he took that, in spiced conscience, those cakes he made, were served to bridales, maypoles, morrices, and such profane feasts and meetings. His christian name is Zeal-of-the-land." 1614.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, I. i.; *Works*, ed. Cunningham, ii. 152, col. i.

"Well, syr, after theez horsmen, a liuely *morisdauns*,¹ according too the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmariion, and the fool." 1575.—Laneham's *Letter*, p. 22 of my edition.

p. 150. *Church-Ales*, or Whitsun-Ales.—See Brand's *Pop. Antiq.* i. 157-161, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 156-172. "For Scot-Ales, Give-Ales, Sect-Ales, Bride-Ales, Clerk-Ales, &c., see *Archæologia*, xii. 11-17."

Church-Ales on Sundays: 'by an order made in July, 1595, at a Sessions held in the Chapter House . . It is declared that all "Church or parish ales, revels, May-games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the Sabbath day and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities are there perpetrated and committed, to the great profanation of the Lord's "Saboth," the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy, and of dissolute life, and of very many other mischiefs and inconveniences, to the great hurt of the commonwealth." It is therefore ordered that these assemblies shall be abolished on the Sabbath; that there shall be no drink "used, kept or uttered" upon the Sabbath, at any time of the day, nor upon any holiday or festival in the time of divine service or preaching of the Word; nor at any time in the night season; nor yet that there shall be "any Mynstralsy of any sort, Dauncyng, or suche wanton Dallyances," used at the said May-games, &c. 'In January 1599, the justices took a long step further, and having discovered that many inconveniences "which with modestie cannot be expressed," had happened in consequence of these gatherings, they ordered that parish ales, church ales, and revels should thenceforth be utterly suppressed. A market which had been held on the "Saboth" at East Budleigh, was also abolished.' 1878.—A. H. A. Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne*, p. 28-9.

And under James I 'An order of Easter 1607 declares that church ales, parish ales, young men's ales, clerks' ales, sextons' ales, and all revels, are to be utterly suppressed. Yet we find as late as 1622 that the war against them was still being carried on.' *Ib.* p. 73.

"An other sorte of blynde shauelings . . preache muche holynes and Gods seruice to stande in their holy oyle / holy creame / holy water / holy asshes / hal-

¹ See Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, Vol. i, pp. 50, 51, 52, and Chappell's *Popular Music*, pp. 130-135.—W. C.

loured bedes / mumblyng of a numbre of psalmes in Laten / keepinge of church ale; in the whiche, with leappyng / daunsynge / and kyssyng / they maynteyne the profett of their churche (to the honoure of God, as they both saye and thyncke)." 1544.—*A Supplicacion to . . Kynge Henry the Eyght.* E. E. T. Soc. 1871, p. 41.

p. 150. *Ale sold in Churches, &c.*

"Item, whether upon the holy-days there be kept in the Church or Church-yard any market, buying or selling, with such doings as becometh neither the day nor the place." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, *Injunctions* (?), in his *Later Writings* (Parker Soc.), p. 142.

"Item, that the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outrageous noises, tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth, in the church, church-porch or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or reading of the homily." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, *Later Writings* (Parker Soc.), p. 129.

"Ye shall not keep, or suffer to be kept, in your parsonage or vicarage houses, any alehouses, tippling-houses, or taverns, nor shall sell ale, beer or wine." . . . 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Clergy*, p. 130, Parker Society.

"The Churchwardens shall not suffer any pedler, or others whatsoever, to set out any wares to sale, either in the porches of churches or in the church-yards, nor any where else on holy days or Sundays, while any part of divine service is in doing, or while any sermon is in preaching." 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains*, p. 138, Parker Society.

p. 150, l. 19. *Hufcap*.—See *Harrison*, I. 295 : "there is such headie ale & beere in most of them [markets], as for the mightinesse thereof, among such as seeke it out, is commonlie called *hufcap*, the mad dog, father whoresonne, angels food, dragons milke, [go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, (1587)] &c. . . It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag."

I thought at first that the *huftie-tuftie* of Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain in 1600, was this *Huf-cap*: but the extract below, from T. Nash, in his *Hauie with you to Saffron Walden*, sign. L 4, shows that Snuffe used the word for an exclamation, "jolly," or the like. "Who's the Foole now?" asks Snuffe, and answers, his drunken friend who got robb'd on his way to the Curtain theatre in Shoreditch :

"My friend was pleasant, drinking all the day,
With *huftie-tuftie*, let vs all be merrie,
Forgetting how the time did passe away:
Such is mans folly, making himself wearie.
But now attend, and I will tell the rest,
How my friends follie he could scarce digest.

When he was beaten with a Brewers washing bittle
Or had in deed almost quite burst his thombe,
Or had behelde the Diuell, where he did tipple,

Or (the old word) was drunke, marke what did come,
 Thus it fell out, as he him selfe did say,
 He to the Curtaine went, to see a Play.

His friendes went with him, and as wise as hee,
 Yet wiser as it chaunst, for he went reeling ;
 A tottering world it was, God wott, to see
 My friend disguide thus without sense or feeling.
 Here a fell downe, and vp againe, God wott,
 Backward and forward staggering like a sott.

A soberer man than he, or girl or boy,
 I know not who—for he him selfe not knowes—
 Begins to looke into this goodly toy,
 And, to teach him wit, this deede at pleasure shoues :

Into his pocket diues, and being alone,
 Pursse, hat, cloake, from my drunken friend was gone.”

1600.—*Quips upon Questions*, sign. B 4, back, and C 1.

huffy tuffy, adv. bravely, finely.

“I haue a tale at my tunges end if I can happen vpon it, of his hobby horse reuellung & dominering at Audley-end, when the Queene was there : to which place Gabriell [Harvey] (to doo his countrey more worship & glory) came ruffling it out *huffy tuffy* in his suite of velvet.” 1596.—T. Nashe, *Hauie with you to Saffron-walden*, sign. L 4, back.

(I've unluckily mislaid my other extracts on the names for being drunk.)

p. 150. *Church-ales*. “There were no rates for the poor in my grandfather's days¹; but for Kington St. Michael (no small parish) the church-ale at Whitsuntide did the business. In every parish is (or was) a church-house, to which belonged spits, crocks &c., utensils for dressing provision. Here the house-keepers met, and were merry, and gave their charity. The young people were there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts &c., the ancients sitting gravely by and looking on. All things were civil and without scandal. This church-ale is doubtless derived from the ἀγάπαι, or love-feast, mentioned in the New Testament.” — Aubrey's *Introduction to the Survey of Wiltshire*, in his *Miscellanies* (Library of Old Authors), pp. 216-17.—S.

p. 150. *Church-Ales & Dancing*. Compare the Bride-Ales:

“Early in the morning the wedding people begynne to excedē in superfluous eating & drinkyng | wherof they spyte vntill the halfe sermon be done. And whan they come to the preaching | they are halfe dronke | some al altogether | therefore regard they neither the preaching ner prayer | but stonde ther onely because of the custome. Such folkes also do come vnto the Church with all maner of pompe and prydē | & gorgiousnesse of rayment and Iewels. They come with a greate noyse of basens & drommes | wher-with they trouble the

¹ Say about 1600. Aubrey was born in 1626, and died about 1697.

whole church | & hindre them in matters pertayninge to god. They come in to the lordes house | as it were into an house of merchaundise | to lay forth theyr wares & offre to sell themselues vnto vyce and wickednesse. And euen as they come to the Church | so go they from the Church agayne | lyght | nyce | in shamefull pompe and wayne wantonesse." (Fol. 50.) Fol. lvi, ed. 1552.

"After the bancket and feast | there begynneth a wayne | madd | and vnmanerly fashionz. For the bryde must be brought in to an open dauncing place. Then is there such a renninge | leapinge | and flynginge amoung them | then is there such a lyftinge vp and discoueringe of the damesels clothes and of other wemens apparell | that a man might thinke | all these dauncers had cast all shame behinde them | and were become starke madde, and out of theyr wyttes | and that they were sworne to the deuels daunce. Then must the poore bryd kepe foote with all dauncers | & refuse none | how scabbed | foule | droncken | rude and shameles souer he be. Then must she oft tymes heare and se much wickednesse | & many an vncomely word. And that noyse and rombling endureth euen till supper.

"As for supper, looke how much shameles and dronken the evening is more then the morning, so much the more vice, exces, and misnurturē is vsed at the supper. After supper, must they begin to pype and daunce again of anew. And though the young persons (being weary of the bablyng noyse and inconvenience) come once towards their rest, yet can they haue no quietness. For a man shall find vnmanerly and restles people that wyll first go to their chamber doore, and there syng vicious and naughty balates, that the devil may have his whole triumphe now to the vttermost." 1541.—Miles Coverdale, *The Christian State of Matrimonye*, fol. 51 (sign. H i, Fol. lvii, ed. 1552).

"fye vpont, what a miserable thing tis to be a noble Bride! there's such delayes in rising, in fitting gownes, in tyring, in pinning Rebatoes, in poaking, in dinner, in supper, in Reuels, & last of all in cursing the poore nodding fidlers for keeping Mistris Bride so long vp from sweeter Reuels,—that, oh I could neuer endure to put it vp without much bickering." 1602.—T. Dekker, *Satiromastix*. Works, 1873, i. 186.

"As for matrimony, that hath also corruptions too many Other petty Abuses things out of the book we speak not of, as that women, contrary to the accidental rule of the Apostle, come, and are suffered to come, bareheaded, with bagpipes and fidlers before them, to disturb the congregation ; and they must come in at the great door of the church, else all is marred." 1570-1600.—Archbp. Whitgift, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 353, Parker Soc.

p. 152. *Wakes and Feasts*.—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ii. 1-10, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ii. 1-10, iii. 7-8, ed. Hazlitt, 1870.

'*Wakes*: a very old English custom. The 35th of Elfric's Canons is : "ye ought not to make merry over dead men, nor to hunt after a corpse, unless ye be invited to it. When ye are invited, forbid the heathenish songs of laymen, and hear loud cackling, and do not eat & drink over the body in their heathenish manner." (Quoted from Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. i, p. 255, by Chappell, in his Introduction to *Old English Ditties*, p. 81.)'

The above are the real Irish wakes, not those on the eve of Saints' Days when the people danced in the churches or church-yards through the night.—W. C.

p. 152. *wakes, &c.* See *The Chetham Miscellanies*, Vol. V. Ed. F. R. Raines (Chetham Society). The *Athenaeum Review*, August 12, 1876, says: “The first article in the collection is a Report on ‘The State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the county of Lancaster,’ made by certain of the clergy about 1590.¹ The authors of the Report were for the most part men of Puritan leanings, but there is nothing particularly strange or grotesque in the complaints they make. We know from many other sources that the rough-and-ready manner in which the Reformed doctrines and discipline had been planted in the county palatine of Lancaster had cruelly wounded the feelings of many, and that the first result of a change so violent was an alarming amount of godlessness. Almost every clause of this old paper shows that the bonds of authority had become terribly relaxed, and that there was no strong public opinion on the side of moral order to keep loose persons in check. Not only do we find that the mediæval custom of holding fairs and markets on Sunday was still usually retained, and that ‘wackes, ales, greenes, maigames, rushbearinges, bearebaites, doveales, bonfires, [and] all maner vnlawful gaming, pipeinge, and daunsing, and such like, ar in all places freely exercised vppon y^e Sabbath,’ but that the persons who professed to conform to the worship of the English Church frequently did so in such a manner as to show their contempt for her ritual, some walking about and talking, others laughing during prayers,² while the more devout evinced their adherence to the

¹ “The manifolde Enormities of the Ecclesiasticall state in the most partes of the Countie of Lancaster; and many of them in som partes also of Cheshire [about the year 1590]

“V. Faires and Marketes in most Townes ar vsually kepte vppon the Sabbath : by occasion whereof divine Service in the Forenoone is greatly neglected.

“VI. Wackes, Ales, Greenes, Maigames, Rushbearinges, Bearebaites, Doveales, Bonfiers, all maner vnlawfull Gaming, Pipeinge and Daunsinge, and suche like, ar in all places freely exercised vppon y^e Sabbath.”

² Compare Sir Thomas More's complaint of the *Irreverent behaviour at Prayer* in his Popish day: he died in 1535. *Works* (1557), p. 1359. ‘Out of al, most true is y^e old said saw, that the outward behauior & continaunce is a plain expresse mirror or ymage of y^e minde, in asmuche as by y^e eyes, by y^e chekkes, by y^e eye liddes, by y^e browes, by y^e handes, by y^e fete, & finally by y^e gesture of y^e whole body, right well appereth, how madly & fondly y^e minde is set & disposed. For as we litle passe how smal deuocion of hart we come to pray w^t hal, so dooe we litle passe also howe vndeouli we go forward therin. And albeit we wold haue it same, yt on y^e holye daies we go more gorgeously appalled them at other times onely for y^e honor of god, yet y^e negligest fashion yt we vse, a greate mainy of vs, in y^e time of our praier, doth sufficiently declare, (be we neuer so lothe to haue it so knownen & apparaunte to the world) yt we do it altogether of a peuysh worldly pride. So carelessly do we euen in y^e church somewhiles solemnly iet to & fro, & other whiles faire & softly sette vs down again. And if it hap vs to kneele, then either do we knele vpon y^e tone knee, & lene vpon y^e tother, or els will wee haue a cushion layd vnder them both, yea & sometime, namely if we be any thyng nyce & fine) we cal for a cushion to beare vp our elbowes to, & so, like an olde rotten rynouse house, be we fain therwith to bee staide & vnderpropped. And then further do we euery way discouer,

suppressed religion by crossing themselves, beating their breasts, and telling their beads in secret. At the time when service was going on, it was common for the unreclaimed people who remained without, to assemble in the churchyard or the streets hard by, and to amuse themselves with clamorous shouting and throwing stones upon ‘the leades of the churche.’¹

“The ancient burial customs seem to have been retained almost without alteration, as far as the change of circumstances would permit. When the body was laid out preparatory to burial, it was surrounded, by night and by day, with burning candles, the church bells were rung to warn the neighbours to pray for the soul of the departed, and all the neighbours who visited the corpse were wont to say a *Pater Noster* or a *De Profundis*. The wayside crosses, which have now nearly all been swept away either by the reforming zeal of our predecessors or the carelessness of more modern times, seem then to have been common; for these Lancashire clergy tell us that at funerals ‘they carie the corse towardse the churche all garnished with crosses, which they sett downe by the way at everie crosse, and there all of them devoutly, on theire knees, make prayers for the dead.’

“This custom of affixing small crosses to the bier or the pall lingered long. We have heard of it being followed late in the last century. ‘The Obsequy of faire Phillida,’ a ballad in the Roxburghe collection (Ballad Soc. ix. 345), is adorned with a woodcut of a funeral, which, from the dresses of the bearers and grave-digger, cannot be much older than 1640. There we find the coffin or bier, (it is not easy to say which it is), covered with a tight-fitting pall, on which are fastened in an irregular manner seventeen small crosses in circles.

“The intense dislike of the Roman Catholic population for the English burial service is shown by the fact that when the body was brought to the churchyard, they were accustomed to ‘overtreat the minister to omit the service,’ and bury the body themselves without religious rites. If, however, the clergyman insisted upon performing his duty, the friends were in the habit of going away, as they refused absolutely to join in or be present at the service.

“Secret marriages and baptisms are complained of, though the memorialists do not seem to have felt the evil of them so bitterly as they did many other things of less consequence. To us, for whom all these things are but matters of history, these unregistered marriages and baptisms are of far more import than the ceremonial which gave so much pain to the compilers of the Memorial. It is well known that throughout the whole of the north of England in the sixteenth and

how far wide our mind is wandring from god. We clawe our head, we pare oure nailes, we picke our nose, & say therwhiles one thing for an other, sith what is said or what is vsaid both having cleane forgottez, we be fain at al aduentures to ay me what we haue more to say. Bee we not ashamed thus madly demeaning our selves both secretly in our hert, & also in our doings openly in such wise to sew for soucor vnto god, being in so gret danger as we be, & in such wise to pray for pardoz of so many horrible offences, & ouer y^t in suche wise to desire him to preserue vs from perpetuall damnacion? so y^t this one offence so vnreuerently to approch to y^t high maiesty of God, al had we never offendred him before, wer yet alone wel worthy to bee punished.”—R. Roberts.

¹ The next page was set by the compositor in mistake, but is let stand.

seventeenth centuries the more devout among the Roman Catholics were wont to have these rites performed by their own priests. One consequence is that now they are, in many cases, entirely incapable of proof. The Bodleian list of Yorkshire Roman Catholics in 1604 furnishes numerous examples of these secret marriages, and is in some instances the only evidence we have that such marriages were ever contracted. They usually took place far from home, before a few chosen and faithful witnesses only. Here is an instance, notable as relating to one of the higher gentry of the county of York :—‘Secret mariage. Richard Cholmley, Esquier, maryed with Mary Hungate, in the presence of John Wilson, William Martin, Hugh Hope, and Christopher Danyell, in a fell with a Popish priest.’ The lady and her lover dare not be wedded at home, for fear of spies ; so they met by appointment at some wild place on the moorlands, where a priest, at the risk of his life, was found ready to perform the marriage rite. . . .

“In the volume are the letters of Randal Holme and Leonard Smethley, the deputy heralds who acted in Lancashire and Cheshire in the reign of James the First. . . .

“Both master and man were constantly in trouble with the gentry in their dominions on the subject of fees. When the Herald’s College was incorporated, it took upon itself not only the regulation of arms, but also the ordering of those sumptuous funerals in which the bad taste of our forefathers delighted. If a great man died, the body was sometimes kept lying in state for weeks. More frequently, however, the remains were privately interred, without pomp or heraldic display, and some time afterwards a magnificent hearse was erected in the church, hung round with the arms, crest, and motto of the dead and his ancestors, and the family retainers went at night by torch-light to hear a funeral sermon in praise of the virtues of the deceased. For all this display, heraldic knowledge was needed ; yet so perverse were the gentry around that, instead of employing Holme and Smethley to superintend the pageant and paint the banners, they often engaged what the senior deputy herald calls ‘poor snaks, hedge-paynters, and, I take it, plasterers,’ to do their blazonry for them. This was unbearable to the men in authority, who were defrauded of their fees ; and long and bitter were their complaints to the authorities in St. Paul’s Churchyard, urging that sharp measures should be taken with the arms-painters, and that the people who had these stately funerals provided for their relatives should be compelled to pay the accustomed fees to Messrs. Holme and Smethley, whether they availed themselves of their services or not.”

As to Sabbath-keeping in early days in Arbroath and Scotland, note :—“It is the common opinion that the strict observance of Sunday, for which the Scotch people are remarkable, came in with the Reformation, and that the practice, so far from having become more stringent as time went on, has been relaxed in modern days. This is, of course, a mistake. In 1564, we find the council of the town ordering that ‘thair be na mercats upon the sabouith day before aucht [eight] hours, noder flesh nor uder merchandise on pain of viij^s.’ Mr. Hay truly remarks that we should think it passing strange were a town council nowadays to give tacit consent to holding public markets at any hour on the Sunday. It is curious, too, at so early a date to find Sabbath used to indicate the *dies dominica*. Inaccurate, however, as the term is, the Reformation is not responsi-

ble for coining it, but only for bringing it into common use. The town records of Beverley in 1456—ninety-eight years before this—contain a memorandum of how a certain John Johnson was fined fourpence because he housed corn on the Sabbath—‘Hospitabat frumentum . . . die Sabbati.’ (Poulson’s Beverlac. I. 219.) It was, as the author points out, a considerable time after the establishing of the reformed faith before the custom of holding markets and other such assemblies on Sunday was discontinued.

“We have come across many instances in England of parish meetings being held, and churchwardens’ accounts audited, on Easter Sunday late in the reign of Elizabeth, and far down into that of her successor. Though the Scotch did not enter on their course of strictness so early as some have thought, they certainly did at length surpass in that particular all other people on earth, unless it were some of the New England settlements. It would, we should imagine, be impossible to parallel the following from the records of the most Protestant town in Germany, Holland, or Scandinavia :—

“On the 5th December, 1732, the barbers in the Town compeared before the session in answer to their citation ; and record bears, ‘Being accused of profaning the Sabbath-day by shaving people and dressing their wigs before and in time of the sermon,[they] confessed their faults, upon which they were exhorted to reform, under the pain of being publicly censured.’”—*Athenæum*, August 19, 1876, on G. Hay’s *Hist. of Arbroath*.

In Messrs. Cotton and Woolcombe’s *Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records relative to the City of Exeter*, 1877, there are many convictions during the Puritan time for baking on the Lord’s Day, and for heating an oven on it. Travelling on Sunday was forbidden, and punishit with the stocks ; and a barber was brought up for “tryming a man on the Lords Day, about tenn o’clocke in the forenone in sermon time.”—*Athenæum*, September 15, 1877, p. 332.

p. 154. *Dancing*.—See p. 297 ; T. F.’s *Newes from the North*, 1597, as to the Dancing School ; and Northbrooke’s Treatise [against] Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds, 1577, old Sh. Soc. reprint, 1840, p. 113–148.

p. 155 : *kissing*. See note on this at p. 269, above.

p. 155 : *dancing*.—Busino, of the Venetian Embassy at Jas I’s Court in 1617—1618, speaks thus of the dancing before the King :—*Quart Rev.* Oct. 1857, p. 424. *Harrison*, Part II., p. 58*. “The masque began. [Ben Jonson’s *Pleasure reconciled to Virtue*, Twelfth Night, 1617-18]. . . At last twelve cavaliers in masks, the central figure always being the prince, ‘chose their partners and danced every kind of dance, the last being the Spanish dance in single pairs, each cavalier with his lady ; and at length, being well nigh tired, they began to flag, whereupon the king, who is naturally choleric, got impatient, and shouted aloud, ‘Why don’t they dance ? What did you make me come here for ? Devil take you all ; dance !’ On hearing this, the Marquis of Buckingham, his majesty’s most favoured minion, immediately sprang forward, cutting a score of lofty and minute capers with so much grace and agility, that he not only appeased the ire of his angry sovereign, but, moreover, rendered himself the admiration and delight of everybody. The other

314 Notes on pp. 155, 171. *Dancing. Bawdy Songs.*

masquers, being thus encouraged, continued successively exhibiting their prowess with various ladies ; finishing in like manner with capers, and by lifting their goddesses from the ground."

See also a tract of 19 leaves in the Lambeth Library : "A Treatise of Daunses wherin it is shewed that they are as it were accessories and dependants (or thinges annexed) to whoredome ; where also by the way is touched and proved that Playes are joyned and knit togeather in a rancke or rowe with them . . Anno 1581." Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 137. Also "A Dialogue agaynst light, lewde, and lascivious dauncing : wherein are refuted all those reasons which the common people vse to bring in defence thereof. Compiled and made by Christopher Fetherston. Eccl. 9. 4. Use not the companie of a woman that is a singer and a dauncer, least thou be intrapped in her snares. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, 1582." 8vo. 46 leaves. Bodleian (Douce). Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 195.

"Age. What wolde these fathers say nowe, if they were presently aliue, to see the wanton and filthie daunces that are now vsed, in this cleare day and light of the Gospell? What Sabbath dayes, what other dayes are there, nay, what nightes are ouerpased without dauncing among a number at this time? In summer season, howe doe the moste part of our yong men and maydes, in earely rising and getting themselues into the fieldes at dauncing? what foolishe toyes shall not a man see among them? what vnchast countenances shall not be vsed then among them? or what coales shall there be wanfing that may kindle Cupid's desire?—truly none. Through this dauncing, many maydens haue been vnmaydened, whereby I may saye, it is the Storehouse and nurserie of bastardie. What adoe make our yong men at the time of May? Do they not vse night watchings to rob and steale yong trees out of other men's grounde, and bring them home into their parishes with minstrels playing before? and when they haue set it vp, they will deck it with floures and garlandes, and daunce round (men Exod. 32, 6. and women toghether, moste vnseemly and intolerable, as I haue 1 Cor. 10, 7. proued before) about the tree, like vnto the children of Israell, that daunced about the golden calfe that they had set vp," &c. 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, etc.*, ed. 1840, p. 175-176.

p. 171 : bawdy songs.

"He hath all that to villany belongs,
The hugest number of such bawdy songs,
You euen would wonder (Gossips, this is plaine)
That any man could beare them in his braine.
He hath a song cald, *Mistris, will you do ?*¹ [1]
And *My man Thomas did me promise to,* [to is too] [2]

¹ Mr. Ebsworth kindly identifies these songs :—

- (2) " My man Thomas
 Did me promise
 He would visit me this night.
Thomas.] ' I am here, love;
 Tell me, dear love;
 How I may obtain thy sight.

Maid] Come up to my window, love;
 Come, come, come!
 Come to my window, my dear;
 The wind nor the rain
 Shall trouble thee again,
 But thou shalt be lodged here."

He hath the *Pinnace rigg'd with silken saile,* [3]
 And pretty Birds, with *Garden Nightingale,* [4, 5]
Ile tye my Mare in thy ground a new way, [6]
 Worse then the Players sing it in the Play, [? what Play]
Besse for abuses, and a number more, [7]
 That you and I haue never heard before.
 And these among those wenches he doth learme,
 Which by actiuity their liuings earne.
 His Crownes vpon them frankly he bestowes,
 Not caring for his wife, or how she goes."

1609.—S. Rowlands, *A Crew of kind Gossips*, sign. C 2 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 19).

On 2, 3, 6 of these Mr. Wm. Chappell says:—“See my *Popular Music*, p. 738, for *My Man Thomas, A Pinnace rigg'd, and I'll tie my mare*:—

‘A pinnace rigg'd with silken sail,
 What is more lovely than to see?
 But still to see, is small avail ;
 I must aboord, as thinketh me.’

It is full of double meanings.” In *Pop. Mus.*, p. 738, are 6 lines and the music of

Two other verses are elsewhere sung by Old Merrythought : “ Tye the Mare, Tom, boy ! ” of early date. (1) I have (certainly of 1601) “ Mistress, since you so much desire ; ” probably resembling “ Mistress will you do ? ” (7) I believe that “ Besse for abuses ” I also have a clue to ; and I know of one “ Pretty Nightingale,” of date 1575,

“ Little pretty nightingale,
 Among the braunches greene,
 Geue us of your Christmasse ale,
 In the honour of Saint Steven.”

But this is a “ Mock ” to the original which I possess from an early MS., beginning thus :—

“ The lytill pretty nyghtyngale,
 Among the levys grene,
 I wolde I were with hur all nyght,
 But yet wot not whome I mene,” etc., etc.

· (4) I have also one song beginning “ Ye pretty birds that chirp and sing,” but its date is much later in the 17th century :—the author was not scrupulous in availing himself of elder suggestions, and occasionally would “ convey, the wise it call ! ”—J. W. Ebsworth.

(6) I have the Catch “ Ile tye my Mare in thy ground.” There is also another,

My man Thomas, of which 12 lines were sung in Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*, Act III. sc. iii (B. & F.'s *Works*, 1839, i. 481, col. 1). See too the note for p. 185, below, p. 319.

Compare the following cancell'd entry in the Stationers' Registers, Arber's *Transcript*, ii. 576:

7. marcij [1590-1]

Thomas Gosson Entred for his copie *a ballad of a yonge man that went a wayng &c.* Abell Jeffes to be his printer hereof Provyded Cancelled out of the book, for the vndecentnes of it alwayes, that before the publishinge hereof the vndecentnes be in Diuerse verses reformed vd

GAMES, SPORTS, AND FOOTBALL.

p. 173: *games and sports.* Here is a list of them in 1600:—

"Man, I dare challenge thee to throw the sledge,
To umpsire or leape ouer a ditch or hedge,
To wrastle, play at stooleball, or to runne,
To pitch the barre, or to shoothe off a gunne :
To play at loggets, nine holes, or ten pinnes,
To trie it out at foot-ball by the shinnes ;
At Ticktacke, Irish, Noddie, Maw, and Ruffe ;
At hot-cockles, leape-frogge, or blindman-buffe ;
To drinke halfe pots, or deale at the whole canne ;
To play at base, or pen-and-Ynk-horne sir Ihan :
To daunce the Morris, play at barley-breake :
At all exploytes a man can thinke or speake :
At shoue-groute, venter-poynt, or crosse and pile :
At beshrow him that's last at yonder style."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vaine*, D 4, back (ed. 1874, p. 64). On these and other games see Hazlitt's *Brand*, vols. i., ii. Also Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. The Act 33 Hen. VIII., ch. 9, § 8, says: "noe manner of person . . . shall for his or their gayne, lucre or lyvinge, kepe . . . or maynteyne any common house, alley or place of bowlinge, Coytinge, Cloyshe, Coyles, halfe bowle, Tennys, Dysing, Table, or Cardinge, or any other manner of Game prohibite by anye estatute heretofore made, or any unlaufull newe game nowe invented or made, upon payne to forfeit and paye for everie day kepinge . . . or sufferinge any such Game to be . . . playde . . . fourtie shillinges . . ." By § 11 "noe manner of Artyfycer or Craftes man of any handy crafte or occupacion, husbandman, apprentice, laborer, seruaunte at husbandrye, journeymen or seruaunte of artyficer, marinres, fysshermen, watermen, or any servyngman, shall . . . playe at the Tables, Tennys, Dyce, Cardes, Bowles, Clashe, Coytinge, Logatinge, or any other unlawfull, Game, out of Christmas, under peyne of twentye shillinges to be forseyt for everie

tyme, And in Christmas to playe at anye of the said Games [only] in their maisters houses or in their maisters presence: and also that noe manner of person shall at any tyme playe at any bowle or bowles in open places out of his garden or orcharde, under the peyne for everie tyme so offendinge to forfeyt vjs. viij*d.*"

§ 15 and 16 provide for Servants playing Cards Dice & Tables by License of their Masters, & give Noblemen, & Landholders of £100 a year, power to license their Servants to play in their Houses, Gardens or Orchards 'Cardes, Dyce, Bowles or Tenny's.' 33 Henry VIII was from 22 April 1541 to 21 April 1542.

p. 174. *Dicing.* "O how happie were it for your Posteritie, if the Innes of the Court were farre from the Dycing-houses, or Dycyng-houses with their Originall, the Deuill . . . These Houses (outwardly) are of the substance of other Buildinges, but within are the Botches and Byles of abhomynation: they are lyke vnto deepe Pittes, couered with smoothe Grasse, of which, men must be warned, or els they can hardly auoide that their eye can not discouer." 1586.—Geo. Whetstone, *The Enemie to Vnthyfinesse . . . A Perfect Mirrour for all Maiestrates*, A 3, back. (A very disappointing book, which professes to discover 'the vnsufferable Abuses now raigning in our happie English common wealth,' but only quotes the abuses in Rome which Alexander Severus tried to put down, and gives no details of them in England. He had brothels shut from sunset to sunrise, that the frequenters of them might be seen, &c.)

Latimer, in his 6th Sermon before Edward VI, in 1549, says:—"There be such dicing houses also, they say, . . . where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also . . . Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves . . . were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting; but now it is turned into [boiling, 1562] glossing, gulling and whoring within the house. The art of shooting . . . hath been Gods instrument whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies; but now we have taken up whöring in towns, instead of shooting in the fields." *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196-7.

p. 175. *Football.* Cp. Laneham's Letter, 1575, on the sports, &c., at Kenilworth Castle: the bridegroom is 'lame of a leg, that in his youth was broken at football,' p. 27. "*Fatal Accident at a Football Match.*—An inquest was held yesterday evening by Mr. Bedford, the coroner for Westminster, at the Board-room, Eburybridge, Pimlico, touching the death of Mr. Sydney James Henniss Branson, aged 21, a medical student, residing at 7, South Eaton-place, Eaton-square, which occurred under the following sad circumstances:—Mr. Maurice Chilton, medical student, deposed that he resided with the deceased at the above house, and on the afternoon of Wednesday week last they were, with a great many others, taking part in a football match at Battersea-park; and at about four o'clock a young gentleman named Baily had seized the football and was running with it swiftly across the ground, when the deceased immediately ran after him, but had scarcely reached him when he stumbled and fell to the ground. He caught hold of Baily's leg and dragged him down upon him, the latter falling with considerable force upon deceased's chest and stomach. Deceased was picked up by his companions and taken in an insensible state to the porter's lodge, where he remained an hour, and was afterwards taken home in a cab with witness's assistance. In witness's

opinion Mr. Baily's falling was quite the consequence of deceased pulling him. Mr. Charles Henry Baily, sub-lieutenant, Royal Naval College, Greenwich, was called, and stated that deceased was a stranger to him. On that afternoon he scarcely knew deceased was running after him, but recollects being caught suddenly round the legs, and falling with his knees on deceased. Mr. Bertram Pink, surgeon, stated he lived in the same house, and saw deceased when brought home. Without doubt he had an internal rupture, and some injury to the abdomen. He had him put to bed, inflammation (the result of the injury) set in next day, from which he died on Monday. The jury returned a verdict of 'Accidental Death,' agreeing with the coroner that it was deceased's own imprudence which had caused the death."—*Daily News*, March 19, 1875.

"*Shocking Football Accident at Derby.*—On Saturday afternoon a match took place at Derby, under the Rugby rules, between the Derby Wanderers and a Birmingham football club. The ground was hard, owing to the frost of the previous night. During the play, one of the Birmingham players named Matthew Wilcox made a 'charge,' but missed his mark and fell. Before he could recover himself another player fell across him, and he became insensible. Various means used to recover him failed, and he was conveyed upon a shutter to the infirmary, where it was discovered that the lower cervical vertebrae were dislocated. Under surgical treatment he recovered consciousness, and his friends were telegraphed for, but the case is considered hopeless."—*Daily News*, March 20, 1876.

"*Football and the Rugby Rules.*—The accident to Mr. Matthew Wilcox, of Birmingham, in a football match at Rugby, having terminated fatally, an inquest was held yesterday. The deceased was a jeweller of Handsworth, and was twenty-five years of age. He was one of the (Birmingham) Moseley Club, who played the Derby Wanderers at Parker's-field Ground last Saturday. Mr. Thomas Hill, solicitor, deposed that deceased picked up the ball, and, running with it towards the goal, was collared by an opponent named Champion, and both fell, deceased, who appeared to turn a somersault, being undermost, with the whole weight of his opponent on the back of his neck. He tried to rise, but could not. Mr. Iliffe, surgeon, directed him to be taken to the Infirmary. Mr. Andrew Champion (Wanderers), and Thomas Bent and W. Matthews (Moseley Club), gave similar evidence. The house surgeon at the Infirmary stated that deceased was suffering from complete paralysis arising from dislocation of the lower cervical vertebrae. He lingered until 11.30 on Sunday night, when he died. A verdict was returned of 'Accidental Death.' The sad affair has created a profound impression in Derby, where football is much played. In connection with this matter, Mr. T. Budworth Sharp, of Smethwick, a friend of the deceased, writes to the *Birmingham Daily Post*, giving the following list of serious injuries sustained, owing to the Rugby rules, in one Birmingham Club (the Handsworth) in one season alone:—'1. A broken thigh and leg, bent to an angle of about 45 degrees. We put the player into a cab, sent him off to the hospital, where he remained some months. 2. Some dislocations about the collar-bone. 3. A broken collar-bone. 4. Some serious internal ruptures, necessitating the use of a truss and gentle exercise for some years. 5. Some broken bones in the ankle: sent to hospital for some weeks, and since on

crutches. 6. Injuries to the chest. 7. Serious injury to the knee-joint ; laid up for three weeks. Nos. 4 and 5 are brothers ; Nos. 1 and 6 are twin brothers ; and No. 7 is the writer.' Mr. Sharp adds that this list was written in April, 1875, and was then put aside at the request of certain members of the club, one of whom was the unfortunate Matthew Wilcox." —*Daily News*, March 22, 1876. Other deaths, and lots of accidents, have been reported since. Here's the last, from the *Echo*, Feb. 10, 1879, p. 3, col. 1 :—

"*Killed at Football*.—Yesterday a youth died at Tunstall from a kick received at a football match played between the Tunstall and Goldenhill (North Staffordshire) teams, at Tunstall, a few days before. Play was very rough, and Herbert Whitedock, one of the Goldenhill team, was kicked in the stomach. He was conveyed from the ground in a state of unconsciousness, and succumbed after much suffering. It is not known who made the fatal foul."

p. 175. On gaming and dice, leading to robbery. — See S. Rowlands's 'All's Fish that comes to net' in his *Knave of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 14 ; also his Satyres, p. 59, in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, ed. 1874 ; and the extract from Latimer in Note for p. 174, above, p. 317.

p. 177. *Bearbaiting*.—See the extracts above, p. 296-8, 301.

p. 179. *Accident at the Bear-Garden*. Stowe says—*Annales, 1605*, p. 1173—"The same 13. day of Januarie, being sonday, about four of the clocke in the afternoone, the old and vnderpropped scaffolds round about the Beare garden, commonly called Paris garden, Eight persons killed by the fall of a scaffold at the Bear garden. on the Southside of the riuier of Thamis ouer against the citie of London, ouercharged with people, fell suddenly downe, whereby, to the number of eight persons, men and women, were slaine, and many others sore hurt and bruised, to the shortening of their liues. A friendly warning to such as more delight themselves in the crueltie of beasts then in the works of mercie, the fruits of a true professed faith, which ought to be the sabbath daies exercise."

p. 184 : *wrestling* in the City of London :—"On Bartholomew day, for the Wrastling. So many Aldermen as doe dine with the Lord Maior, and the Sherifffes,

The meeting at the Lord Maiors house on Bartholomew day. are apparelled in their Scarlet Gownes lined ; and after dinner, their horses are brought to them where they dined. And those Aldermen which dine with the Sherifffes, ride with them to the Lord Maiors house, for accompanying him to the Wrastling. When as the Wrastling is done ; they mount their horses, and ride backe againe thorow the Fayre, and so in at Aldersgate, and then home againe to the Lord Maiors house.

The next day (if it be not Sunday) is appointed for the Shooting, and the service performed as upon Bartholomew day ; but if it bee Sunday, the ing day. Sabbath day, it is referred to the Monday then following." 1633. Continuation of Stowe's *Suruay*, p. 651, col. 2.

p. 185 : *bawdy songs, &c.* (See p. 314-16, above.)

"... our own children . . the first words

We form their tongues with, are licentious jests :

Can it call 'whore,' cry 'bastard'? O then, kiss it !

A witty child ! can't swear ? The father's darling !
 Give it two plums. Nay rather than't shall learn
 No bawdy song, the mother herself will teach it ! "

1598-1601.—B. Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, II. iii. *Works*, i. 22, col. 1.

p. 185. *Babberies, &c.* “ & in truth, what leasings will not make-shyfts invent for money ? What wyl they not faine for gaine ? Hence come our babling Balletts, and our new found Songs and Sonets, which euery rednose Fidler hath at his fingers end, and euery ignorant Ale knight will breath forth ouer the potte, as soone as his braine waxeth hote. Be it a troth which they would tune, they enterlace it with a lye or two to make meeter, not regarding veritie, so they may make vppe the verse ; not vnlke to Homer, who cared not what he fained, so hee might make his Countrimen famous . . . sith they obtaine the name of our English Poets, and thereby make men to thinke more baselie of the wittes of our Countrey, I cannot but turne them out of their counterfet liuerie, and brand them in the foreheade, that all men may know their falsehood.” 1590.—T. Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, B 4.

p. 186 : *putting good Laws into practice. Idle fellows and rascals.*

Queene E. “ Queene Elizabeth in the xiii and xviii yeres of hir gracious reygne, an. 14 & 18 two actes were made for ydle, vagrant, and maisterlesse persons, that used to loyter, and woulde not worke, shoulede for the first offence, haue a hole burned through the gristle of one of his eares, of an ynche compasse ; and, for the seconde offence committed therein, to be hanged.

“ If these and such lyke lawes were executed iustlye, truly, and seuerely, (as they ought to be), without any respect of persons, fauour, or friendshipp, this dung and filth of ydleness woulde easily be reected and cast oute of thys common wealth ; there would not be so many loytering, ydle persons, so many ruffians, blasphemers, and swingebucklers, so many drunkardes, tossepottes, whooremaisters, dauncers, fydlers, and minstrels, diceplayers, and maskers, fencers, theeves, enterlude players, cut purses, cosiners, maisterlesse seruauntes, jugglers, roges, sturdye beggars, counterfaite Egyptians, &c. as there are ; nor yet so many plagues to bee amongst vs as there are, if these dunghillies, and filthe in common weales were remoued, looked vnto, and cleane caste out by the industrie, payne, and trauell of those that are sette in authoritie and haue gouernemente.” 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with other idle Pastimes*, ed. 1840, p. 76. See too the end of the note for p. 75, above, p. 265.

APPENDIX.

POPULAR AND POPISH
SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS

On *Saints'-Days* and *Holy-Days*

IN GERMANY
AND OTHER PAPIST LANDS

A.D. 1553,

BEING

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

“The Popish Kingdome, or *reigne of Antichrist*, written in Latine
verse by Thomas NAOGORGUS (or KIRCHMAIER), and
englyshed by Barnabe GOOGE. . . Anno 1570.”

[THOMAS KIRCHMAIER: one of the most violent Protestant writers of the 16th century, born in 1511 at Straubingen, in Bavaria. Following the custom of his time, he changed his name for that of Nao-Georgos—two Greek words, having the same meaning. He embraced the reformation of Luther, and did not cease to declaim against what he termed the superstitions of the Romish Church, with a virulence which harmed him even in the opinion of the sensible members of his own community. [This is written by a Papist.] He had imagination, power, and much wit. From the number of his productions we can judge of the great facility with which he worked. He knew a good deal of Greek, and we possess several translations by him. After having exercised the functions of pastoral minister in various villages in Germany, and having called down upon himself the censures of the Consistory of Weimar, he died on the 29th December, 1563, at Wisbach, in the Palatinate. The curious seek for his works with great eagerness, and this reason has induced us to give a complete list of them. I. *Trag. nova, Pammachius*, Wittemberg, 1538, in 8° of 81 leaves. II. *Tragedia nova, Mercator seu Judicium*¹ (Bâle, 1540), in 8° of 75 leaves. This work has been translated into French under this title: *Le Marchand converti, tragédie nouvelle en laquelle la vraie et la fausse religion, au paragon l'une de l'autre, sont au vif représentées*, etc. (Genève), 1558; in 8° 1561, in 12° with the “*Comédie du Pape malade et tirant à sa fin*” (by Theod. de Bèze), 1585, in two parts in 16°; 1591 in 16°, 1594 in 12°. The translation of the “*Marchand Converti*” is attributed to J. Crespin. III. *Incendia, seu Pyrgopolynices, tragedia recens nata, nephanda quorundam papistici gregis exponens facinora*, Wittemberg, 1541, in 8° of 49 leaves, without the title-page; republished under the same date, in 8° of 56 leaves. This was Kirchmaier's rarest work, but it has been republished in the ‘*Politica imperialia*’ of Goldast, p. 1112; IV. *Hammanus, trag. nova sumpta e Bibliis* (Leipzig), 1543, in small 8°; V. *Hieremias, trag. nova, ex propheta Hieremia sumpta* (Bâle), 1551, in 8°; VI. *Judas Iscariotes, trag. nova et sacra; adjuncte sunt duæ Sophoclis tragediae, Ajax flagellifer et Philoctetes, carmine versa* (Stuttgart), 1552, in 8°, rare; VII. *Agriculturae sacrae libri V.*, ibid, 1550, small 8°; VIII. *Regnum papisticum*, 1553, small 8° of 173 pages, original edition; the same, with other works, Bâle, Oporin, 1559, in 8° of 343 pages, without counting 16 unnumbered leaves with the *Errata* and *Index* (see Brunet, Manuel du libraire); IX. *Explanatio Enchiridionis Epicteti*, Strasbourg, 1554, in 8°; X. *Satyrarum libri V priores, his sunt adjecti de animi tranquillitate duo libelli*, Bâle, 1555, in 8°; XI. *De dissidiis componendis libri duo; adjuncta est Satyra in J. della Casa*, ibid, 1559, in 8°; XII. *Annotationes in canoniam Joannis primam epistolam*, 1544, in 8°; XIII. *Confutatio de bello germanico in pedionetum, trimetris scazonibus*; XIV. *De Infantum ac parvulorum salute, deque Christi dicto: “Sinite parvulos venire ad me,” etc. Conclusiones*, 145, Bâle, 1556, in 8°; XV. *Epitome ecclesiasticorum dogmatum, carmine hexametro heroica*. Kirchmaier has translated several of Dion Chrysostom's “*Discourses*” from Greek into Latin, Paris, 1604, fol.; several Pieces of Isocrates, Plutarch (Bâle, 1556, in 8°), and the Letters of Synesius (ibid, 1558, in 8°), those of Phalaris, ibid, 1558, in 8°. Some works by him are to be found in the *Deliciae poetarum Germanorum*, vol. 4.—*Biographie Universelle*, 2nd edition.]

¹ *Tragedia, in qua, in conspectu ponuntur apostolica et papistica doctrina.*

APPENDIX.

The Popish Kingdome.

The fourth booke.

[*The Sidenotes of the original are in italics.*]

AS Papiftes doe beleue and teach the vaynest things that bee, [leaf 44]
So with their doctrine and their fayth, their life doth iump
agree.

Their feasts & all their holidayes they kepe throughout the
yeare

Are full of vile Idolatrie, and heathenlike appeare :

Whereby though they do nothing teach, but shoulde their doctrine hide,
(Which yet in volumes more than one, may openly be spide)

Thou easilly mayft knowe whether true Catholikes they bee,

And onely truft in Chrift, and keepe th'affured veritee.

Be therefore here a perfite Iudge, and all things warely way,

With equall ballance, for before thine eyes I here will lay

Most plainly, though not all (for who is able that to tell,)

But such as best are knowne to vs in *Germanie* that dwell.

And first betwixt the dayes they make no little difference,

For all be not of vertue like, nor like preheminence.

But some of them Egyptian are, and full of ieopardee,

And some againe besyde the rest, both good and luckie bee.

Like diffrence of the nights they make, as if th'almightie king,

That made them all, not gracious were to them in euery thing.

Beside they giue attentiuе eare to blinde Astronomars,

About th'aspects in euery howre of fundrie shining stars :

And vnderneath what Planet euery man is borne and bred,

What good or euill fortune doth hang ouer every hed.

Hereby they thinke assuredly to know what shall befall,

As men that haue no perfite fayth nor truft in God at all :

But thinke that euery thing is wrought and wholy guided here,

By mouing of the Planets, and the whirling of the Speare.

No vaine they pearſe nor enter in the bathes at any day,

Nor pare their nayles, nor from their hed do cut the heare away : 28

They alſo put no childe to nurſe, nor mend with doung their ground,

Nor medicine do receyue to make their crased bodies found,

Papifts' Feasts
and Holidays are
idolatrous and
heathenlike.

8 They don't trust
in Christ alone.

12

*Con. 26. q. 7.
Si quis. Non
obser. Quis.*

16 *g. 2. Nos pla-
net. Sed & illua-
g. 5. Non licet.*

20 They attend to
the Aspects of
the Stars, and
think folk's for-
tunes are ruld by
the Planets.

24

They'll not be
bled, bathe, or

take medicine,

324 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.*

without looking
to the Moon's
place.
[leaf 44, back]

Nor any other thing they do, but earnestly before
They marke the Moone how she is placde, and standeth euermore : 32
And eury planet howe they rise, and set in eche degree,
Which things vnto the perfite fayth of Christ repugnant bee.
Which first I shewe, leaft in my course I should be driuen plaine,
To call to minde these foolish toyes, now to my theame againe. 36

Aduent.

On Christmas
eve, boys and
girls knock at
every door, wish
the inmates a
happy year, and
get fruit and
pence from them.

Three weekes before the day whereon was borne the Lorde of grace,
And on the Thurday Boyes and Girles do runne in eury place,
And bounce and beate at every doore, with blowes and lustie snapes,
And crie, the aduent of the Lorde not borne as yet perhaps. 40
And wishing to the neighbours all, that in the houfes dwell,
A happie yeaire, and every thing to spring and prosper well :
Here haue they peares, and plumbs, & pence, ech man giues willinglee,
For these three nightes are alwayes thought, vnfortunate to bee : 44
Wherein they are afrayde of sprites, and cankred witches spight,
And dreadfull deuils blacke and grim, that then haue chiefeft might.
In these same dayes yong wanton Gyres that meeete for mariage bee,
Doe search to know the names of them that shall their husbandes bee.
Foure Onyons, fife, or eight, they take and make in eury one, 49
Such names as they do fanfie moft, and best do thinke vpon.

Wanton girls try
to find out their
husbands' names
by Onions,

Thus neere the Chimney them they set, and that same Onyon than,
That first doth sproute, doth surely beare the name of their good man.
Their husbandes nature eke they seeke to know, and all his guise, 53
When as the Sunne hath hid himselfe, and left the starrie skyes,
Unto some woodstacke do they go, and while they there do stande,
Eche one drawes out a faggot sticke, the next that commes to hande,
Which if it freight and euen be, and haue no knots at all, 57
A gentle hulband then they thinke shall surely to them fall.
But if it fowle and crooked be, and knottie here and theare
A crabbed churlish hulband then, they earnestly do feare. 60
These things the wicked Papistes beare, and suffer willingly,
Bicause they neyther do the ende, nor fruities of faith espie :
And rather had the people should obey their foolish lust,
Than truely God to know, and in him here alone to trust. 64

*Christmasse
daye.*

Some think all
[leaf 45]
the wine is turned
to water, and
back again.
Others watch for
altar-money.

Then comes the day wherein the Lorde did bring his birth to paise,
Whereas at midnight vp they rise, and every man to Masse.
This time so holy counted is, that diuers earnestly
Do thinke the waters all to wine are chaunged fodainly: 68
In that same houre that Christ himselfe was borne, and came to light,
And vnto water freight againe, transformde and altered quight.
There are beside that mindfully the money still do watch,
That first to aultar commes, which then they priuily do snatch. 72
The Priestes leaft other should it haue, takes oft the same away,
Whereby they thinke throughout the yeaire to haue good lucke in play,
And not to lose: then straight at game till daylight do they striue,
To make some present proofe how well their hallowde pence wil thriue.
Three Masses every Priest doth sing vpon that solemnne day, 77
With offrings vnto every one, that so the more may play.

3 Masses are
sung;

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.* 325

- This done, a wooden childe in clowtes is on the aultar set
 About the which both boyes and gyrls do daunce and trymly iet, 80
 And Carrols sing in prayse of Christ, and for to helpe them heare,
 The Organs aunswere euery verse, with sweete and solempne cheare.
 The Priestes doe reore aloude, and round about the parentes stande,
 To see the sport, and with their voyce do helpe them and their hande.
 Thus woont the *Coriants* perhaps vpon the mountaine *Ide*, 85
 The crying noyse of *Jupiter* new borne with song to hide,
 To daunce about him round, and on their brasen pannes to beate,
 Leaft that his father finding him, shold him destroy and eate. 88
- Then followeth Saint Stephens day, whereon doth euery man,
 His horses iaunt and course abrode, as swiftly as he can.
 Until they doe extreemely sweat, and than they let them blood,
 For this being done vpon this day, they say doth do them good, 92
 Aud keepes them from all maladies and ficknesse through the yeare,
 As if that Steuen any time tooke charge of horses heare.
- Next *John* the sonne of *Zebedee* hath his appoynted day,
 Who once by cruell tyraunts will, confrayned was they lay 96
 Strong poysom vp to drinke, therefore the Papistes doe beleuee,
 That whofo puts their truft in him, no poysom them can greeue.
 The wine befide that halowed is, in worship of his name,
 The Priestes doe giue the people that bring money for the same. 100
 And after with the felfe same wine are little manchets made,
 Agaynst the boystrous winter stromes, and fundrie fuch like trade.
 The men vpon this solempne day, do take this holy wine, 103
 To make them strong, so do the maydes to make them faire and fine.
- Then comes the day that calles to minde the cruell Herodes strife,
 Who seeking Christ to kill, the king of euerlasting life,
 Destroyde the little infants yong, a beast ynmercileffe,
 And put to death all such as were of two yeares age or leſſe. 108
 To them the finfull wretchesse crie, and earnestly do pray,
 To get them pardon for their faultes, and wipe their finnes away.
 The Parentes when this day appeares, doe beate their children all,
 (Though nothing they deserue) and seruants all to beating fall, 112
 And Monkes do whip eche other well, or else their Prior great,
 Or Abbot mad, doth take in hande their breeches all to beat:
 In worship of these Innocents, or rather as we fee,
 In honour of the cursed king, that did this crueltee. 116
- The next to this is Newyeares day, whereon to euery frende,
 They costly presents in do bring, and Newyeares gifte do fende.
 These gifte the husband giues his wife, and father eke the childe,
 And maister on his men bestowes the like, with fauour milde. 120
 And good beginning of the yeare they wishe and wishe againe,
 According to the auncient guise of heathen people vaine.
 These eight dayes no man doth require his dettes of any man,
 Their tables do they furnish out with all the meate they can: 124
 With Marchpaynes, Tartes, & Custards great, they drink with staring
 They rowte and reuell, feede and feaſt, as merry all as Pyes: [eyes,
- and a wooden
Child drest up,
set on the altar.
Boys and Girls
daunce and sing
round it,
the Priests roar,
and the Parents
clap.
- Saint Steuen.*
Dec. 26.
Horses are gal-
lopt till they
sweat, to keep
em well all the
year.
- Saint John.*
Dec. 27.
- Priests hallow
wine, and sell it,
and make Man-
chets with it,
against storms.
- [leaf 45, back]
Childermasse.
Dec. 28.
- Parents beat
their children,
servants and
Monks beat one
another.
- Newyeares day.*
Gifts are made
to every one.
- For 8 days no
man asks a debt.
Great feasting
goes on.

Twelft d.y.
January 6.

Every set of
friends chooses a
King, and has a
feast.

Children choose
a Prince too.

[leaf 46]

Every house-
holder makes a
big cake, and
puts a penny in
it. It's cut up,

and the man who
gets the penny,
is King, and is
lifted up to the
roof to make
crosses on the
rafters, against
spirits.

At night,
Frankincense is
burnt, and all the
family smoke
their noses and
eyes in it, to keep
'em sound.

Then they carry
the pan in pro-
cession round
the house, to
keep witches off.

They foretell the
year's weather
too.

As if they should at th'entrance of this newe yeare hap to die,
Yet would they haue theyr bellyes full, and auncient friendes allie. 128

The wife mens day here foloweth, who out from *Perſia* farre,
Brought gifts and presents vnto Christ, conducted by a starre.
The Papiftes do beleue that these were kings, and so them call,
And do affirme that of the same there were but three in all. 132
Here fundrie friendes togither come, and meete in companie,
And make a king amongst themſelues by voyce or destinie :
Who after princely guife appoyntes, his officers alway,
Then vnto feaſting doe they go, and long time after play : 136
Upon their bordes in order thicke the daintie dishes ftande,
Till that their purſes emptie be, and creditors at hande.

Their children herein follow them, and chooſing princes here,
With pompe and great ſolemnitié, they meete and make good chere :
With money eyther got by fleath, or of their parents eft, 141
That ſo they may be traynde to knowe both ryot here and theft.
Then alſo euery houſholder, to his abilitie,
Doth make a mightie Cake, that may ſuffice his compagnie : 144
Herein a pennie doth he put, before it come to fire,
This he deuides according as his houſholde doth require,
And euery peece diſtributeth, as round about they ftand,
Which in their names vnto the poore is giuen out of hand : 148

But who fo chaunceth on the peece wherein the money lies,
Is counted king amongſt them all, and is with ſhowtes and cries
Exalted to the heauens vp, who taking chalke in hande,
Doth make a croſſe on euery beamē, and rafters as they ftande: 152
Great force and powre haue theſe agaynst all iniuryes and harmes
Of cursed deuils, ſprites, and bugges, of coniurings and charmes.
So much this king can do, ſo much the Croſſes brings to paſſe,
Made by ſome feruant, maide, or childe, or by ſome foolish aſſe. 156
Twife fiſe nightes then from Christmaſſe, they do count with diligēnce,
Wherein echē maifter in his houſe doth burne vp Franckensence :

And on the Table fettes a loafe, when night approcheth nere, 160
Before the Coles, and Franckensence to be perfumed there :
First bowing downe his heade he standes, and noſe and eares, and eyes
He ſmokes, and with his mouth receyue the fume that doth arife :
Whom followeth freight his wife, and doth the ſame full ſolemly,
And of their children every one, and all their family : 164
Which doth preferue they ſay their teeth, and noſe, and eyes, and eare,
From every kind of maladie, and fickneſſe all the yeare.

When euery one receyued hath this odour great and ſmall,
Then one takes vp the pan with Coales, and Franckensence and all,
An other takes the loafe, whom all the reaſt do follow here, 169
And round about the houſe they go, with torch or taper clere,
That neither bread nor meat do want, nor witch with dreadful charme,
Haue powre to hurt their children, or to do their cattell harme. 172
There are that three nightes onely do perfourme this foolish geare,
To this intent, and thinke themſelues in safetie all the yeare.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.* 327

To Christ dare none commit himselfe. And in these dayes beside,
They iudge what weather all the yeare shall happen and betide: 176
Ascribing to ech day a month, and at this present time,
The youth in euery place doe flocke, and all appareld fine,
With Pypars through the streetes they runne, and sing at euery dore,
In commendation of the man, rewarded well therefore: 180
Which on themselues they do beftowe, or on the Church, as though
The people were not plague with Roges and begging Friers enough.
There Cities are, where boyes and gyrls togither still do runne,
About the freete with like, as foone as night beginnes to come, 184
And bring abrode their waffell bowles, who well rewarded bee,
With Cakes and Cheeze, and great good cheare, and money plentiouslee.

[leaf 46, back]
Young men
dress-up, go
singing thro the
streets with
Pipers.

Then commes in place saint *Agnes* day, which here in Germanie,
Is not so much eftemde, nor kept with such solemnitie: 188

Saint Agnes.
Jan. 21.

But in the Popish Court it standes in passing hie degree,
As spring and head of wondrous gaine, and great commoditee.
For in saint *Agnes* Church vpon this day while Massie they sing,
Two Lambes as white as snowe, the Nonnes do yearely vfe to bring:
And when the *Agnes* chaunted is, vpon the aultar hie, 193
(For in this thing there hidden is a soleme mysterie)

Is kept at Rome
solemny.

They offer them. The seruaunts of the Pope when this is done,
Do put them into Pasture good till shearing time be come. 196

2 snow-white
lambes are offerd
on the altar,

Then other wooll they mingle with these holy fleeses twaine,
Wherof being ipponne and dreft, are made the Pals of passing gaine:

then put to grass,
and shorn; and
their wool is
made into narrow
Palls,

Three fingars commonly in breth, and wrought in compasse so,
As on the Bishops shoulders well they round about may go. 200

with labels tipt
with lead.

These Pals thus on the shoulders set, both on the backe and brest,
Haue labels hanging someting lowe, the endes whereof are dreft,

And typte with plates of weightie lead, and vesture blacke arayde,
And laft of all to make an ende, with knots are surely stayne. 204

O ioymfull day of *Agnes*, and to Papistes full of gaine,
O precious worthie Lambes, O wooll most fortunate againe.

O happie they that spin and weave the fame, whose handes may touch
This holy wooll, and make these Pals of price and vertue such. 208

These Palls,
Bishops and
Archbishops are
forc't to buy at
high prices.

For by the fame the Bishope haue their full auuthoritie,
And Metropolitanes are forced, these dearely for to buie.

Beflowing sometyme eight, or ten, yea thirtie thousand crownes,
Ere halfe the yeare be full expirde, for these fame pelting gownes. 212

Ne can they vfe the Pall that was their prediceffors late,
Nor play the Bishop, nor receyue the Primates hie estate,

[leaf 47]

Till that he get one of his owne: with such like subtilitie,
The Pope doth all men powle, without respect of Simonie. 216

Perchaunce such force doth not in these fame holy Lambes remaine,
Nor of it selfe the wooll so much, nor all the weauers paine,

As these fame powlers feeme to say: for thus these palles being wrought,
Are freight waies to S. Peters Church by hands of Deacons brought,

And vnderneath the aultar all the night they buryed lie, 221

Among saint Peters reliques and saint Paules his fellow bie.

The Palls are
put under the
altar in St.
Peter's, among
his reliques, for one
night, and thence

are thought to draw heavenly power.

From hence the sacred iuyce they draw, and powre celeftiall,
As if the holy ghoſt ſhould giue theſe Clarkes hiſ vertue all. 224

Straunge Reliques ſure, and bodies eke of paſſing fan&titie,
That to ſuich lowfie clokes can giue ſo great au&thoritie.

Who would not more eſteeme you nowe then when you here diſ liue,
When as no clokes at all you diſ vnto your Bifhops giue, 228

Nor fed ſo many paunches great, nor thauen companies,
With foule illuſions and deceytes and shameleſſe futtelties?

Now filuer do you giue and heapes of golde togither rake
From euery realme, and for a denne of theeues prouifion make. 232

Farre be it from me that I ſhould thus of you beleeue or ſay:
But what ſo holy in thiſ worlde hath bene, or is thiſ day,

That thiſ fame wicked Papacie doth not conuert to gaine?
Th'almightie Lord himſelfe aboue in safetie cannot raigne. 236

Now here the Papiftes do declare from whom at firſt diſ ſprung,
The vſe of thiſ fame pelting Pall, and thiſ vnſeemely thing.

And here a thouſand lyſes they make, from auncient fathers olde,
They ſay the firſt inuention came, ne dare they yet be bolde 240

To burthen Peter with the fame, for feare they faint in prooſe,
But do reiect, not probably, yet farther of aloofe.

Such folly and ambicion great, whereat you wonder may.
For *Linus* he that Peter firſt ſucceeded as they ſay, 244

And guyded next the ſea of Rome, firſt tooke thiſ fame in hande,
That woollen garment might in ſeede of lynnēn *Ephod* ſtande.

But where was *Agnes* at thiſ tyme? who offred vp and how,
The two white Lambes? where then was Maffe as it is uſed now?

Yea where was then the popiſh ſtate, and dreadfull Monarchee? 249
Sure in ſaint *Auſtens* time, there were no Palles at *Rome* to ſee:

When Bifhops all had equall powre, although as ſtories tell,
The romiſhe Bifhop did the reaſt in worthineſſe excell. 252

Thus Papiftes neuer count it shame, nor any fault to lie,
So they may get great ſummes of golde, and rayſe their kingdome hie.

Then comes the day wherein the virgin offred Christ vnto
The father chiefe, as *Moyſes* law commaunded hir to do. 256

Then numbers great of Tapers large, both men and women beare
To Church, being halowed there with pomp, & dreadful words to heare.

This done, eche man his Candell lightes, where chiefeſt ſeemeth hee,
Whofe taper greatest may be ſene, and fortunate to bee: 260

Whofe Candell burneth cleare and bright, a wondrous force and might
Doth in thiſe Candels lie, which if at any time they light,

They ſure beleue that neyther ſtorme nor tempeſt dare abide,
Nor thunder in the ſkies be heard, nor any deviſ ſpide, 264

Nor fearefull ſprites that walke by night, nor hurts of froſt or haile,
How eaſily can thiſe fellowes all thiſe hurly burlyes quaile?

That needleſſe is it nowe to put their truſt in Christ alone,
Or to commit all thiſs to him that fittes in chiefeſt throne. 268

Then followeth good fir *Blafe*, who doth a waxen Candell giue,
And holy water to his men, whereby they ſafely liue.

Foul deceits!

What holy thing
hav'nt the
Papiftes turnd to
gain?

They ſay thiſe
Palls were inſtituted
by St.
Peter's ſuccesor.

[leaf 47, back]

Candelmasse.
Feb. 2.

Big Tapers are
bleſſed in Church,
then lighted, put
out, and kept to
light againſt
thunder, deviſs,
and ſpiriſs that
walk by night.

Blafe. Feb. 3.
The Holy-Water
man.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.* 329

I diuers Barrels oft haue seene, drawne out of water cleare,
Through one smal blessed bone of this fame holy martyr heare : 272
And caryed thence to other townes and Cities farre away,
Ech superstition doth require such earnest kinde of play :
But in the meane time no man seekes for Christ and God aboue,
Nor dare content themselues to haue his fauour and his loue. 276

Barrels of it are drawn thro' one of his bones.

Now when at length the pleasent time of Shrouetide comes in place,
And cruell fasting dayes at hande approch with solemne grace :
Then olde and yong are both as mad, as ghestes of *Bacchus* feast,
And foure dayes long they tipple square, and feede and neuer reaft.
Downe goes the Hogges in euery place, and puddings every wheare
Do swarne : the Dice are shakte and toft, and Cardes apace they teare :
In euery house are showtes and cryes, and mirth, and reuell route,
And daintie tables spred, and all be set with ghestes aboue : 284
With fundrie playes and Christmasse games, & feare and shame away,
The tongue is set at libertie, and hath no kinde of stay.

Shrouetide
(Shrove Tuesday varies from Feb. 3 to March 9).
Is a regular Carnival.
Drinking and feasting go on for 4 days, with cards, mirth, and revels.

All thinges are lawfull then and done, no pleasure passed by,
That in their mindes they can deuise, as if they then should die : 288
The chiefeft man is he, and one that most deserueth prayse,
Among the rest that can finde out the fondest kinde of playes.
On him they looke and gaze vpon, and laugh with lustie cheare,
Whom boyes do follow, crying foole, and iuch like other geare. 292
He in the meane time thinkes himselfe a wondrous worthie man,
Not mooched with their wordes nor cryes, do whatsoeuer they can.
Some sort there are that runne with staues, or fight in armour fine,
Or shew the people foolishe toyes, for some small peece of wine. 296
Eche partie hath his fauourers, and faythfull friendes enowe,

[leaf 48]
Every one does as he likes,

and the best man is he who finds out the silliest games.

That readie are to turne themselues, as fortune lift to bowe.
But some againe the dreadfull shape of devils on them take,
And chase such as they meeete, and make poore boyes for feare to quake.
Some naked runne about the freetes, their faces hid alone, 301
With visars cloſe, that so disguiside, they might be knowne of none.
Both men and women chaunge their weede, the men in maydes array,
And wanton wenches dreſt like men, doe trauell by the way, 304
And to their neighbours houses go, or where it likes them best,
Perhaps vnto some auncient friend or olde acquainted ghest,
Unknowne, and speaking but fewe wordes, the meate deuour they vp,
That is before them set, and cleane they swinge of euery cup. 308
Some runne about the streets attyrde like Monks, and some like kings,
Accompanied with pompe and garde, and other stately things.

Some men get up fights;

some dress like Devils ;
some run about naked.

Some hatch yong fooles as hennes do egges with good and speedie lucke,
Or as the Goose doth vſe to do, or as the quacking ducke. 312
Some like wilde beastes doe runne abrode in skinnes that diuers bee
Arayde, and eke with lothſome shapes, that dreadfull are to see :
They counterfet both Beares and Woolues, and Lions fierce in fight,
And raging Bulles. Some play the Cranes with wings & stilts vpright.
Some like the filthie forme of Apes, and some like fooles are dreſt,
Which best beſeme these Papiftes all, that thus keepe *Bacchus* feast.

Girls dress like men, and go and feast at neighbours' houses.

Some folk dress up like wild beasts, or

cranes or apes.

330 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.*

Some carry
about a turd or
a cushion.
[leaf 48, back]

Some make a
Guy, and toss
him in a blanket.

They dance
lewdly.

They tie folk's
hands behind
their backs, and
dance before
them, jingling
basins.

If there's snow,
they pelt one
another with
snowballs.

Rich men and
their families, in
waggons with
fast horses, and
too jingling bells
round their
necks, gallop
madly thro' the
streets.

[leaf 49]

This madness
goes on up to
midnight.

But others beare a torde, that on a Cushion soft they lay,
And one there is that with a flap doth keepe the flies away. 320

I would there might an other be an officer of thofe,
Whose roome might serue to take away the scent from euery nose.

Some others make a man all stuft with straw or ragges within,
Appareyled in dublet faire, and hosen passing trim : 324

Whom as a man that lately dyed of honest life and fame,
In blanket hid they beare about, and freightways with the same
They hurle him vp into the ayre, not suffring him to fall,
And this they doe at diuers tymes the Cite ouer all. 328

I shew not here their daunces yet, with filthie iestures mad,
Nor other wanton sportes that on these holydayes are had.
There places are where such as hap to come within this dore,
Though olde acquainted friendes they be, or neuer feene before 332

And say not first here by your leauie, both in and out I go,
They binde their handes behinde their backes, nor any difference tho
Of man or woman is there made, but Basons ringing great,
Before them do they daunce with ioy, and sport in euery streat. 336

There are that certaine prayers haue that on the Tuefday fall,
Againt the quartaine Ague, and the other Feuers all.

But others than fowe Onyon feede, the greater to be feene,
And Persley eke, and Lettys both, to haue them alwayes greene. 340

Of truth I loth for to declare the foolishe toyes and trickes,

That in these dayes are done by these same popish Catholickes :

If snoewe lie deepe vpon the ground, and almost thawing bee,
Then fooles in number great thou shalt in euery corner see : 344

For balles of snoow they make, and them one at another cast,

Till that the conquerde part doth yelde and run away at laft.

No Matrone olde nor sober man can freely by them come,

At home he must abide that will these wanton fellowes shonne. 348

Befides the noble men, the riche, and men of hie degree,

Leaft they with common people should not feeme so mad to bee,

There wagons finely framde before, and for this matter meete,

And luftie horse and swift of pace, well trapt from head to feete 352

They put therein, about whofe necke and euery place before,

A hundred gingling belles do hang, to make his courage more.

Their wiues and children therein fet, behinde themselues do stande,

Well armde with whips, and holding fast the bridle in their hande,

With all their force throughout the streetes and market place they ron,

As if some whirlewinde mad, or tempeft great from skies should come.

As fast as may be from the ft[r]eates, th'amazed people flye,

And giues them place while they about doe runne continually. 360

Yea sometime legges or armes they breake, and horse and carte and all

They ouerthrow, with such a force, they in their course doe fall.

Much leffe they man or childe doe spare, that meetes them in the waye,

Nor they content themselues to vse this madnesse all the daye : 364

But euen till midnight holde they on, their pastimes for to make,

Whereby they hinder men of sleepe, and cause their heades to ake.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.* 33¹

But all this fame they care not for, nor doe esteeme a heare,
So they may haue their pleasure full, and foolish wanton geare. 388

The Wednesday next a solemne day, to Church they early go,
To sponge out all the foolish deedes by them committed so,
They money giue, and on their heddes, the Priestes doth ashes lay,
And with his holy water washeth all their finnes away : 372

In woondrous sort against the veniall finnes doth profitte this,
Yet here no stay of madnesse now, nor ende of follie is,
With mirth to dinner straight they go, and to their woonted playe,
And on their deuills shaptes they put, and sprightish fonde araye. 376

Some sort there are that mourning go, with lantarnes in their hande,
While in the day time *Titan* bright, amid the skyes doth stande:
And seeke their shroftide *Bachanals*, still crying euery where,

Where are our feastes become? alas the cruell fates appere. 380

Some beare about a herring on a staffe, and lownde doe rore,
Herrings, herrings, flincking herrings, puddings now no more.
And hereto ioyne they foolish playes, and doltish dogrell rimes,
And what beside they can inuent, belonging to the times. 384

Some other beare vpon a staffe their fellowes horfed hie,
And carie them vnto some ponde, or running riuier nie,
That what so of their foolish feast, doth in them yet remayne,
May vnderneath the floud be plungde, and washt away againe. 388

Some children doe intife with Nuttes, and peares abrode to play,
And finging through the towne they go, before them all the way.
In some place all the youthfull flocke, with minstrels doe repaire,

And out of every house they plucke the girles, and maydens fayre. 392
And them to plough they straitways put, with whip one doth them hit,
Another holdes the plough in hande, the Minstrell here doth fit

Amidde the same, and drounken songes, with gaping mouth he fings,
Whome foloweth one that fowes out sande, or ashes fondely flings. 396

When thus they through the streetes haue plaide, the man that guideth
all

Doth drive both plough & maydens through some ponde or riuier
small:

And dabbled all with durt, and wringing wette as they may bee,
To supper calles, and after that to daunsing lufilee.

The follie that these dayes is vnde, can no man well declare,
Their wanton pastimes, wicked actes, and all their franticke fare.
On Sunday at the length they leaue, their mad and foolish game,

And yet not so, but that they drinke, and dice away the fame. 404

Thus at the laft to *Bacchus* is this day appoynted cleare,

Then (O poore wretches) fastings long approching doe appear :
In fourtie dayes they neyther milke, nor fleshe, nor eggis doe eate,

And butter with their lippes to touch, is thought a treipasse great : 408
Both Ling and saltfish they deuoure, and fishe of euery forte,

Whose purse is full, and such as liue in great and welthie porte :

But onyans, browne bread, leekes and salt, must poore men dayly gnaw

And fry their oten cakes in oyle. The Pope deuisde this law 412

Ashwednesday
(varies from Feb.
4 to March 10).
Priests lay ashes
on folk's heads,
and wash all
their sins away
with holy water.
But still they go
on with their
larks.

They carry about
a herring on a
staff, and sing
doggrel rymes ;
or horse a man,
and heave him
into a pond.

Others pull girls
[leaf 49, back]
out, harness em
in a plough,

and drive em
thru the streets

and somestream ;
and then sup
and dance.

Even on Sunday
they drink and
dice.

Lent.
For 40 days
(Ash-Wensday
the 1st) only salt-
fish,

onions, brown
bread and leeks
are eaten.

The Images in
Churches are
covered up, and
painted cloths
shown declaring
God's wrath.

Care Sunday.
Passion or Carle
Sunday, the 5th
in Lent.

[leaf 50]
Ali folk are
absolv'd.
The boys draw a
guy of Death into
the country.

They have a
guys of Summer
and Winter, and
make Summer
beat Winter.

Palme Sunday
(varies from
March 15 to
April 18).

They set a
wooden Ass,
ridden by an
image, on wheels,
before the
Church door.
Folk bring
boughs.

Two lubbers
sing that the
Image is Christ,
and

For finnes, th'offending people here from hell and death to pull,
Beleeuing not that all their finnes, were earst forgiuen full.
Yet here these wofull soules he helps, and taking money fast,
Doth all things set at libertie, both egges and flesh at laft.

416

The Images and pictures now are couerde secretle,
In euery Church, and from the beames, the roofe and rafters hie
Hanges painted linnen clothes that to the people doth declare,
The wrath and furie great of God, and times that fasted are.

420

Then all men are constrainde their finnes, by cruell law to tell,
And threatned if they hide but one, with dredfull death and hell.
From hence no little gaines vnto the Priestes doth stll arise,
And of the Pope the ihambles doth appeare in beastly wife.

424

Now comes the sunday forth, of this same great and holy fast,
Here doth the Pope the shriuen bleffe, absolueng them at laft,
From all their finnes, and of the Iewes the law he doth alow,
As if the power of God had not sufficient bene till now.

428

Or that the law of Moyses here, were still of force and might,
In these same happie dayes, when Christ doth raigne w^t heauenly light.
The boyes with ropes of straw doth frame an vgly monster here,
And call him death, whom from the towne, with proud & solemne chere

433

To hilles and valleyes they conuey, and villages thereby,
From whence they stragling doe returne, well beaten commonly.
Thus children also beare with speares, their Cracknelles round about,
And two they haue, whereof the one is called Sommer stout:

436

And euen the same that long agone while in the streate he roade,
The people mette, and Olyue bowes so thicke before hym stroade.
This being founed, the people cast the braunches as they passe,

the people cast
their boughs on
the Image.

Some part vpon the Image, and some part vpon the Ass. 464
Before whose feete a wondrous heape, of bowes and braunches ly,
This done, into the Church he strayght, is drawne full solemnly :
The shauen Priestes before them marche, the people follow fast,
Still striuing who shall gather first the bowes that downe are cast : 468
For falsely they beleue that these, haue force and vertue great,
Against the rage of winter stormes, and thunders flahing heate.

[leaf 50, back]
The Ass is
drawn into the
church, and folk
pick up the
boughs to pro-
tect them from
storms.

Are Idoles worshipt otherwise, are these not wicked things?
Euen I my selfe haue earst behelde, both wife and mightie Kings 472
Defilde with this religion vile, that on their knees haue kneelde,
Unto these stockes, and honour due to God, to them did yelde.

In some place wealthie Citizens, and men of sober chere
For no small summe doe hire this Ass, with them about to bere, 476
And manerly they vse the same, not suffering any by,

(Some rich men
hire this Ass,
and take it about
with em.)

To touch this Ass, nor to perfume vnto his prefence ny :
For they suppose that in this thing, they Christ doe highly serue,
And well of him accepted are, and great rewardes deferue. 480

If any man shall happe to thinke, them Asses here in this,
I sure beleue he is not much deceyude, nor thinkes amis.
When as the Priestes and people all haue ended this the sport,

The boyes doe after dinner come, and to the Church resort : 484
The Sexten please with price, and looking well no harme be done,
They take the Ass, and through the streeetes, & crooked lanes they rone,
Whereas they common verses sing, according to the guise,

The people giuing money, breade, and egges of largeft cife. 488
Of this their gaines they are compelde, the maister halfe to giue,
Leaft he alone without his portion of the Ass shoulde liue.

After dinner
boys drag the
Ass about the
streets, and get
money and eggs
for it; half of
which goes to
the Priest.

From Thurseday then till Easter come, the fondest toyes haue place
Wherin these cathlikes think themselues, great men of wondrous grace
First three dayes space the belies are wilde, in silence for to lie, 493
When from the toppes of hawtie towres, with clappers lowd they crie.

*Maundy
Thursday*
(Day before
Good Friday).

The boyes in euery streat doe runne, and noyses great they make,
While as in calling men to Church their wooden clappers shake. 496
Thre nightes at midnight vp they rise, their Mattens for to heare,
Appoynted well with clubbes and staues, and stones in order theare :

For 3 days the
bells are still,
and then rung
lowdly. 3 Mid-
night services
are held in
Church, the
lights are put
out, and a
regular shindy
follows,

[leaf 51]

The Sexten straightwayes putteth out the candles speedely,
And straight the Priest with ruskie throte, alowde begins to cry. 500
Then furious rage begins to spring, and hurlyburly rise,

On pewes and deskes and seates they bounce, & beate in dredfullwise :
Thou wouldest suppose they were possest, with sprightes and deuills all,
Or fury such as forceth them, that vpon *Boccus* call. 504
Some beaten downe with clubbes and staues, amongst the pewes do ly
And others almost brainde with stones, or wounded mortally.

men being
beaten and
wounded.

Well serues the darckenesse for these deedes, and thereto doth agree,
The fashions like of euery one, that thus enraged bee. 508

Here wicked *Judas* all to torne, with vile reproches lies,
And Marie in the darcke is calde vpon with childish cries.

That she be mercifull and helpe, and heale the faultes that bee,
And through hir powre deliuier them, from hurt and misere. 512

These things vnto these feastes belongs, the candles being light,
An Image fastned to a croffe is caried all vpright:

A lanterne rounde about his necke, is hangde to shew the way,
Are not these popish foolish toyes, a pretie kinde of play? 516

This day the oyly and glasse of the Bishop hallowed bee,
And twise three times saluting them, he lowly bendes his knee.

The Cannons after doe the same, with laughter woldst thou faint,
And woonder farre to see them make, their speecheleffe glasse a faint.

Their dinner done, from th'aultar all their costly clothes they take,
And wash it, rubbing it with bowes, and bromes that they doe make:

Then water on they powre and wine crossewife there on they lay,
And to the patron of ech aultar, humbly doe they pray, 524

That they vouchsafe to looke vpon theyr seruaunts worshipping,
And to awfage the furie great, of *Joue* the thundring King.

And here the Monkes their maundie make, with fundrie solemne rights
And signes of great humilitie, and wondrous pleasaunt fight. 528

Ech one the others feete doth wash, and wipe them cleane and drie,
With hatefull minde, and secret frawde, that in their heartes doth lye

As if that Christ with his examples, did these thinges require,
And not to helpe our brethren here, with zeale and free desire, 532

Ech one supplying others want, in all things that they may,
As he himselfe a seruaunt made, to serue vs every way.

Then strait the loaues doe walke, and pottes in every place they skinke
Wherewith the holy fathers oft, to pleasaunt damfels drinke, 536

And sure with no dissembling heart, for true as steele they bee,
And often times they put in proove their great fidelitee.

Two Priestes the next day following, vpon their shoulders bear,
The Image of the Crucifix, about the altar neare: 540

Being clad in coape of crimozen die, and dolefully they sing
At length before the steps his coate pluckt of them straight him bring,

And vpon Turkey Carpettes lay him downe full tenderly,
With cushions vnderneath his heade, and pillowes heaped hie: 544

Then flat vpon the grounde they fall, and kisse both hande and feete,
And worship so to this wooden God, with honour farre vnmeete.

Then all the shauen sort falles downe, and foloweth them herein,
As workemen chiefe of wickednesse, they first of all begin: 548

And after them the simble soules, the common people come,
And worship him with diuers giftes, as Golde, and siluer some:

And others corne or eggis againe, to poulshorne persons sweete,
And eke a long desired price, for wicked worship mee. 552

How are the Idoles worshipped, if this religion here
Be Catholike, and like the spowres of Christ accounted dere?

Befides with Images the more, their pleasure here to take.
And Christ that euery where doth raigne, a laughing strocke to make,

Then candles are
lighted, and a
lantern's hung
round an
image's neck.

The Bishop's oil
and glasses are
blest, and the
altar-cloths
washt.

The Monks
make their
Maundy, and
wash each other's
feet.

Then they take
to loaf and pot.

[Leaf 51, back]

Good Friday
(varies from
March 22 to
April 25).

² Priests lay the
Image of the
Crucifix on
Turkey carpetts,
and worship this
wooden God.

The simple folk
bring gifts, sweet
to the poll-shorn
crew.

- An other Image doe they get, like one but newly deade, 557 The Priests
With legges stretcht out at length and handes, vpon his body spreade : dress and bring
And him with pompe and sacred song, they beare vnto his graue,
His bodie all being wrapt in lawne, and silkes and sarchenet braue, 560 an image of
The boyes before with clappers go, and filthie noyses make, Boys make
The Sexten beares the light, the people hereof knowledge take : noises with
And downe they kneele, or kisse the grounde, their handes helde vp abrod
And knocking on their brafestes they make, this woodenne blocke a God.
And least in graue he shoulde remaine, without some companie, 565 Singing bread
The finging bread is layde with him, for more idolatrie : is laid with the
The Priest the Image worships first, as falleth to his turne, image in the
And franckensence and sweete perfumes, before the breade doth burne : grave ;
With tapers, all the people come, and at the barriars stey, 569 flowers are
Where downe vpon their knees they fall, and night and day they pray : strewn about it
And violets and euery kinde of flowres about the graue
They straw, and bring in all their giftes, and presents that they haue.
The singing men their Dirges chaunt, as if some guiltie soule [leaf 52]
Were buried there, that thus they may, the people better poule. 574 sung.
On Easter eue the fire all, is quencht in euery place, Easter eue.
And fresh againe from out the flint, is fetcht with solempne grace : All fires are put
The Priest doth halow this against great daungers many one,
A brande whereof doth every man with greedie minde take home, 578 out ; and a
That when the fearefull storme appeares, or tempest blacke arise,
By lighting this he safe may be, from stroke of hurtfull skyes : brand blest, to
A Taper great, the pauchall namde, with musick then they bleffe, 582 keep off storms.
And franckenfence herein they pricke, for greater holynesse : This burneth night and day as figne, of Christ that conquerde hell,
This if so be this foolish toye, suffifeth this to tell. The Paschal
Then doth the Bishop or the Priest, the water halow straight, Taper is burnt
That for their baptisme is reserude : for now no more of waight 586 day and night.
Is that they vsde the yeare before, nor can they any more, Water is made
Yong children chriften with the same, as they haue done before.
With woodrour pompe and furniture, amid the Church they go,
With candles, crosſes, banners, Chrisme, and oyle appoynted tho : 590 holy for next
Nine times about the font they marche, and on the saintes doe call, year's baptisms.
Then still at length they stande, and straight the Priest begins withall,
And thrife the water doth he touche, and crosſes thereon make,
Here bigge and barbrous wordes he speakes, to make the deuill quake : A Procession
And holome waters coniureth, and fooliſhly doth drefſe, 595 marches 9 times
Supposing holyar that to make, which God before did bleffe : round the font,
And after this his candle than, he thrusteth in the floode,
And thrife he breathes thereon with breath, that stinkes of former foode : and the Priest
And making here an ende, his Chrisme he poureth therevpon, 599 hallows the
The people staring hereat stande, amazed every one : pouring his
Beleeuing that great powre is giuen to this water here, Chrism on it.
By gaping of these learned men, and ſuch like trifling gere.
Therefore in vſſels brought they draw, and home they carie ſome,
Against the grieues that to themſelues, or to their brafestes may come. Folk carry ſome
home, and

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fasting is over.
Easter day.

[leaf 52, back]
They take the
buried Image
out of the grave,

put another on
the Altar, and
sing 'Christ is
risen.'

Pageants are
playd by
maskers: as the
3 Maries at the
Sepulchre.

Feasting begins
at midnight.

Friars and
Priests get fees.

Radishes are
eaten against
the quartan ague.

Papists don't
believe in life by
Christ alone.

[leaf 53]
Then folk fall to
their old life
again.

Procesion
week.
(Rogation

Then Clappers ceaffe, and belles are set againe at libertee, 605
And herewithall the hungrie times of fasting ended bee.

At midnight then with carefull minde, they vp to mattens ries,
The Clarke doth come, and after him, the Priest with staring eies: 608
The Image and the breade from out the graue (a worthie fight)
They take, and Angels two they place in vesture white,
And rounde about ech place appeeres, all voyde of standers by
Sauo onely that the watchmen there, amazed feeme to ly. 612
But yet I thinke the trembling of the earth they neuer see,
Nor of the heauenly messenger, the flaming maiestie.

An other Image of a Conquerour they forth doe bring,
And on the aultar place, and then, they lustily doe sing, 616
That Gates of hell a funder burst, and Sathan ouerthowne,
Christ from his graue is risen vp, and now aliuie is knowne.
Which yet they thinke not so to be, as plainely doth appeere,
By their Religion, doubtes, and feare, and by their doings here. 620
In some place solemne fightes and showes, & Pageants fayre are playd,
With fundrie sortes of maskers braue, in straunge attire arayd,
As where the Maries three doe meete, the sepulchre to see,
And John with Peter swiftly runnes, before him there to bee. 624

These things are done with iesture such, and with so pleasaunt game,
That euuen the grauest men that liue, woulde laugh to see the same.
At midnight strait, not taryng till the daylight doe appeere, 627
Some gettes in flesh, and glutton lyke, they feede vpon their cheere.
They rost their flesh, and custardes great, and egges and radish store,
And trifles, clouted creame, and cheese, and whatfoever more
At first they lyst to eate, they bring into the temple straight, 631

That so the Priest may halow them with wordes of wondrous waight.
The Friers besides, & pelting Priestes, from house to house doe roame,
Receyuing gaine of every man that this will haue at home.
Some raddish rootes this day doe take before all other meate,
Against the quartan ague and such other sicknesse great. 636

What should I shew their forced fayth and great hypocrisie,
When as of Chist they doe receyue the dredfull misterie?
Which they ne woulde if that they fearde not lightnings of the Pope,
For none of them beleeveth here, nor none of them doth hope 640
That they receyue eternall life, and euerlafting seate,
By death of Iesus Christ, and by his croffe and triumph great.
For who should teache to them the same, sinc euery Popes decree,
Their doctrine, fayth, and all their rightes, to this contrarie bee? 644
Straight after this, into the fieldes they walke to take the viewe,
And to their woonted life they fall, and bid the reaft adewe:
Go nowe and laugh the Lewes to scorne, and all the Turkes that bee,
For fayth, religion, lawes, and life, and their Idolatree. 648
Sure wondrous wife and good they be, if that thou wilt compare
Them with these doltish Papistes here, that blinde and beastly are.

Nowe comes the day wherein they gad abrode, with croffe in hande,
To boundes of euery field, and round about their neighbours lande:

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- And as they go, they sing and pray to every saint above,
But to our Ladie specially, whom most of all they loue. 653 Sunday is the
5th after Easter Day.
Bounds are beaten.
- When as they to the towne are come, the Church they enter in,
And looke what saint that Church doth guide, they humbly pray to him,
That he preserue both corne and fruite, from storme and tempest great,
And them defend from harme, and send them store of drinke and meat.
This done, they to the Tauerne go, or in the fieldes they dine, 659 Then folk dine
Where downe they sit and feede a pace, and fill themselues with wine,
So much that oftentimes without the Croffe they come away,
And miserably they reele, till as their stomacke vp they lay.
These things three dayes continually are done, with solemne sport,
With many Croffes often they vnto some Church refort, 664 This lasts 3 days.
Whereas they all do chaunt alowde, wherby there freight doth spring,
A bawling noyse, while every man seekes hyghest for to sing :
The Priestes give eare, this madnesse them doth most of all content,
And wine to them that passe the reast, is from the Parson sent. 668
- Then comes the day when Christ ascended to his fathers seate,
Which day they also celebrate, with store of drinke and meate.
Then every man some birde muste eate, I know not to what ende,
And after dinner all to church they come, and there attende. 672 Ascension day
(varies from April
30 to June 3.).
Birds are eaten
(as ascenders).
The Image on
the Altar (p.
336), is heaved
above the roof.
One of Satan is
thrown down,
and broken to
pieces.
- The blocke that on the aultar stille, till then was feene to stande,
Is drawne vp hie aboue the roofe, by ropes, and force of hande :
The Priestes about it rounde do stand, and chaunt it to the skie,
For all these mens religion great, in singing most doth lie. 676 [leaf 53, back]
Then out of hande the dreadfull shafe of Sathan downe they throw,
Oft times with fire burning bright, and dasht a funder tho,
The boyes with greedie eyes do watch, and on him straight they fall,
And beate him sore with rods, and breake him into peeces small. 680 Water is let fall
on people below.
- This done, they wafers downe doe cast, and singing Cakes the while,
With Papers rounde amongst them put, the children to beguile.
With laughter great are all things done: and from the beames they let
Great streames of water downe to fall, on whom they meane to wet.
And thus this solemne holiday, and bye renownmed feast, 685 Whitsunday
(varies from May
10 to June 13.).
White Pigeons
are flown.
- And all their whole devotion here, is ended with a ieast.
On Whitunday, whyte Pigeons tame, in strings from heauen flie,
And one that framed is of wood, still hangeth in the skie. 688 Corpus Christi
day
(Thursday after
Trinity Sunday,
May 17 to June
20).
Hallowd bread
is borne about
the Church under
a canopy.
- Thou seest how they with Idols play, and teach the people to,
None otherwise then little gyrgles with Puppets vse to do.
Then doth ensue the solemne feast of *Corpus Christi* day,
Who then can shewe their wicked vse, and fonde and foolish play?
The hallowed bread with worship great, in filuer Pix they beare 693 Plays of Christ's
Passion are
acted ; of Ursula
- About the Church, or in the Citie paffing here and theare.
His armes that bears the same, two of the welthiest men do holde,
And ouer him a Canopey of filke and cloth of golde 696
- Foure others vse to beare aloue, leaft that some filthie thing
Should fall from hie, or some mad birde hir doung thereon should fling.
Christes passion here derided is, with fundrie maskes and playes,
Faire Ursley with his maydens all, doth passe amid the wayes : 700

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and her Virgins;
St. George and
the Dragon,

St. Sebastian,
St. Katherine,
St. Barbara,
and other
Pageants.

St. John walks
before the
Hallowd Bread.

[leaf 54]

Strangers fall on
their knees to it.

Armed men keep
order, and look
out for theives.

Organs play,
folk fall on their
faces, the Bread
is lifted up, &c.

Priests ride
thro' the corn,
and read the
Gospel to keep
off storms.

Saint Vrban
(May 25).

And valiant George, with speare thou killest the dreadfull dragon here ;
The devils house is drawne about, wherein there doth appere
A wondrous sort of damned sprites, with foule and fearefull looke ;
Great Christopher doth wade and passe with Christ amid the brooke :
Sebastien full of feathred shaftes, the dint of dart doth feele ; 705
There walketh Kathren with hir sworde in hande, and cruell wheele :
The Challis and the singing Cake, with Barbara is led,
And fundrie other Pageants playde in worship of this bred, 708
That please the fooliſh people well : what ſhould I ſtande vpon,
Their Banners, Crofes, Candelstickes, and reliques many on,
Their Cuppes and carued Images, that Prieftes with countnance hie,
Or rude and common people beare about full ſolemlie ? 712
Saint Iohn before the bread doth go, and poynting towardes him,
Doth ſhew the fame to be the Lambe that takes away our finne :
On whome two clad in Angels ſhape, do fundrie flowres fling,
A number great of ſacring Belles, with pleafant ſounde doe ring. 716
The common wayes with bowes are strawde, and euery ſtreete befide,
And to the walles and windowes all, are boughes and braunches tide.
The Monkes in euery place do roame, the Nonnes abrode are ſent,
The Prieftes and Schoolemen lowde do rore, ſome vſe the iſtrument.
The ſtraunger paſſing through the ſtreete, vpon his knees doe fall : 721
And earneſtly vpon this bread, as on his God doth call.
For why, they count it for their Lorde, and that he doth not take
The forme of flesh, but nature now of breade that we do bake. 724
A number great of armed men here all this while doe ſtande,
To looke that no diſorder be, nor any filching hande :
For all the Churche goodes out are brought, which certainly would bee
A bootie good, if euery man might haue his libertee. 728
This bread eight dayes togither they in preſence out do bring,
The Organs all do then reſound, and prieftes alowde do ſing :
The people flat on faces fall, their handes helde vp on hie,
Beleeuing that they ſee their God, and ſoueraigne maiestie. 732
The like at Maffe they doe, while as the bread is lifted well,
And Challys ſhewed aloft, when as the Sexten rings the bell.
O bleffed God, why ſuffreſt thou ſuch wickedneſſe to raigne,
And bringſt them not into the ſteppes of fathers olde againe, 736
Whereof they do ſo often boaſt ? yet ſo vnlke them be,
That doctrine, faith, nor life with theirs, doth any whit agree.
In Villages the hufbandmen about their corne doe ride,
With many Crofes, Banners, and fir John their Prieft befide : 740
Who in a bag about his necke doth beare the bleffed breade,
And oftentyme he downe alightes, and Gofpell lowde doth reade.
This ſurely keeps the corne from winde, and raine, and from the blaſt :
Such faſt the Pope hath taught, and yet the Papiftes holde it faſt :
Not taken from the Gofpell, nor the worthie doctors olde, 744
But from the minde of man, and from blinde reaſon miſtreſſe bolde.
Straight after this comes *Vrban* in, the Vintners God deuine,
Whose day if that it pleafant be, and Sunne abrode do ſhine, 748

Good lucke to them they count it then, and *Bacchus* holiness,
His Image and his Church they decke, and curiously do dresse,
About his necke both cups and bowles they hang in order rounde,
And fast vpon his head a crowne of vinie leaues is wounde. 752

Then him to Tauerne doe they bring, or to some tipling house,
With luffie traine, and vnto him they quaffe and drinke carrouife :
Who for bicause he pledges none, as one that is not drie,

In his behalfe they pledge themselues, and that so handfomly, 756
Till myfies before their eyes appears, and legges do waxe full weake,

Their face doth flame, their head doth nod, & scarce a word they speake.

But if the day be clowdie nowe, or giuen vnto raine,

On him they lift not to bestow fuch honour, nor fuch paine, 760

Poore knaue into fome ryuer than, they caft him cruellie,

And all to-soufe him in the streame, or durtie let him lie.

And if this madnessse be not fuch, as may be laught at well,

What thing should mooue vs for to laugh, I surely can not tell. 764

The next is *Vitus* fodde in Oyle, before whose ymage faire,

Both men and women bringing hennes for offring do repaire :

The caufe whereof I doe not know, I thinke for fome difease,

Which he is thought to driue away from fuch as him do pleafe. 768

Then doth the ioyfull feast of Iohn the Baptist take his turne,

When bonfiers great with loftie flame, in ev ery towne doe burne :

And yong men round about with maides, doe daunce in ev ery streete,

With garlands wrought of Motherwort, or elſe with Veruain sweete,

And many other flowres faire, with Violets in their handes, 773

Whereas they all do fondly thinke, that whosoeuer standes,

And thorow the flowres beholds the flame, his eyes shall feele no paine.

When thus till night they daunced haue, they through the fire amaine

With striuing mindes doe runne, and all their hearbes they caſt therin,

And then with wordes devout and prayers, they solemnely begin, 778

Desiring God that all their illes may there confumed bee,

Whereby they thinke through all that yearre, from Agues to be free.

Some others get a rotten wheele, all worne and caſt afide,

Which couered round about with strawe, and tow, they closely hide :

And caryed to fome mountaines top, being all with fire light, 783

They hurle it downe with violence, when darke appeares the night :

Refembling much the Sunne, that from the heauens downe should fal,

A ſtraunge and monſtrous fight it ſeemes, and fearefull to them all :

But they ſuppoſe their miſchieves all are likewife throwne to hell,

And that from harmes and daungers now, in safetie here they dwell.

Wherſoeuer *Huldryche* hath his place, the people there brings in,

Both Carpes, and Pykes, and Mullets fat, his fauour here to win. 790

Amid the Church there fitteth one, and to the aultar nie,

That felleth fish, and fo good cheepe, that euery man may buie : .

Nor any thing he lofeth here, beſtowing thus his paine,

For when it hath beeene offred once, tis brought him all againe, 794

That twife or thrife he felles the fame : vngodlineſſe ſuch gaine

Doth ſtill bring in, and plentiously the kitchin doth maintaine.

He's the Vintners' God, and has cups and bowls hung round his neck. They drink [leaf 54, back] to him till they're drunk.

But if it's a bad day, they shy him into the river.

Vitus (June 15). Hens are offerd to him. Why?

John Baptist (June 24). Bonfires burn ; youths and girls dance all day with flowers in their hands.

At night they run thro the fires.

Others run a wheel ſtuffed with blazing straw and tow, down a mountain.

[leaf 55] *Saint Huldryche* (Ulric, July 4). Fish are offerd to him.

A man sits near the aultar, and sells the ſame fish over and over again to the offereſſers.

Whence comes this same religion newe? what kind of God is this
 Same *Huldryche* here, that so desires, and so delightes in fishe? 798
 Which neuer any heathen God, in offring did receaue,
 Nor any thing vnto the Iewes the Lorde hereof did leauue.
 Much folly and iniquitie, in euery place they shewe,
 But we the chiefeſt will declare, and write but of a fewe. 802

Assumption of the Virgin Marie
 (Aug. 15).
 Folk bring bundles of Herbs to Church, to be blessed by the priest. These serve as charms.

The blessed virgin Maries feaſt, hath here his place and time,
 Wherein departing from the earth, ſhe did the heauens clime:
 Great bundels then of hearbes to Church, the people fast doe beare,
 The which againſt all hurtfull things, the Priest doth hallow theare.
 Thus kindle they and nouriſh ſtill, the peoples wickedneſſe, 807
 And vainely make them to beleeue, whatfoeuer they exprefſe:
 For fundrie witchcrafts, by theſe hearbs ar wrought, & diuers charmes,
 And caſt into the fire, are thought to driue away all harmes, 810
 And euery painefull griefe from man, or beaſt, for to expell,
 Farre otherwife than nature, or the worde of God doth tell.

Martyn.
 (Nov. 11).
 Roast geſſe are eaten, and wine drunk.

To belly cheare yet once againe doth Martin more encline,
 Whom all the people worſhippeth, with roſted Geſſe and wine: 814
 Both all the day long and the night, now ech man open makes
 His veſſels all, and of the Muſt oft times the laſt he takes,
 Which holy Martyn afterwarde, alloweth to be wine,
 Therefore they him vnto the ſkies extoll, with prayſe deuine: 818
 And drinking deepe in tankardes large, and bowles of compaſſe wide,
 Yea by theſe fees the Schoolemaifters haue profite great beſide:
 For with his ſcholers euery one, about do ſinging go,
 Not prayſing Martyn much, but at the Goode reioyceing tho, 822
 Whereof they oftentymes haue part, and money therewithall,
 For which they celebraue this eaſt, with ſong and muſicke all.

[leaf 55, back]
Nicholas
 (Nov. 13).
 Mothers hide gifts in their children's ſhoes, &c., and ſay St. Nicholas brought em.

Saint Nicholas money vſde to giue to Maydens ſecretlie,
 Who, that he ſtill may vſe his woonted liberalitie 826
 The mothers all their children on the eeuue doe cauſe to fast,
 And when they euery one at night in ſenſeſleſſe ſleepe are caſt:
 Both Apples, Nuttes, and peares they bring, and other things beſide,
 As caps, and ſhoes, and petticoates, which ſecretly they hide, 830
 And in the morning found, they ſay, that this faint Nicholas brought:
 Thus tender mindes to worſhip Saints and wicked things are taught.

Catheryn
 (Nov. 25).

What ſhould I tell what Sophiſters, on Cathrins day deuife?
 Or elſe the ſuperiſtiuous toyes that Maifters exercife. 834

Andrew
 (Nov. 30).
 All Lovers court him.

To Andrew all the louers, and the luſtive wooers come,
 Beleeuing through his ayde and certaine ceremoniies done,
 (While as to him they preſentes bring, and coniure all the night)
 To haue good lucke, and to obtaine their chiefe and ſweete delight.

Church holyday.
 The anniversary of each church's dedication.

The dedicaſion of the Church is yerely had in minde, 839
 With worſhip paſſing Catholicke, and in a wondrouſ kinde:
 From out the ſteeples hie is hangde, a Croſſe and banner fayre,
 The pauement of the temple ſtrowde, with hearbes of pleiaſant ayre,
 The Pulpets and the aultars all that in the Church are ſeenē, 843
 And euery pewe and piller great, are deckt with boughes of greene:

The church is deckt with boughes.

- The tabernacles opned are, and Images are dreft,
But chiefly he that patron is, doth shine aboue the rest :
A borde there standes wheron their Bulles and pardons thick they lay, 848
That giuen are to euery one that keepes this holy day : A board stands full of Pardons
- The Idol of the Patron eke, without the doore doth stande,
And beggetteth fast of every man, with pardons in his hande : for every one
Who for because he lackes his tongue, and hath not yet the skill
In common peoples languages, when they speake well or ill : 852
He hath his owne interpresor, that alwayes standeth by,
And vnto euery man that commeth in or out doth cry : who'll buy em.
Defiring them the Patrone there, with giftes to haue in minde,
And Popishe pardons for to buie, releafe of finnes to finde. 856
- The Priest doth other Priestes procure, and willeth euery knaue,
His harlot for to bring, and all the swarne of Baſtards that they haue : Harlots and their Bastards come; and all the neighbours arm'd; trim [leaf 56]
On euery fide the neighbours come, and ſuch as dwell not nere,
Come of their owne good willes, and ſome required to be there. 860
And euery man his weapon hath, their ſwordes, and launces long,
Their axes, curriars, pyflets, with pykes and darts amoung.
The yong men in their beſt array, and trimmest maydes appere,
Both Leaſters, Roges, and minſtrells with their iſtrumentes are heare.
The Pedler doth his packe vntrūſe, the Hoſt his pots doth fill, 865
And on the table bread and drinke doth fet for all that will :
Nor eyther of them their heape deceyues, for of the others all,
To them th'aduauntage of this feaſt, and gaine, doth chiefly fall. 868
The feruice done, they eyther to the tauerne fast doe flie,
Or to their neighbours house, whereaſ they feede vnreafonable : After service, grand feasting and ſuppers go on.
For fixe or ſeven courses, they vnto the table bring,
And for their ſuppers may compare with any heathen king. 872
The table taken vp, they riſe, and all the youth apace,
The Minſtrell with them called go to ſome conuenient place : Then the young folk dance,
Where when with Bagpipe hoarce, he hath begon his Muſicke fine,
And vnto ſuch as are prepaſte to daunce hath giuen ſigne, 876
Comes thither freight both boyes and gyrls, and men that aged bee,
And maryed folkes of middle age, there also comes to ſee,
Old wrinckled haggis, and youthfull dames, that minde to daunce aloft,
Then fundrie paſtimes do begin, and filthie daunces oft : 880
When Drunkardes they do lead the daunce with fray and bloody fight,
That handes, and eares, and head, and face, are torne in wofull plignt :
The ſreames of bloud runne downe the armes, and oftentimes is ſeenē
The carkaffe of ſome ruffian flaine, is left vpon the greene. 884
Here many for their louers sweete, ſome daintie thing doe buie,
And many to the tauerne go, and drinke for compagnie,
Whereas they foolish ſongs do fing, and noyſes great do make :
Some in the meane while play at Cardes, and ſome the Dice do ſhake. Lovers buy their sweethearts fairings.
Their cuſtome alio is, the Prief into the houſe to pull : 889
Whom when they haue, they thiſke their game accomplished at full :
He farre in noyſe exceeds them all, and eke in drinking drie
The cuppes, a prince he is, and holdes their headeſ that ſpeewing lie,
- Cards and Dice are playd. The Prief is head reveller, and looks after the ſpewing Drunkardes.

- And that with such attendaunce good, that often therewithall 893
 His stomacke turnes, for which his neighbours like and loue him all :
 Whom if the lyquor that he tastes doe hap to handle so,
 As on his feeble legges vnto his houfe he can not go :
 But reele and stagger here and there, as oftentymes is seene,
 They friendly set him on a horfe, and home they cary him cleene :
 To shewe their thankfull hearts againe, this Catholike aray, 899.
 Is always vsde vpon this feast, and venerable day.
- When the Priest
can't walk,*
[leaf 56, back]
*he's carri'd
home on horse-
back.*
- All soulne day*
Nov. 2.
- Folk give fees to
free their
parents' souls ;
- then drink in the
tavern, or the
Parson's hall,
where he talkes
beastliness.
- Churches.*
- They have Idols,
always-flaming
lights, &c.
- The Turks
rightly call em
Idolaters.
- Funerals.*
- [leaf 57]
The rites are
held only for
Shavelings'
garn.
- For soules departed from this life, they also carefull bee,
 The shauen sort in numbers great, thou shalt assembed see, 902
 Where as their seruice with such spedee, they mumble out of hande,
 That none, though well they marke, a worde thereof can vnderstande,
 But soberly they sing, while as the people offring bee,
 For to releauue their Parents soules that lie in miserie. 906
 For they beleue the shauen sort, with dolefull harmonie,
 Do draw the damned soules from hell, and bring them to the skie :
 Where they but onely here regarde, their belly and their gaine,
 And neuer troubled are with care of any soule in paine. 910
 Their seruice thus in order sing, and payde for Mass and all,
 They to the Tauerne straightwayes go, or to the Parsons hall,
 Where all the day they drinke and play, and pots about do walke,
 Whereas these Cathlicke fathers haue such lewde and beastly talke,
 As doutlesse would abhorred be, in any stinking stewes, 915
 And such as any ruffian would, ashamed be to vise.
 These are their chiefe solemnities, and orders all the yeare,
 Which with the popish fayth in all agreeing doth appeare : 918
 And doth declare thou seest the mindes of these same holy men,
 What vertues great they haue, and what religion lyes in them.
- The like their temples teach, dreft vp in more than Pagan guise,
 That shines with wicked furniture, before the peoples eies, 922
 As Idols, altars, pictures lewde, with armes of men prophane,
 And Banners, Crofes, burning Lampes, & lightes that alwaies flame
 Before the Virgins Image fayre, and bread in secret put,
 That round about with yron grates, and Chauncell close is shut : 926
 That surely not vnworthily the Turkes beleue and say,
 The Papistes are Idolaters, and haue no perfite way
 In seruing God, who yet account themselues assuredly,
 The very Spouse and Church of Christ, that cannot runne awry. 930
- Seest thou how in their life they doe beleue, and when they die,
 How doubtfull they ? that shauelings seeke their owne commoditie,
 Regarding not what happe vnto the simple people falles :
 For if that any woulde neglect, the woonted funeralles, 934
 Their finging and their roaring vaine, and onely here commit
 Himselue to God, his heyre should be constrainde to furnish it,
 And punisht sore if any thing herein shall wanting bee,
 Of all the toyes that doth belong, to such solemnitee. 938
 Thinkst thou they carefull are that soules, the heauens doe attaine,
 And Purgatorie scape, or rather for their filthie gaine ?

Some where for children is the like, whom yet they doe confesse,
For to be iuft, and innocent, and dye in bleifedneſſe:
Their parentes for their funeralles, conſtrayned are to pay,
Leaſt of the Popiſh tyranny, ſhould any part decay.

Even for innocent
children
parents are
forced to pay.

No fayth nor perfit godlineſſe doth any where appeare,
But fraude, and craftie coulourings, and ſuſh deceitfull geare.

946
Prayers.

Beholde againe their prayers and the bookeſ they occupie,
Wherewith to God, and to the faintes, they pray continually:
And to the Angells vſe the like: which ſuperficiouſe kinde,
They doe not reade with any ſprite, or zealousneſſe of minde: 950
No caufe prouoketh them to praye, this onely them affinde,
To babble much, for otherwife woulde want no wordes nor minde,
Ne ſhoule they neede ſo many prayers, appoynted them to ſay,
Nor thus to tire their weerie tongue, with mumbling all the day.
Likewise before the heapes of bones, prepared for the fame 955
They ftande, and to the ſpirits and ſoules in graue, they prayers frame:
And for their good eſtate they pray, that meaſure none they know,
Of fooliſhneſſe, nor wicked deedes doe euer ceaſſe to flow: 958
To Churche they come with beades of bone, or of ſome other thing,
Whose middles pierceth through are tide, and ioyned with a ſtring:
Thus fastned, fifty Rosaries, they ſtill account the fame,
And thrie ſo many Psalters they accuſtomde are to name. 962
With theſe vnto our Ladie, and to God, and to his faintes,

and mumbled

They number all their babbling wordes, and all their tedious plaintes.
So that they number onely ſeeke, not caring for the minde:

Papists have
Rosaries of bone-
beads on a
string,

That woman holiest is by much, and of deuoutefte kinde, 966
Whose beades vnto hir foote doe reach, and eake whose maydens ſo
Dreft vp with hir in like attire, vnto the Churche doe go.

and count their
babblings by em.

Befides for Charmes and Sorceries, in all things they excell,
Both Dardan and the Witches foule, that by Meotis dwell. 970
The reaſon is, that yet to truſt in God they haue no ſkill,
Nor will commit themſelues vnto th'almightie fathers will.
If any woman brought abed, amonſt them haps to lie,
Then every place enchaunter lyke, they cleſne and purifie: 974
For feare of ſprights leaſt harme ſhe take, or caried cleane away,
Be ſtolne from thence, as though ſhe than in greateſt daunger lay,
When as hir traualies ouerpafte, and ended well hir paine,
With reſt and ſleepe ſhe ſeekes to get, hir strength decayde againe.

When a woman's
brought to bed,
they purify the
place from
ſpirits.

The like in traualies harde they vſe, and mariages awell, 979
And eke in all things that they buy, and euery thing they ſell.
About theſe Catholikes necks and hands, are alway hanging charmes, Charms hang
That ferue againſt all miſeries, and all vnhappie harmes: 982 about every
Amongſt the which, the threatning writ of Michael maketh one,
And also the beginning of the Goipell of Saint John:
But theſe alone they doe not truſt, but with this fame they haue,
Theyr barbrouſ wordes, & croſſes drawne with bloud, or painted braue.
Theyr ſwordes enchaunt, and horses ſtrong, and flesh of men they make
So harde and tough, that they ne care, what blowes or cuttes they take

Crosses drawn
with bloud, &c.,

keep men from
hurt by bows.

They shut up
spirits in crystal
as charms.

Holydayes.
Folk dress fine,
and walk in the
streets or the
fields.

Others drink as
long as they can
stand.
[leaf 58]

Few go to
church.

After dinner they
play at ball, and
wrestle,

or fence.

Others play
cards, or back-
bite.

All drink.

No Sunday is
without a
drunken fray.

Some court girls,
dance, and go
further.

Stewes.
The Papist
Priests keep

And vsing Necromancie thus, them felues they safely keepe, 989
From bowes, or guns; & from the woolues their cattell, lambes & sheepe:
No iourney also they doe take, but charmes they with them beare;
Besides in glistering glasse fayre, or else in christall cleare
They sprightes enclose, and as to Prophets true, so to the same
They go, if any thing be stolne, or any taken lame, 994
And when thyr Kine doe giue no milke, or hurt, or bitten sore,
Or any other harme that to these wretches happens more.

Now last behold how they do keepe, their fabboth daies throughtout,
First in the morning finely drest, they iet the streetes about: 998
With garments fondly iagde and cut, and prowde and lofty pace,
And rappyres long about them girt, their great and chiefest grace.
Some others walke into the fieldes, or else at euery gate,
They talke and laugh, and thus begin the day to celebrate. 1002
An other sort togither come, and drinking hande to hande,
They quaffe so long, till none of them be able for to stande:
Yea oftentimes they in their seates, with drinke are strangled quight,
And yelding vp their dronken ghostes, doe bid their mates godnight.
But few of them doe care for Massie, though every one doe faye,
And thinke it holiest is, nor to the Church they go to praye: 1008
But eyther breakefastes long they make, at home when they arise,
Or drinke vntill the euening starre, begin to shine in skyes.
Or else before the Church doore prate, or in the marketsted.

Now when their dinner once is done, and that they well haue fed,
To play they go, to casting of the stone, to runne, or shoothe, 1013
To tosse the light and windie ball, aloft with hande or foote:
Some others trie their skill in gonne, some wrestle all the day,
And some to schooles of fence do go, to gaze vpon the play:
An other sort there is that doe not loue abroade to roame,
But for to passe their time at cardes, or tables still at hoame: 1018
Some vse to sit before their doores, and backbite euery man,
Or newes deuise, or some debate, and strife whereas they can.
The God of wine doth neuer want, in all their sportes and play,
Who when he once hath toucht the braine, & drawne the minde away,
Of euery worde ariseth blowes, their manhoode to assay, 1023
So that no sunday shalt thou see, without some dronken fray.
And thus of custome endeth still, this solemne festiuall,
With dronkennesse, a plague vnto the braine and members all.

To Enfong are they called straight, by towling of the bell, 1027
But from their place they lift nor stirre, being occupied so well:
They forwarde with their game doe go, and Church and seruice all,
Commit vnto the schoolemaisters, or Vicar generall.
Some others to their Ladies sues, being amorous all the while,
Or frame deceytes or subtillties, yong maydens to beguile, 1032
The wanton youth to daunfing goes, and wickedly doe draw,
The maydes in ring, and wantonnesse hath neyther bondes nor law.

And leaft the youth their pleasure full of whoredome should not take,
In euery Citie common stewes, they maintaine and they make:

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 345

- And Bawdes they suffer openly, and cherish them withall,
Of whome no flender price doe here receyue nor profit small : 1038 Brothels and
These Catholickes and holy men, and Church of Christ on hie,
The same that all the worlde reforme, and heritiks destroy.
- To these doe come all those whom here their filthie lust prouokes,
Both countrie men, and forriners, and poore and welthie folkes. 1042 To these
Whatsoeuer they be that haue not yet, the yoake of mariage tride,
No kinde of shame doth drive them hence, nor any care beside.
- For lawfull here they doe it see, and not to be dispisde,
But with the Popish fort to be, an exercisie deuise. 1046
Sometime it also hapys, that maried men doe here resort,
But not without their punishment, if once the youthfull fort
Perceyue that they doe thither come, for this they dearely pay,
And oftentimes are vsed ill, and beare the blowes away : 1050 If any maried
But at this same the rulers laugh, and nothing doe it waye,
For Papistes, whordome doe allow, and count it but a playe.
For of the polshorne Priestes they learne, and them they follow still,
That lawes are not of any force to remedie this ill : 1054
- The lawe *Scatinian* is extinct, and *Julian* laught at now,
The Papistes, every kinde of vice, and wickednesse allow :
And not aloneyn in themselues, they doe the same permit,
But also vnto all that lift, with Golde to purchase it. 1058 Papists allow
But here I faine woulde vnderstante, what straunge Apostle hee,
That gaue vnto the Christian fort, this wanton libertee?
That where they freely might enioye, and haue them openlye,
And they themselues to take the hies of beastly letcherye ? 1062 What Apostle
And notwithstanding this to be true Catholickes in fine,
The perfitt seruants here of God, and Church of Christ deuine?
Of their religion, life, and deedes, learne thou their fayth at full,
That they with emptie shadow thee not into errour pull. 1066
- This was the guise of *Corynth* great, and *Cyprus* eke of olde,
While darcknesse raind, and Sathan foule, his sceptre there did holde : Their excuse is,
But with a worthie cloake they couer now this whoredome vyle,
Leaft that the youth shoulde happe both maydes and matrons to defile. that men 'ud
Who would not mause to see the witte of these same catholickes,
Their sharpe inuentions, and deuise, in all their proper trickes ? 1072 otherwise rape
This thing coulde *Moyses* not perceyue, that all things else did see,
Who wilde that whoremongers shoulde none among the people bee : Deut. 23.
And banishte all the harlottes quight, as God did him aduise,
Nor *Paule* it saw being lifted vp, aboue the starrie skyes : 1076 1. Cor. 5. 6.
Who did forbid that any man, his members framde of right,
To be the dwelling place of Christ, and of the holy spright : 7. 10.
Should vnto Harlots giue, and make the same thereby to be,
The body of a hore, this staine and blot commaunded he } 1080 Heb. 13. [lf. 59]
To be excluded farre from saintes, and such as christned be. Gal. 5.
But they haue nothing for to doe, with *Moyses* nor with *Paule*, Eph. 5.
Nor any honest things they will obey, nor lawes at all.
Themselues they pardon and forgiue, dispensing wondrouslye. 1. Thes. 4.
- Papists don't care
for Moses or
Paul:
they pardon
themselves.

As men that onely here posseth the keyes of heauen hye.

1084

I many things doe ouer pafle, nor haue they every where,
Their customes like, for euery realme hath his deuised geref
Yea both in Cities great, and in the villages thereby,
There are that doe fuch doltifh dreames, defende maliciously, 1088
That quight contrary are to Chrift, and to religion right,
Which neyther canſt thou easilly knowe, nor well in verſe refiſht.

But if we ſay
theſe Papists are
not members of
Christ,

Now when theſe Popiſh lothſome limmes, by no meanes we can ſee
In life nor in their trauaile here, the limmes of Chrift to bee, 1092
Nor can in anye wife imbrace, the fonde religion vaine,
And shamefull orders to the worlde, of God contrarie plaine,
Nor doctrine of fo wicked fayth, to Christian people giue,
But rather as the Apoftles teach, doe ſimply ſeeke to liue, 1096
Reiecting toyſ and mans deuice, as which we ſurely know,
To be detefted of that Prince, that lightnings downe doth throw:
We here are called Heritykes, and worthie thought to bee,
Of halter, fworde, conuſing fire, and ech extremitie. 1100

we're call'd
Heretics, and
punifh or
banift,

We puniſh are, our houses fealde, or from our countrie farre
We banilft be, or elfe oppref特 at home with ciuill warre:
Whereas the dreadfull Soulſouir doth conuſe, and cleane deuours,
The goodes that here hath gotten bene, by toyle and paine of ours.
These things theſe Catholikes attempt, when in ſo many yeareſ,
By ſcriptures ſure they cannot plant, this fooliſh fayth of theirs:
Nor ours with ſcriptures ouerthrow, that now they ſeeke to make

and loſe our
goods.

The Prince of hell and Chrift to ioyne in one, and partes to take.
For (all afhamde) they plaine perceyue, that long they cannot ſtanде,
With this religion and this life, if once doe come in hande, 1110
The worde of God, the heauenly light, and that abrode doe ſhine,
The twelue Apoftles doctrine, and that bleſſed court deuine.

Tho' they ſee
they can't ſtand
againſt God's
word and light,

Nor good it feemeth yet to them (fuch is their wiſdomē hie,) 1114
To graunt that they haue erd in any thing or gone awrie.
For ihamē it is that learned men, and fuch as famous bee,

[leaf 59, back]
they won't con-
fess they've
erred,

For Mitars and for Croſiar ſtaues, amogſt the Christiantee
Chrift nor the Apoftles fayth to know, that perfit is and iuft,

but hate us Re-
formers, and
pour out our
blood.

But to be ledde with dreames of men, whome none may ſafely truſt.
From hence proceedeth all their griefe, and all their cruell hate,

That with effuſion of our bloud, they ſtabliſh their eſtate : 1120
And will not here be pacified by any other meanes,

Except we do alow and like, their lewde and monſtrous dreames:
And altogether runne in one, like flockes for company,

To false and wicked worshippings, and vile idolatry : 1124
And knowledge them for Lordes of fayth, and rulers of vs all,

Although they teache no doctrine of the King celeſtiall.

It's often been
agreed that
Papift and
Protestant
ſhould keep his
own faith, but

Oft hath it bene agreed that eyther part ſhouleſt freely uſe
Their owne religion, ſeruing God as beſt they liſt to chufe: 1128

And neyther part the other for to trouble or moleſt,
With warres or bookeſ, that Germany might liue in peace or reſt.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.* 347

- But Papistes can no peace abide, continually they write,
And both with wordes, and wretched deedes, most cruelly doe bite :
Not onely vs, which might (perhaps) be well enough endurde,
But also Gods most holy worde, and gospell here asfurde. 1134
- If tumults on our partes arise, or any great ado,
Or if our men doe armour take, being forced therewith,
And by the law of armes doe burne, and spoyle their enimie,
And take the pillage of their foes, immedately they crie : 1138
- The wicked Gospell worketh this, beholde in what a plight
These fellowes liue, the Deuill brought this Gospell first to light :
It Turkish is, and not the same, that Luke wrought long ago :
And spightfully they flaunder it, with many raylings mo : 1142
- As if that any Preacher here, did euer this alow,
Or any did by worde of Christ, such crueltie auow.
They know full well themselues that none of ours did euer teache,
To vse such violence, nor this vnto the people preache : 1146
- Yet with their vile infectiue tonges, and mouthes enuenemde tho,
With poyson that in hellish lakes, and *Stygian* streames doth flo,
The Gospell of the Lorde they dee, most spightfully defame,
And herewithall the Ministers and Preachers of the same. 1150
- But who can Princes gouerne here, or any meanes deuise,
To keepe them in, from vsing force against their enimies ?
Why doe they not as well diwade their Catholikes, and blame
Them for their force and crueltie, that doe the very same ? 1154
- And boldely euery where destroy, and euery man molest,
Yea euen their very friendes at home, that faine woulde liue at rest.
What kinde of Gospell teache thos men, that euen openly
With bitter wordes and bookees perswade men to such crueltie ?
Are these to any man vnknowne ? doth Fraunce and Italy 1159
- Not openly declare the same, and plainly testify ?
Do not the pulpettes of the Pope, perswade this martiall might,
And pardons every man hys finnes that in their quarrell fight ? 1162
- But sure the wallet them beguiles, that hanges behinde their backe,
And better others faultes they fee, than what themselues doe lacke :
Accounting here for catholickes, themselues and all their traine,
And others all as herickes, and wicked people plaine : 1166
- Wherefore the chiefeft members of this holy popish stafe,
Their ceremonies and their dayes, they yearlely consecrate.
Their foolish fayth and beastly life, I openly doe shewe,
That all the worlde may vnderstante, and euery man may know,
That neyther Christ nor perfit fayth, they any whit doe way,
But onely seeke to looke aloft, and boldly for to say, 1172
- That they the booke of Peter are, and holy Catholickes,
And we vnhappy castawayes, and cursed herickes.
But wherein are they Catholickes ? because they follow here
The truth ? but what they follow and beleue, doth plaine appere.
So it is that in number they and countries vs excell, 1177
- So mayst thou both the *Turkes* and *Mores*, call Catholickes as well.

the Papists
won't be true to
this compact.

If we take arms
to protect our-
selves, the
Papists say it's
the Gospel's
fault, declare the
Gospel's Turkish,

and they hell-
ishly defame its
Preachers.
[leaf 60]

The Papists

persuade men to
persecute us.
The Pope
pardons those
who fight us.

They don't care
for Christ, but
only to claim
that they are
holy, and we
cursed heretics.

If they are
Catholicks, so
are Turks and
Moors.

Let all true men
see how right
we've been in
giving up this
monstrous
Popish faith!

Herewith I judge that euery man, that hath an vpright heart,
Doth vnderstante how iust our cause hath beene for to depart
From this their monstros fayth, and from their lewde ydolatree,
And for to shonne these popish members all of ech degree: 1182
As men that neyther Christ doe know, nor euer seeke to finde,
Nor suffer such as woulde, but keepe them stll in darckneſſe blinde.

FINIS.

p. 328, 335.

Superstitions about Storms. Compare part of *The thirde Booke*,
leaf 41, bk, 42:—

Belles

are rung against
storms and
thunder.

*Ratio. divino.**A Bell*

[leaf 42]
nam'd Mary,
that said it put
thunder and
spirits to flight.

Candles are also
lighted, and
Holy Palms
us'd, against
storms.

Other folk sit
out in the open
air.

Others hide in
caves.

Where then is
their trust in
Christ?

Are these
'Catholics,' that
defend them-
selves by Bells
and such hum-
bug?

The Heathens
did the same.

If that the thunder chaunce to rore, and stormie tempeſt ſhake,
A woorder is it for to ſee the wretches howe they quake,
Howe that no fayth at all they haue, nor truſt in any thing.
The Clarke doth all the Belles forthwith at once in Steeple ring, 4
With wondrouſ ſound, and deeper farre, than he was woont before,
Till in the loftie heauens darke, the thunder bray no more.

For in theſe Criftned belles they thiſke, doth lie fuch powre & might,
As able is the tempeſt great, and ſtorme, to vanquifh quight. 8

I ſawe my ſelfe at Numburg once, a towne in Toring coaſt,
A Bell that with this title bolde, hir ſelfe did proudly boaſt,
“By name I *Mary* called am; with ſound I put to flight 11
The thunder crackes, and hurtfull ſtormes, and euery wicked ſpright.”
Such things when as theſe Belles can do, no wonder certainlie
It is, if that the Papiftes to their tolling alwayes flie,

When haile, or any raging ſtorme, or tempeſt comes in fight, 15
Or thunder boltes, or lightning fierce, that euery place doth ſmift:

Befides, they Candles vp do light, of vertue like in all,
And Willow braunches hallow, that they Palmes do vſe to call.
This done, they verily beleue, the tempeſt nor the ſtorme, 19
Can neyther hurt themſelues, nor yet their cattell, nor their corne.

But ſome there be, and not a few, that dare not well commit
Their liues to this, but vnderneath the ſtarres they ſeeke to ſit;
For there (they ſay) the lightning can no kinde of creature ſmift,
Nor fall vpon the feeble corſe of any fearefull wight. 24

There are, that hide themſelues in Caues, and vnder ground do lie,
When as they heare the roring ſound, and rumbling in the ſkie.

Where here appears the confidence, and truſt vnto the hieft?
And hope in all aduerſtie caſt wholy vpon Chrift? 28

Where doe they here commit themſelues, and all that they doſeffe,
Vnto the will of God, as in theyr wordes they do exprefſe?
Are not theſe Papiftes, Catholikes, and men appoynted well,
That are defended in the ſtormes, by founde of brasen Bell? 32

And ſteps of ſtayres, and braunches burnt, with flames encompaſt round,
And Candels light, and Caues, & dennes made vnderneath the ground?
Such Gods, and fuch defenders here, the heathen woont to haue,
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40/21 means page 40, line 21.

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 Amongest, 22, *prep.* among. ‘And note that this phrase “*amonge,*” maybe referred to fewe, or one, &c. And also that “*amongest*”

† *A Looking Glasse for Englande.* Wherein these enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene, which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Common-wealth . . London, 1590, is a disappointing book, as being only an englishing of an “old tract in S. Cyr. *de 12 abusionibus seculi*” (MS. note on title), and containing nothing special on England, tho’ it was the “dailie and hourlie looking glasse” of “noble Fraunces, Earle of Bedford,” and its englisher “long did trauaile to gette a copie of this famous worke.” sign. (ijj.). The 12 Abuses are: 1. A wise man without works; 2. An olde man without deuotion and godlie feare; 3. A young man without obedience; 4. A rich man without charitie; 5. A woman without shamefastnesse; 6. A Maister or a Ruler without vertue; 7. A Christian man full of brawling and contention; 8. A poore man proude; 9. A wicked and an vnjust King; 10. A negligent Bishop; 11. A people without discipline; 12. A people without Law. The treatment of all is quite general.

- may be referred to the more or greater parte.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*. (So of 'toward' and 'towarde,' &c.)
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- [†] K. Henry VI. was "So continent, as suspition of vnchast life neuer touched him: and hauing in Christmasse a shewe of yong women with their bare breasts laide out, presented before him, he immediately departed, with these wordes, 'fie, fie, for shame; forsooth you bee to blame.'" 1605. Jn. Stow, *Annales*, p. 705. See too 'A Just and Seasonable Reprehension of Naked Breasts and Shoulders, written by a grave and learned Papist, translated by E. Cooke, with a Preface, by Richd. Baxter,' 12mo, 1678.
[‡] Huloet has a good compound of Barley: 'Barley bunne gentleman, whyche is by circumlocution meaned by suche ryche nigardes as lyue wyth barley breade, or otherwise hardlie. *Hordiarus, ij.*'
[§] Mr. Haweis's declaration that the Sabbatarian Ring must be broken up has been echoed with remarkable boldness by the Rev. Robert Eyton, at the annual meeting of the West London District Church Union. This gentleman discussing the subject of Sunday Recreation, said:—"I allow, at the little institute under my management, bagatelle, draughts, dominoes, &c., to be played on Sunday afternoons, after my Bible-class is over. I fail to see any line to be drawn between such harmless diver-
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sions and looking at *Illustrateds* or *Punches*, which is the extreme limit allowed, I am told, in neighbouring institutes." And he concluded with a startling story of St. Charles of Borromeo, at which some people will, no doubt, be greatly shocked :—"St. Charles of Borromeo was playing chess with his brethren one Sunday afternoon, and the question arose, if the Day of Judgment came now, what should each one do? One said, 'I should begin to pray,' another 'I should go to church,' and so on, till at last it came to the saint's turn, and his answer really gives us the conclusion of the whole matter: 'I should go on,' he said, 'with my game of chess; for the glory of God I commenced it, and to the glory of God I hope to finish it.'—*Echo.* Feb. 10, 1879, p. 4, col. I.

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† They were also worn by women: see Harrison, I. 170. "What should I saie of their doublets with pendant codpeeses on the brest full of iags & cuts, and sleevees of sundrie colours? their galligascons [to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plumb round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerslie] coloured nether stocks [of silke, ierdseie,] and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed then commended?" [] means, inserted in 1587, into ed. 1577.

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 Cotes, 45, *sb.* *pl.* coats; ‘swyne coates,’ 151, pigsties
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 Couched, 65, *pp.* mixed, laid
 Counterpease, 70/22, counterpoise, weight equal to
 Courtes and leets held on Sundays, 137, 183
 Courtier, young, Beggar old, 245, n.
 Coventry, Hock-Tuesday Play, led by Captain Cox, 69*
 Covetous men buying up poor men’s land, 119, 290, 291
 Covetousness in England, 114, 119, 92*
 Cowlstaffe, 148, *sb.*, a staff used for carrying a tub or basket that has two ears. “Ride the cowlstaff,” to ride the stang, ride a rail †
 Cowtails, sleeves hanging like, 74
 Craking, *sb.*, boasting, 42*
 Crasie, 51, *adj.* crazy, fragile
 Creatures, God’s, not to be abusd, by bear-baiting, 178; hunting, 182
 Creditors, cruel to debtors, 127, 293, 46*
 Crewell, 57, *sb.* fine worsted wool
 Cross and Pile, a game, 316
 Crosses of blood as charms, 343
 Cuckoldry in England, 45* (see Dyce’s *Skelton*, l. 418)
 Culling, 144, *sb.* embraces
 Cupple, 100, *sb.* pair, couple
- Curious, 71, *adj.* dainty, nice
 Curiousness, 103, *sb.* daintiness, squeamishness
 Curry-knave, Cutbert, ? Thomas Nashe, on Stubbis, 37*, 39*
 Curtain Theatre, The, 143, 279, 299, 301, 308
 Cutte, 49, *pp.* cut, slasht
 Cypher foorth, 138/16, sketch, outline
 Cyprian, St., on face-painting, 66
 Cyuet, 77, *sb.* civet
 Cyuilian, 23/2, a man of culture
- Dag, 66*, a pistol
 Daggers, 62, 250, 252
 Daintiness in food hurtful, 106
 Damnable, 132, to be condemnd, wrong ‡
 Dance, the Devil’s danst by every one, 166, l. 3 from foot
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 Dandy: one describd, 241, 77*: see Dress
 DANIEL, Samuel, poet, praisd by G. Harvey, 43*
 Danish sleeve and codpiece, 243; rousa, 286
 DANTER, the printer, 42*
 Dasht, 88, *pp.* spoilt
 Dastard, Cowarde, Asse, Pesant, Clowne, Patche, 132

† *Woman.* “In some places with vs, if a woman beat her husbande, the man that dwelleth next vnto her, shal ride on a *cowlstaufe*: & there is al y* punishment she is like to haue.” 1580, T. Lupton. *Sivqila*, p. 50.

‡ “If I see my brother sinne, I may betwene hym and me rebuke him, and *damne* his deede.” —*Tyndale* (1573), f. 144.

“O ȝee wites men of galathie who deceyuued ȝou for to not bileyue to the/ treuhe before whos yȝen ieu crist is *dampnyde* (or exilde)!” —*Epistle to the Galatians*, cap. iii, 6, *Pickering’s Rp. of Wycliffe’s Test.* (1858).

“Agayne in some partes of the lande theis seruyng men (for so be thies *damned* persons called) do no common worke, but as every priuate man nedeth labours, so he cometh into the markette-place, and there hiereth some of them for meate and drynke, and a certeyne limityd wayges by the daye, sumwhaat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man.” —*Sir T. More’s Utopia*, trans. by Raphe Robinson, 1551, sig. D. vi, verso.—R. Roberts.

- Daughters let as hackneys for hire, 278
 Daunger, 153, *s.b.* power of any person. This is the original meaning of the word from Lat. *domigerium*. So “out of debt, out of danger,” *i. e.* independent of all, out of everyone’s power. See *Wedgwood*, *s. v.*
 David’s dancing, 164
 Day of the Lord. of Judgment, near, 187
 Dealers, cheating, 46*
 Dearlynge, 88, *s.b. pl.* paramours, favourites. ‘Darlynge, a wanton terme vsed in veneriall speach, as be these: honycombe, pyggisnye, swetehert, trueloue. *Adonis . . . delitie . . . suarium sauium.*’ 1552. *Hulcet*
 Dearth and scarcity in 1583, 118. ‘Dearth or scarsitye. *Caritas.*’ 1552. *Hulcet*
 —— dearness, 289
 Death of the Poor in the Streets, 59: *see* Poor
 Debt, imprisonment for, 126, 127, 292, 293*
 Debtors, cruel treatment of, 127, 293
 DECKER, T., on men’s absurd Dress, 77*: on letting men die in the fields, 91*; on Creditors’ cruelty, see note to *Dice* below.
 Decline, 55, *v.* bend, bow
 Decore, *vb.* 35, footnote 6, ornamental; ‘decored,’ 64/3, ornamented, improv’d
 Decorum, still regarded as a Latin word, 30/20
 Dehorter, 142, *pt. s.* dissuaded
 Delicates, 87, delicacies, *s.b. pl.* dainties
 DELONEY, Thomas, defended by G. Harvey, 42*
 Deneger, 115, *s.b.* denyer
 Denigrate, 78/20, *v.* blacken, darken
 Depainted, ix/6, depicted; Cp. Thynne’s *Emblemes*, E. E. T. S., 10 (7) 24
 Deuerginat, 145, *vb.* seduce
 Devil, the ma er of new fashions, 77/11: his band in the temple of God, 147
 Devil, behold the: get drunk, 307: see *Drunkards*, below
 ‘Dice of his bones, I will make,’ 119, 127, 290, 293, 46*, + 89*
 Dice, Wine, and Women, make men beggars, 89*
 Dicing and gambling, bad, 174, 317, 89*-91*
 Diogenes, opinion of, on dress, 46
 Disallowe, 153, *i pr. s.* disapprove
 Discrasies, 103/21, *s.b. pl.* ailments, disorders, discomforts. ‘Dis-crasyed. *Egrotus.*’ 1552. *Hulcet*
 Disgesture, 103/15; 106/15, *s.b.* digestion
 Dishcloute, 51, *s.b.* rag, dishcloth
 Dishonesteth, 99/9, dishonours,

+ “You haue another cruelty in keeping men in prison so long, til sicknes and *Against* death deal mildly with them, and (in despite of al tyranny) baile them *cruell* out of all executions. When you see a poore wretch, that, to keep life *Creditors.* in a loathed body, hath not a house left to couer his head from the tempestes, nor a bed (but the common bedde which our Mother the earth allowes him) for his care to sleepe vpon, when you haue (by keeping or locking him vp) rob'd him of all meanes to get; what seeke you to haue him loose but his life? The miserable prisoner is ready to famish, yet that cannot moue you; the more miserable wife is readye to runne mad with dispaire, yet that cannot melt you: the moste of all miserable, his Children, lye crying at your dores, yet nothing can awaken in you compassion: if his debts be heauie, the greater and more glorious is your pitty to worke his freedome; if they be light, the sharper is the *Vengeance* that will be heaped vpon your heade for your hardenes of heart. Wee are moste like to God that made vs, when wee shew loue one to another, and doe moste like the *Dieuil* that would destroy us, when wee are one anothers tormenters. If any haue so much flint growing about his bosome, that he will needes *make Dice of mens bones*, I would there were a lawe to compell him to make drinking bowles of their Sculs too: and that euerie miserable debtor that so dyes, might be buried at his Creditors doore, that when hee strides ouer him he might thinke he still rises vp (like the Ghost in *Ieronimo*) crying *Reuenge.*” 1606. T. Decker. *Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London* (Arber, 1879), p. 45.

- ruins the character of. ‘Dishonesten or make dishoneste.
Collutilo, as. *Contaminio*, as.. Dishonest or defyle a woman.
depudico.’ 1552. Huloet
 Disparcle, 78|7, *v.* spread, scatter abroad
 District, 46|9, strict
 Due, 52, *v.* steep
 Document, 100|13, lesson, cp. *Hamlet*, IV. v.
 Doen, 66, *pp.* done
 Dogs kept as pets, 202, 268
 Donnington, Leicestershire, 59*
 Doomsday, near, 187
 Doublets made of a monstrous size, 55; of laced satin, 246, 247; worn by women, 71, 261, 77*, note
 Dregs, 63, *sb. pl.* rubbish
 Dress, curses on, 73; cost of, 53, 56, 75, 245, 264; deforms rather than improves men, 30; of foreign nations, 31, 234, 239; to be suited to a man’s station in life, 33; its origin, 36; the right use of, 37, 237; the love of it, the mother of pride, 44; extravagance in, in Chaucer’s time, 238; opinions of the Ancients on, 46, 47; of Christ and the prophets, 48
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 Dress of women, abuses in, 63, 254-257*, 77*, note
 Drink, names for, 150, 307
 Drinking half-pots or whole cans of beer, game at, 316
 - Dromming, xi, *sb.* playing on drums
 Dronets, xi|8, 145; *sb. pl.* drones
 Droye, 78|2, *sb.* droil, drudge, slavey, common girl. ‘Drudge or drugge, or vile seruaunt in a house whych doth all the vyle seruice. *Mediastimus*, a, *um.*’ 1552. Huloet
 Drummer, 172
 Drunk, names for getting, 307
 Drunkards worse than beasts, 108: “*Accoustre pour aller au guet*. Thoroughly tipled, soundly whit-tled, that hath seene the diuell.” 1611. Cotgrave. See Gas-coigne’s ‘Delicate Diet for Droonkardes,’ 1576
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 Drunkenness and gluttony, at Wake-days, yearly Church festivals, 153, 284; Act against, 285
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 Duetie, 112, *sb.* duty
 Dumb creatures, Stubbes’s care for, 50*, 178, 182
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 Durance petticoates, 264, lasting, strong; see Nares
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 Effeminate, *vib.* 160, make womanish and weak
 Efficiente, 27, *pr. p.* effecting
 EGERTON’S Sermons, mentiond by T. Nashe, 37*
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 Englishmen have become effeminate from dress and luxury, 54, 103, 246, 250; cut of one, 249
 Enlocnilshire, 135, Lincolnshire

- Enterludes, viii, *sb. pl.*, interludes
 Entierly, 117, *adv* earnestly, heartily.
See Intirielie
- Equivalent, 144, of equal weight
 Erichssehcshire, 135, Cheshire
 Errata in the early editions, 192
 Eschue from, 147, l. 7 from foot
 Estrangued, 96, *pp.* separated,
 removed
 Estridge feathers, 253, 270-1
 Euangely, *sb.* 120, gospel
 Eunuch; Stubbes likend to one
 by Nashe, 39*
- Evibrate, *vb.* 108, footnote 7, shake
 Exaggerate, 58/18, 116, *vb.* heap
 up, gather. ‘Heapely, in a
 mungleyn, wythout order. *Acerua-*
tim, Aggesim.’ 1552. Huloet
 Examples against drunkenness,
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 Exorable, 75/29, *adj.* gaind over
 by entreaties, ready to yield to
 solicitation
 Extenuate, 54/25, *v.* lengthen out
 Extrauagantes, 172, wanderers,
 vagrants, stragglers
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 sults, 53, 245
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- Face-painting, 63-67, 254, 255-6,
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 64; used by harlots,† 65; the
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- Faraginie, 103, *margin*, Lenten diet
 Far-fetcht and dear-bought, is
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 in cloaks, spurs, &c., 51, 60, 241;
 in feathers, 51, 79, 240, 241, 270;
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 240, 242; in shirts, 53, 245; in
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 259; change every day, 76
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 Fauchone, 110/19; 162, *sb.* a sword
 or falchion
 Feade, 62, *vb.* please, feed
 Feare, 98, *v.* frighten
 Feathers and hats, 50, 241, 243
 Feight dog, feight bear! the deuill
 part all! 178 (at Bearbaiting)
 Felles, 36/21; *sb. pl.* skins
 Fellowship of Animals’ Friends,
 50*, note¹ i, 331. ‘Felowshyppe,
 brethren or companye, whych be
 all of one brotherhode, corpora-
 tion, fraterternitie, guilde, or
 misterye. *sodales.*’ 1552. Huloet.
 Fellowes, 48, *sb. pl.* companions;
 A.S. *félagi*
 Femenine, 161, 170, *vb.* effeminate,
 or, as just below, womannisheth
 Filides, 256, *foot* (?)
 Fine living hurtful, 105
 Fish: all is fish that comes to the
 net, 117/23; offerd to St. Hul-
 ryche or Ulric, ,39
 Fixnet, 35/5; *sb.* shower-off, up-
 start; ‘Thraso’ in later editions

† Huloet says under ‘Alume . . . whereof bene three kyndes . . . The iii. *Zuchari-*
num made wyth alume relented, rosewater, and the white of Egges, lyke a Suger lofe,
 the whiche, harlottes and strumpettes do communely vse to paynte their faces and
 visages wyth, to deceave menne; but God graunte they deceave not them selues.’

‡ Next the entry of Udal’s *Rauf Ruyster Duster* (Ralf Roister Doister) in the
 Stationers’ Register for 22 July 1566-7, is “Receyvd of thomas hackett for his lycense
 for the pryntinge of a playe intituled *farre fetcht and Deare bought ys good for*
lad[es].” Arber’s *Transcript*, i. 331.

- Flaunes, 148, *sb. pl.* custards, pancakes
 Flaunt, 34, *vb.* to make a show
 Fleas and gnats gnaw Stubbes in bed, 221; Mr. Grove's chaffing recipe for killing, †
 Fleer, 145, *vb.* grin, make faces
 Flip flap, 51, *phr.* flapping
 Flipping and flapping, 58, 17; flopping, floundering
FLOIDE (the poet Lodowick Lloyd) praised by G. Harvey, 42*
 Flower in a fop's ear, 78* note, 94*
 Flow'r, *adj.* mocking. "Bro-carder, to quip, cut, gird, reach ouer the thummes; ieast at; flout, moche, scoffe, deride, or gibe at." Cotgrave. Cp. *As You Like It*, I. ii. 42
 Fluter, 172
 Foist, 71, footnote 8; 1. barge or pinnace, 2. sharper, pickpocket' (see Nares); here, a fart, L. crepitus. *Foist*, to smell musty. Halliwell's Gloss.
 Fond, 81, *adj.* foolish
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 Fop : one describd, 241; another with a Rose in his ear, 77* note, 94*: see *Dress, Fashions*
 Forceth, 52/27, 'is material,' B. F.;
- † *Fleas*.—Matthew Grove (Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 344) gives the following humourous recipe for flea-bane in his "most famous and Tragical Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia. Whereunto are adjoyned sundrie pleasant devises, Epigrams, Songes and Sonnettes, 1587 :" (Written 4 years before. A copy at Bridgewater House. Hazlitt's *Handbook*).
 "A perfect tricke to kill little blacke fleas in ones chamber."
 "Take halfe a quart of barley graine,
 A quart of strongest beere,
 And boyle withall in earthen pot
 A pint of water cleere,
 Till all these three consumed be
 To ounces twelve or lesse,
 And then the place to which you will
 These fleas in heaps to presse,
- Anoynt with that ; this water hath,
 In it this verture raw,
 That all the fleas will thither come.
 Then take a slender strawe,
 And tickle them on the small ribs,
 And when you see one gape,
 Thrust then the straw into his mouth,
 And death he ne shall scape."
- The last Yankee one I've heard of, is a shilling packet, 'not to be opend till wanted for use.' When opend, it shows 2 little squares of wood, with the direction, 'Place the flea on one block, and press the other closely to it. Instant death will ensue.'

- Gallant's dress, cost of, 245
 Gallows, Three Steps and a half to the : Ruffs so called, 53
 Gally-hose, or gally - gascoynes, 56*†*; 246, *sb.* wide, loose hose; bombasted, like women's bustles: see the Index note on *Codpiece*.
 Gambling and dicing, 174-6; the outcome of, 175, 317; 89*-91*
 Games and sports, 316†
 Garagantua breeches, 247
 Garded, 60, *pp.* trimd, edgd. See *Henry VIII*, Prologue 16, and *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 143
 Gardens, places of bawdry, 88, 279
 Gardes, 74, *sb. pl.* trimmings, edgings‡
 Garnishe, 33, *v. adorn*: ‘Garnish. *Adorn*,’ 1552. Huloet
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 Gascoynes, 242, breeches: ‘*Guer-gusses*: f. Wide Slops, or Gallo-gaskins, great Gascon, or Spanish hose. 1611.’ Cotgrave
 Gawld backes, vi/10, 231, *pp.* galled
 Gear, 97, *sb.* matter, business
 Geese, roast, eaten on St. Martin's Day, 340
 Generoseous, *a.* 132
 Gentilism, 142, faith and deeds of Gentiles
 Gentleman of the first head, 122, upstart: ‘Gentleman of the first head, or *Ironice* to be applyed to such as would be esteemed a gentleman, hauing no pouyt or qualitie of a gentleman, nor gentleman borne. *Filius terra.*’ 1552. Rich. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
 Gentlemen sheepmongers and graziers, 290
- Germans not given to change their customs or dress, 31
 Geugawes, 62, *sb. pl.* baubels, trinkets
 Giese, 111, *pr. noun*, Gehazi
 Gingered breasts & spiced stomachs, 106, last line
 Gingerlynes, 78/26, *sb.* affected nicey, dainty manners
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 Girls dress like men at Shrovetide, 329/304; are harnesst in ploughs on Ashwensday, 332/392; seduced at thirteen, 232
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 Glistering, 79, *pr. p.* shining, glittering
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 Glory of, 155/2, glory in
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 ‘Good Men’: brawlers and fighters wrongly calld, 88*, note
 GOOGE, Barnabe, praisd by G. Harvey, 42*; his englising of Book IV of *The Popish Kingdome* of T. Kirchmaier or Naoegeorgus, 323

† ‘Active parson, or a man expert in all feates of actiuitie, as castyng of the barre, daunsinge, leaping, runnyng, shotyping, shyping. *Pancratiastes. Et pancratius: tij, ang.* he that doth exercysse suche actiuitie.’ 1522. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.

‡ ‘Garde, purfle, or trayle of anye garment, or it may be sayde, any bourders or trayles fyndy wrought with small pieces fastened thereto, be it mettall or tymber. Or it may be esteemed, that sorte of garde or welte whyche, besides the garde, is edged with a small lace, flatte or round vpon the garde, *Segmentum*; and that whiche is also garded, purfled, traysed, dressed, edged or trimmed, is sayde, *Segmentatus, a, um.*’ 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.

- Goose: he may go shooe the goose, 110, l. 7 from foot, go on a vain, idle errand; undertake impossibilities
- Got-money, drunken, not spent on the church, 152
- Gourmandice, 102/13, fastidious gluttony
- GRAFTON** The Chronicler, praisd by G. Harvey, 42*
- Grime, 67, *adj.* grim, fierce
- Grograins, 32, *sb. pl.* a coarse kind of silk taffety, usually stiffend with gum. Harrison, II. 6, mentions, "mockados, baies, vellures, grograines," &c., 231
- Groping and vncleane handling in dancings, 155
- Grosly, 23, *adv.* plainly, unre finedly
- Grosser, 53, *adj.* thicker
- Guage, 123, *sb.* security, pledge
- Guilte, xii, *pp.* gilt
- Guise, 31, *sb.* manner, habit.
"The Norman *guise* was to walke and get up and downe the streets." Lambarde's *Peramb. of Kent*, 1826, p. 320. See also my Harrison, *Descript. of England*, I. 168
- Gull, 173, l. 3 from foot, drink
- Gulling, 107/12; 112/22, guzzling
- Gun-shooting, game at, 316
- Guy's carrid about on Saints' Days, 332. 'Images caried aboute in pageauntes wthy greate chekes and wyde mouthes. *Manduces.*' 1552. Huloet.
- Gyses, 63, *sb. pl.* customs
- Gyrdlestead, 60/24, *sb.* waist. "Gyrdell stede, *faulx du corps.*" Palsgrave
- Habits of the young men, 252
- Hainous, 80, *adj.* hideous, odious.
See Haynous
- Hair, fashions in wearing†, 67-69;
- sham, 254-5, 258; dyed, 68, 258
- Hampshire fair, good and bad side of, 47*; cp. 149
- Hand-baskets a cloak for sin, 88
- Hand, bear in, 49, bring forward, set forth to
- Hangers, gay, for a rapier, 242
- Harbers, 88, *sb. pl.* arbour
- Hard fare wholesomest, 103
- Harde-quilted, 55, *adj.* padded stiffly
- Harlots and brothels, 280
- Harlots and Bastards come to church on the yearly Feast-day, in Germany, 340
- Harlots‡ use face-painting, (*q. v.*) 65; their impudence, 75, 280; their great number, 88; punishment of, 281
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- Hasardour§, Chaucer's, made 'dise sour,' dicer, by Bp. Babington, 90*
- Hatbands, rose, 240; of goldsmith's work, 246
- Hats, diversities of, in England, 50, 240, 241; new fashion of wearing no bands to them, 51, 243; dish-crowned, 252
- Hautie, 63, *adj.* proud, haughty
- Hawking and Hunting in England, 181; harm done by, 182
- Haynous, 28, *adj.* heinous, odious.
"Haineux. Hatefull, detestable, most odious."—Cotgrave
- 'He' pleonastic, 154. Cp. Shakespeare, in *Rich. II, III, Cymb.* &c.
'The king he,' &c.
- Head-dress of women, 253
- Heare, iv; Heyre, v, *sb.* hair; Heir, 67
- Heathens an example to Christians in dress, 81, 273; detest whoredom, 92

† For bushy hair, and with feathers in it. See Dekker's *Guls Hornbooks*, 1609, ch. 3, p. 17-19, ed. 1862.

‡ 'Boyes which do attende vpon commune harlottes, called "apple squires." *Aquarioli.*' 1552. R. Huloet. 'Harlote whyche medleth wthy a man for a farrhyngue. *Quadrantaria.*' 'Hoores whiche paynt theyr faces. *Zucarinata mulieres.*'—ib.

§ Besides Hasarder, *Aleator*, Huloet has 'Hasarder, which sleapeth all daye, and watcheth the nyght. *Vide in Lurker.*' 'Lurkers in the hye way, to robbe or sley men, *Grassator.* Lurkers, called hasarders. *Vide in hasarders.*' 1552, *Abcedarium*.

- Hell, the reward of pride, 39
 Heathfuller, 103, *adv.* more healthily, with better health
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 Herbs blest in church on the Virgin Mary's Assumption Day, 341
 Hermaphroditi, 73
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 Herring carrid on a pole on Ash-Wensday, 331
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 'His, for possessive 's, 75, l. 10, 11, &c.
 Hoast, 84, *sb.* host, company
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 Howsinge, 283, dwelling, tenement
 Hufcap, 150, 307, *sb.* strong ale
 Huftie-tuftie, † 307, hooray, boys! let's be jolly; 308, swaggeringly
 Huggie, 97/13; 281, *v.* hug, cuddle
 HULDRYCHE, St. Ulric, customs on his Day, 339
- Humaine, iii, *adj.* human. 'Humayn, as of man, *Humanitus, humanus.*' 1552. Huloet.
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- Idle Jesting and Scoffing, Bp. Babington against, 87*
 Idleness, Acts against, 320
 Idolaters, Papists are, 342
 Illegitimates, 97, illegitimate children
 Imbrodered, 77, *pp.* embroidered
 Immured, 23, *pp.* surrounded as with a wall
 Impale, 124, *vb.* inclose, fence in
 Impe, 111, *sb.* child
 Implicate A, entangled F., 139
 Impolished, vi/24, *pp.* unpolish'd, unrefined
 Importable, 58/19, insupportable
 Impotionate, 31, footnote 6-6; 105, footnote 2-2, made up as a potion, *adj.*
 Impugne, 106/22, fight against, disagree with
 Incident, 90, *adj.* proper, suitable
 Inclosures, 117, 289
 Incorporate, 44, *adj.* incorporated, united. See Ingenerate
 Indented, 77, *pp.* with the edges worked
 Indifferentlie, 35, *adv.* without distinction: 'Indifferently, *indiscriminatim, Passim.*' 1552. R. Huloet
 Inferreth, 168, *pr. s.* brings in, induces

† "Master Wyldgoose, it is not your *huftie tuftie* can make mee afraid of your bigge lookes: for I saw the Play of Ancient Pistoll, where a Cracking Coward was well cudgeld for his knauery: your railing is so neare the Rascall, that I am almost ashamed to bestow so good a name as the Rogue on you."—N. Breton, *A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters (Part I. 1603).* [A "coy Jame's" answer to a "Letter of scorne."] p. II, col. 2.

- Infirmit, 95/31, *vb.* weaken: ‘In-
firmed. *Infirmus.*’ 1552. Hu-
loet
- Ingenerate, 44, *adj.* engendred.
In English the *adjective* in -ate,
formd directly from the Latin
pp. preceded the *verb* in -ate,
which was formd from the *pp.*,
and the final -d was added to
the already-existing *adjective*
from a mistaken idea that it was
a *pp.* formd from the *verb*.
Thus in Shakspere we find *con-*
secate (*Titus And.* I. i. 14);
create (*Midsumm. N. Dream*,
V. i. 412); *articulate* (*Hen. IV.*,
V. i. 72); *felicitate* (*Lear*, I. i.
66), &c.
- Ingrate, 23, *adj.* ungrateful
- Ingrauen, xii, *pp.* engraved
- Ingurgitate, 104/2, *v.* drink heavily,
swamp, fill to excess: ‘Ingur-
gitation of meate and dryncke,
or beastely feadyng. *Alogia.*’
1552. Huloeit
- Inkhorn terms in the 1st ed. of
the *Anatomie* (1583) simplified
in the 6th (1595), 62*, 63*
- Inough, Ynough, 46, *adv.* enough.
A.S. *genoh.*
- Insaciablist, 102, *adj.* most insati-
able
- Insolency, 57, *sb.* excess, outrage-
ousness
- Intellective, 107, *adj.* intellectual
- Interest or usury should not be
taken on loans, tho' allowd by
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peries, 180; 140
- Intestine, 24/5, *adj.* inward, in-
nate
- Intirleie, 225, *adv.* heartily, ear-
nestly. *See Entierly*
- Inuegled, 68, *pt. s.* inveigled, en-
ticed
- Inuisories, 80/5, *sb. pl.* masks
- Invested, 38, *pp.* clothed
- Irish, a game, 316
- Irish costumes in Q. Elizabeth's
time, 95*
- Irrationable, 92, *adj.* without reason,
not rational
- It, 44/8, its
- Jaques & Orlando, 50*
- Jarnsey, 57/7, *adj.* Guernsey
(yarn); cp. Gearnsey, 76/22
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- Korked, 77, *adj.* corkt (shoes)
- Kyrtles, 75, *sb. pl.* gown, jackets
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- Laced, 49, *adj.* coverd with lace
- Laced mutton, 240, whores
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- Largeous, 105/17, *adj.* free, open-
handed, liberal
- LATIMER, Bp, on dicing, 317
- Latrones, 119/21, *sb. pl.* thieves

- Latter-Day-Pamphlets* (T. Carlyle's), commented on, 49*
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- Lazy habits of women, 274
- Leapfrog, the game, 316
- Learning is a jewel, my maisters, 38*
- Leather, 37/20, 38/4, 48/5, 237; skin; *En cueros*, in leather, in buff; usd by Cervantes and Quevedo: see Dict. of Spanish Academy
- Leaudie, 89, *adj.* lewd
- Legitimats, 97, children born in wedlock
- Lent, fasting and customs in, 331
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- Life: 'my life for yours,' 171
- Light-brain, *sb.* 250, idiot, goose
- Litter, Queen Elizabeth carrid in one, by 6 Knights, 71*, and engraving by Title-page. 'Litter or lyghter to carye a noble personage, *Lectica.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
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- Lothsom, 111, *adj.* loathsome, filthy
- 'Love me, love my dog,' 178.
- Cotgrave, under both *aimer* and *chien*, gives *Bertrand* for Stubbess's *Jean*: 'Qui aime Bertrand aime son chien': Prov. Love me, love my dog; (say we.)'
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- Malmetie, 112/3, Malmsey
- Maltbugs lugging at liquor, 307
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- Mandilians, 58, 240, a kind of loose garment without sleeves, or if with sleeves, having them hanging at the back. S. Rowlands (*Knave of Harts*, 1613) mentions "short cloaks, old mandilians." See also Harrison, I. 168
- Manure, 36, *v. work by hand*
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- Married men thrasht if caught at Brothels, 345

* London:—See 'A Larume Belle for London, with a caueat or warning to England . . . by John Carre, Citizein of London . . . 1573. 8vo. bk. lr. xi leaves,' Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 108.

- Martin chain, 250
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- Mault-wormes, 107 9, *sb. pl.* drunkards. *See* Nares, *s. v.* comp. I Hen. IV. II. i.
- Maundy Thursday, customs on, 333
- Maw, a game, 316
- Mawmets, 75/8, *sb. pl.* puppets, dolls (cp. *Rom. & Jul.* III. v.). *See* Prompt. Parv. (Mawmet, *Ydolum, simulacrum*) and Wedgwood, *s. v.*
- Maycocks, 101/11, *sb. pl.* meacock's, effeminate, spiritless fellows. *See* Shakspere, *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i.
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- Mincedness, 78/25, mincing manners
- Mingle-mangle, 34/17, mixture, variety
- Minions, 70, *sb. pl.* affected minxes
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- Minstrels pipe up a dance to the devil, 172
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- Mizzeled, 87/19, *pp.* muddled, confused, fuddled
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- Moe, 66, *adj.* more
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- Momentaine, 115, *adj.* short-liv'd, brief
- Mopsies, 147, *sb. pl.* sweethearts
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- Neckerchers, 70, *sb. pl.* neckties
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- Newfanglednesse, 31, *sb.* love of new inventions

- Newfangles, 31, 80, 235, *sb. pl.*
new fashions. ‘Louer of newe
fangels, and trifles. *Elucus.*’
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Nicesnes, 58, *sb.* daintiness
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for strong liquor, especially ale.
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la S. Cy.* Wine, good liquor.
Nippitatie.’ 1611. Cotgrave
Nisitie, 103, *sb.* daintiness, squeam-
ishness
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Nusseled, 54, *pp.* nuzzled, cuddled,
pampered
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witness. ‘Obtestation. *obiesta-
tio, onis*, it is properlye wher one
taketh God to wytnes, *Et obtes-
tor, aris*, to take God to wy-
nes.’ 1552. Huloet
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Ostenting, 30/7, *sb.* showing off,
boasting, Lat. *ostentans*
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Othersome, 60, *adj.* some others
Ouches, 67, *sb. pl.* ornaments,
jewels. See Mr. Way’s note in
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Ouermuche, 34, *adj.* excessive
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Palled, 88/8, *adj.* surrounded with
palings
Palls of St. Agnes’s lambs’ wool:
Bishops forct to buy, 327
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Paned, 56, *adj.* formed of stripes,
with small panes or squares of
silk or velvet
Panther smells sweet to beasts
only, 40*
Pantoffles, 53, 57, 58, 77, 239,
sb. pl. slippers, patterns. ‘A
shooe called a pantofle, or a
slipper, *crepida, sandalium.*’ —
Baret’s *Alvearie*, 1580. Baret
also gives the form *Pantaffle*.
‘Short-heeld pantoffles,’ 37*, 16
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- Paris Garden, Southwark, 296
 PARRY, Dr., treason of, 1585, 65*
 Parsons, unfit, appointed to livings, 93*
 Parted, 76* *n.* having good parts or abilities, clever
 Particularities, 56, *sb.* details, minute items
 Partlets, 70, *sb. pl.* ruffs or bands worn by women. “*Amiculum. A neckercher or a partlet*”
 Withals. *Partlet*, an old kind of band, both for men and women; a loose collar, a woman’s ruff. *Dunton’s Ladies’ Dict.* 1694, in *Nares*, ed. 1859; with other quotations. ‘*Partlet, Strophium.*’ 1552. Huloet
 Paste, 112, *pp.* past
 Pastyme themselves, 131, amuse
 Patrociny, vii, 27, patronage
 Peacemeale wise, 39* (at foot), in pieces, tatters
 Peaking, 51, *pr. p.* running to a peak or point
 Pearking, 50, *pr. p.* (? peaking), rising into a peak
 Pedagogie, 37/32, *sb.* instruction, example, guidance
 Pelts, 36/21, *sb. pl.* fleeces.
 Peiltyng, 72/9, *adj.* violent, furious
 Pendices, 35/11, 67; *sb. pl.* hangings, vails, pendants
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 Perpended, 124, *pp.* weighed, considered
 Perriwincles, 69, *sb. pl.* periwigs, wigs
 Pesteruing, 102, *pr. p.*? = pestering, crowding
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 Phantasies, 50, *sb. pl.* fancies
 Philip’s, K., leather, 243, Spanish leather (boots)
 Pick, *vb.* 184, pitch, throw
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 Pies, 87, *sb. pl.* magpies. ‘*Pye byrde. Citta, æ, Pica, æ.*’ Huloet
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 Pillage and pollage, 116
 Pinched, 50, *adj.* with the edges notcht or cut in various patterns. The term is still in use under the form *pinked*
 Pinions, 73, *sb. pl.* skirts
 Pinsnets, Pinsons, 57, 77, 247, 266, *sb. pl.* small thin-soled shoes.
 ‘*Pynson, Calceamen, inis; calceamentum, ti; Osa, æ; Tenella, æ. Pynson wearer. Osatus, a, um.*’ 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
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 Pluresie, 108, *sb.* pleurisy
 Poals, 97, *sb. pl.* poles, trees
 Poll, 116, *pr. pl.* plunder, rob
 Pollage, 116, *sb.* plunder, robbery. ‘*Pollynge or pillynge. Exactio.*’ 1552. Huloet
 Polonia heels to shoes, 240; boots, 77*, *note*
 Pomanders, 77, 266, *sb. pl.* A kind of perfume generally made in the form of a ball, and carried about the person. For recipes for their manufacture, see Notes, 266, and Halliwell, *s. v.* ‘*Pomander or sweete perfume. Dia-pasma.*’ Huloet

- Pope of Rome, that Italian Philis-
tin, and archenemy of all trueth,
161.³
- Poor, bad treatment of, 59, 105, 116,
169; house and land got from
them, 119; 249, 250; lie dead
outside London walls, 288
- Port, 117, *sb.* state, behaviour
- Potestates, 33/21, *sb. pl.* those in
authority, the powers that be, men
in high places
- Powlyng, 117, *pr. p.* robbing, cheat-
ing
- Pozie, 134, *sb.* inscription, verse
- Prayers, Stubbess's, 224-230; bab-
bled by Papists, 343
- Preacherz sumwhat too sour, 69*
- Prejudicing, 182, doing harm to†
- Preparaunce, 72/21, *sb.* preparations
- President, 118, *sb.* precedent (see
Huloet below)
- Pretelty, 87, *adv.* pretty well, toler-
ably
- Preter time A, former ages F, 166/2
- Pretie pussie to huggle withal, 97
- Prices, rise in, 118-119; cp. Staf-
ford and Harrison I., New Sh.
Soc.
- Pride, 26; the cause of all evils,
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- Primacie, 94, *sb.* headship, priority
- Prisoners 'lying in lothsome dung,
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- Prittle-prattle, the evils of it, 93*
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- Profanation of the Sabbath and its
results, 137, 297, 298, 344
- Profluous, 105, footnote 13, boun-
teous, extravagant
- Promulgate, 48, *pp.* promulgated,
published. See *Ingenerate*
- Proper, 72, *adj.* fine, handsome:
' Proper, feate, and well fash-
yoned. *Cincinnus . . Elegans . .*
Proper man. *Graphyrus uir.*'
1552. Huloet.
- Proud apparel deformeth man, 40;
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Moris in a needle's eye, 171;
farre fetched and deare boughte,
33; feight dog, feight beare, the
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118; laugh in their sleeues, 118;
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43; three steppes and a halfe to
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- Pseudo-christian, *sb.* 182
- Puff-wings, 260
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- Punishment of whoredom, 98, 99,
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- Puppits, 75, *sb. pl.* dolls
- Puritan embroidresses, 245; laun-
dressses, 260

† ' Preidice, *præiuditium, ij*, whyche is a mere [pure] wronge contrayre to the lawe. ¶ It maye be also taken for a sentence once decided and determined, whych iemayneth afterward for a generall rule and example, to determinye and discusse semblablye; Or els it may be as the ruled cases and matters of the lawe be called bokecases, recited in the yeres [Year-Books] whiche be as precedences; and thereof commeth thys verbe *præiudico.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*

- Puritans abusd by T. Nashe, 39*
- Pursie, 107, *adj.* fat, bloated
- Pusels and fusles, of women's dress, 255
- Pusse (*pucelle*), 78/3; 266, *sb.* a maid, girl, drab, *I Hen. VI.* I. iv. “*A Pusle, A Puzzle* [prob. of *poesele*, Du.], a dirty slut.” *Bailey's Dict.*, ed. 1737, vol. ii. s. v.
- Puttockes, 116, *sb. pl.* kites, avaricious persons
- Quaile, 124, *vb.* sink, fail
- Quasie, 169; Queasie, 103, *adj.* squeamish, dainty
- Quavemire, 115, 168, *sb.* quagmire, bog
- Quirks, 57, *sb. pl.* the same as clocks, *q. v.*
- Rabbied, 122, *pp.* addressed as *Rabbi*, master
- Racktrentes, 76,* note: see Landlords
- Radishes eaten on Easter-day, 336/636
- Ragged-School anecdote, 49*
- Rapiers, gay, 62, 252
- Rattes, as dronke as, 113/18; 151/3, notes
- Ravished in (with) her behaviour, 163
- Rayling, ix, *adj.* railing, mocking
- REARDON, J. P., reprinted two of Stubbes's tracts, 58*
- Rebato, 255, 309; rebating-prop, (S. Gosson), 258; “*Porte-fraise*, m. A Rebato, or supporter for a Ruffe; wrought, or imbrodered, and cut into diuers panes.” 1611.
- Cotgrave. See Supportasse
- Redintegration, 90, *sb.* renewal
- Reduce, 25/19, bring back
- Refelled, 40/21, refuted
- Refelletth, 160, *pr. s.* refutes
- Refrain men from, 137, restrain, rein back: ‘Refrayne, *Cohibeo, contineo, reprimō.*’ 1552. Huloet
- Reguitte, xii, *pp.* regilt
- Relics, Saints' ridiculed, 328
- Renowned, 167, renowned
- Repentance, not to be put off, 190
- Repentants, who are true, 189
- Reproched of, 176, reproacht by Resolute, 79, *v. solve*, answer, explain
- Retainers, evil of too many, 86*
- REYNOLDS, John, poet, &c., praisd by G. Harvey, 43*
- RICH, Barnaby, praisd by G. Harvey, 42*
- Rich men eat vp poore men as beasts doo grasse, 117
- Rich men grind down the poor, 169, 291
- Rich men, in Germany, gallop thro the streets at Shrovetide, 330
- Rich, the benefit of being, 238, 291-2
- Riches, that thick clay of damnation, 116
- Rueleth, 95/33, *pr. s.* wrinkles: Ryuled, 74/26, pleated
- Robin Hood, telling Tales of, on Sundays (cp. Latimer), 300
- Rogation Week, beating the bounds in, and feasting afterwards, 336-7
- Roisteth, 41, *pr. s.* acts riotously. *Harrison*, ed. Furnivall, I. 77. “They ruffle and *roist* it out.” *Tusser, Five Hundred Points*, &c., ed. Herrtage, ch. 98, st. 3, has “roister-like.”
- Rosaries to count prayers on, absurd, 343
- Rose in a dandy's ear, 77*, 94*
- Rose shoestrings, 240
- ROWLANDS, S., quoted, 232, 240, 243, 270, 274, 275, 280, 283, 284, 293, 314, 316
- Ruffle, 45, *pr. pl.* dress grandly. See *Roist.*
- Ruffs, men's, 52, 240-2; women's, 70-73, 243, 244; worn even by yeomen, 52; extravagance in, of women, 70, 258, 259; Queen Elizabeth's, 71*
- Rugges, Ruggs, 33, *sb. pl.* rough cloths
- Running, play at, 316
- Rushbearings, 310, n.
- Russet, 50, *adj.* reddish-brown; russet boots, 253
- Ryall, 57, *sb.* a coin (gold) of the value of about 15s.

Ryot, 39, *sb.* profligacy
Ryuedel, 74, *pb.* wrinkled

Sabaoth, xi, 136, *sb.* (really 'Hosts,' armies), a mistake for Sabbath. The same mistake occurs in Bacon, *Advance of Learning*, II. 24; and in Spenser, *Faery Queen*, VIII. 2. Dr. Johnson, in the first edit. of his Dictionary, treated the two words as identical, and Sir W. Scott commits the same mistake in *Ivanhoe*, ch. x.

Sabaothlike, 173, Sabbath-like
Sabbath, profanation of in Ailgna, 137; God's judgment on the profaners of it,† 179; fairs and courts held on the, 183, 296, 298, 312, 344, 78*; works to be done on, 140
Sabbath-breaking,† 136-140, 177; God's judgment on, 179, 180, 182; shaving held to be, 313

Saciete, 104, *sb.* excess

Saints' Days, customs on :—

St. Agnes (Jan. 21), 327
St. Andrew (Nov. 30), 340
St. Blase (Feb. 3), 328
St. Catherine, (Nov. 25), 340
St. John the *Apostle* (Dec. 27), 325
St. John the *Baptist* (June 24), 339
St. Stephen (Dec. 26), 325
St. Ulric or Huldryche (July 4), 339
St. Urban, 338-9
St. Vitus (June 15), 339

Saints, Pageants of :—

St. Barbara, George and the

Dragon, Katherine, Sebastian, 338; and Ursula and her Virgins, 337, on Corpus Christi Day

Sarcenet, 32, *sb.* a thin, slight kind of silk

Satan abus'd by Phillip Stubbes's young wife, before her death, 205

Sate, 77, *pb.* sat

Saturday Review and swearing, 46*, note; on Stubbes's name 'Philip,' 50*, note

Scabbed and scuruy companie of dauncers, 167

Scarfs worn by women, 79; by men, 243

Scarsly, 60, *adv.* scarcely

Scents, 77, 266, 269; the use of, injurious, 78

SCHARF, Mr. G. on Q. Elizabeth's Procession in 1600, 71*

Schoolmasters and Boys, sing on St. Martin's Day, 340

Scoffingly, flowtingly, and jibingly, 140

Scotch daggers, 250

Scriveners, the Devil's tools, 128, 294

Secret baptisms and marriages among Papists, 311-312

Seelie, xix, *adj.* simple. A.S. *selig*

Semblable, vi, *adj.* like, similar: 'Semblable, *Idem.* the neutre gendre of *Isdem*, and some time signifieth the same man, or the same thynge.' 1552. Huloet

Sempronians, 70/1; 259, lewd women: 'Sempronia, that renowned whore,' 167, l. 2 from foot

Sereous, 88, *adj.* serious, important

† Among the punishments appointed by the Justices at Bury, Suffolk, in Feb. 1578-9 (printed in the *Monthly Mag.*, 1813, Aug. 1, vol. 36, p. 43-4) are these :—"If anie person in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie or other holiedaies, shall be found in the alehouse or taverne, or otherwise evill occupied or idle in the streetes, churcheyard, or other places, these are to be the first time punished accordinge to the statute; and, againe offendinge, to be bounde to their good behaviour. If they be boyes above the age of tenne years, that shall in this point offend, their fathers and their mothers that shoulde have better looked to them, shall be punished thus, and the boy offendinge, by his father or mother whipped, the constable seeinge the performance therof.

"If anie person shall in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie, or other holie daie, keepe open his shoppe, or at all on the Lords daie sell anie wares, except it be such as must necessarie be had, he is to be punished accordinge to the statute."—From the *Cecil Papers* in the 27th Volume of the *Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum*.

- Sermons, an excuse for meeting lovers, 276
- SHAKSPERE : on men's dress, 44*; his Cuckoo-song, and Wordsworth's contrasted, 45*; he hated women's face-painting and sham hair, 257; his *Venus and Adonis* carrid in girls' bosoms, 268
- Shirts, 53, 245
- Shoes, extravagance in, 58, 248, 77
- Shoestrings, cabbage, and rose, 240
- Shooting out of doors, turnd into gulling and whoring indoors, 317
- Shoreditch bawdy-houses, 252
- Shove-groat, a game, 316
- Shrovetide, customs at, 329-30
- Shurts, 53, 245, *sb. pl.* shirts
- Sibbersawces, 67, *sb. pl.* washes and unguents for women's faces, rouges, cosmetics: also Slubber Sawce †
- Sidenes, 56, *sb.* width. 'Sideness, Length,' 1530. Palsgrave: 'Syde, or longe, downe to the ankle. *Talaris.*' 1552. Huloet
- Sielie, 225, *adj.* simple
- Signior, 138, pointer, index
- Silver hilts to rapiers, 252
- Simples, 65, *sb. pl.* specifics
- SINGLETON, printer of the *Gaping Gulf*, 1579, 54*
- Sin, the origin of, 24; two kinds of, 27, 233
- Sir Ihon, 151; the priest. Chaucer's *Dan Johan*
- Sixpenny rooms (boxes) at theatres, 302, n.
- Skittles, playing at, on Sundays, 300
- Slabbering, 78, *adj.*
- Slabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold, 163; 'slabberings, bussings, and smouchings,' 165
- Slaightes, 118, *sb. pl.* tricks
- Slashed, 56, *adj.* cut
- Sledge-hammer, throwing the, 316
- Slubber sawce, 105, footnote 2-2, buttery, oily, made-up sawces
- Slops, big breeches, 246-7
- Slut, 51, *sb.* a sloven
- Sluttered sutes, 40*/6
- Small, 105, *adj.* poor, weak (drink)
- Smick-smack, 269, kissing
- Smouching, 155, 165, *sb.* loud smacking kisses
- Snowball playd, 330
- SNUFFE, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, 270, 307
- Sockets: musicians are 'drunken sockets and bawdy parasites,' 171
- Sodometrie, 31/15, shame, evil pride, &c.
- Sodomites, 145, fornicators
- Sodomitical, 153
- Solomon on dancing, 164
- Somedeal, 53/8, *adv.* somewhat, rather
- Spagnolized (*pincht-in*) body, 77* note
- Songs, bawdy and profane, 171, 185, 314-316, 319; and ballads, 185, 320
- Sour sauce, 96, 98
- Spanish fashions in dress, 60, 251
- Spare, 105, *adj.* stingy, sparing
- Sparkled, 71, *pp.* sprinkled: 'Sparkle here and there, *segredo . . spargo.*' 1552. Huloet

[†] *Slubber sauce:* this word occurs also in a scolding of Englishwomen in "The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Foote-steppes of Fraunce." Wherein is explained the wilfull bloudnesse of subtill mischiefe, the striuing for Starres, the catching of Mooneshine, and the secret sounde of many hollow heartes. By W. R. *Nulla pietas prouis.* At London, Imprinted by Robert Robinson dwelling in Feter Lane neere Holborne, 1588." (4to, B. L. 19 leaves.)

"It is a woorder more than ordinary to beholde theyr periwigs of sundry colours, theyr paynting potts of perlesse perfumes, theyr boxes of *slubber sauce*, the sleaking of theyr faces, theyr strayed modesty, and theyr counterfayte coynesse. In so much that they rather seeme Curtyzans of Venyce then matrones of Englande, monsters of Egypt then modest maydens of Europe, inchaunting Syrens of Syrtes then diligent searchers of vertue: these inchaunments charme away theyr modesty, and entrap fooles in folly; bewitcheth themselves wyth wanton wyles, and besoteth other with these bitter smyles."—Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 28.

- Speare, sphere (*note*), 50, *s.b.* spire,
steeple
Spicke and spanne, *adv.* quite,
entirely
Spirits shut up in Crystal, as
Charms, 344
Splendente, 39/11, splendid
Splendishe, 35, footnote 5, *vib.*
garnish
Spoke, *pp.* 188, spoken
Sports on Sundays, 136, 140, 296 :
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Spurs, gingling, 242
Square-toed shoes, 252
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Starcth ruffs and rabatas, 51, 242
Stationers' Registers: entries of
Stubbes's books in, 55*, 56*
Stays, abuse of, by women, 262;
77*
Stelliferous, 79/23, *adj.* lit. star-
bearing, bright, radiant
Sternes, 51/9; 68/5, *s.b.* *pl.* stand-
ards (so glossed in F. at p. 68)
Stews, or Brothels, kept by Papist
Priests, 344-5
Stile, match at running to one, 316
Stimule or pricke, *s.b.* 90
Stinginess of the rich to the poor,
104, 288
Stinking pump and lothsome sink
of carnall affection, 156
Stint, xiv, *vib.* cease, stop. A.S.
astynstan
Stiptick, 98, *adj.* bitter, astringent
Stockings (netherstocks), fashions
in, 57, 76, 77, 265; extravagance
in, 57, 247; silk, 246
Stoolball, a game, 316
- Store, xviii, *adj.* in numbers
STOWE the Chronicler, praised by
G. Harvey, 42*; inserts Parry's
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65* note; quoted, 54*, 248
Stride-wide and lift-leg, 307, strong
ale
Strosser (trouser), close Italian, 243
Stub-bearded, 269
STUBBE, John, of the *Gaping*
Gulfe, 1579, 53*, 54*
STUBBS, Mr. Henry, 51*, 74*
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ing a widow for his friend
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that gnawd him in bed, 221.;
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103/3; his marriage and wife,
51*, 52*, 193-208; her boy John,
51*, 200; her repentance for
loving her dog too much, 202;
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60*, i—xx, 21-192; inkhorn
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36*, 64*
A Christal Glasse: his Life of
his Wife (1591), 66*, 74*, 193-
208
*A fearefull and terrible Exam-
ple* (1581), 56*

† On the 'Godly simplicity of our forefathers' that Stubbes alludes to in his side-note here, See Chap. XXVIII, "Of the rudenesse and rusticities of our Ancestors in sundrie things," p. 232-239, of R. C.'s englisning of Stephen's *World of Wonders*, 1607: "we will easily graunt these gray beards, that in their younger yeares the world was not so wicked [and wasteful]: so that they yeld to our greene heads, that it was more rude and rustical; and that it was not so witte, because it was not so wicked."

- STUBBES—his Works :
Intended Treason of Doctor Parrie (1585), 65*
 Lines on Popish Bloodsuckers (1583), 64*
Motive to good Workes (1593), 67*
Perfect Pathway to Felicitie (1592, 1610), 66*, 71*, 209-30
Rosarie of Christian Praiers, 1583 (no copy known), 64*
Theatre of the Popes Monarchie, 1584 (no copy known), 65*
Two wonderful and rare Exam-ples (1581), 58*
View of Vanitie, 1582 (no copy known), 60*
- Stut, 107/15, stutter : 'Stut or stammer. *Balbucinor* . . . Stuttynge. *Tertiatio uerborum.*' Stutter [one who stuts] *Balbus* . . . Stutter [one who stuts] in readyngne, whyche staggereth, and can pronounce no good Englysh, &c. *Offensator*. 1552. Huloet. He has also 'Stamber, *Titubo*; Stambry, *Titubator*; Stammer and stamber, *Idem*.'
- Successe, 41, sb. succession : 'Successe. *Processus, us; successus.*' 1552. Huloet.
- Succinctorie, 48, sb. girdle. Lat. *succingere*, to gird
- Summer halls, bowers, and arbours for the devil's agents, in the Churchyard, 147
- Sunday sports and Sabbath-breaking, 136-140, 177, 180, 182, 183, 226, 298 ; 331-404; 78*-81* : see Sabbath
- Sundays profaned by games and plays, 137-140, 297-301
- Superiall, supernall, 126
- Supportasse, 52/11, sb. wire-frame to support folk's ruffs : see wood-cuts, and Rebato
- Surcease, vii, 114, vb. leave off,
- cease. Not connected with to "cease," but from "sursis," which is from *surseoir*, Lat. *supersedere*. It is a legal term meaning the arrest or stoppage of a suit, or superseding a jurisdiction. Cf. *Macbeth*, I. vii. 4, and *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. i. 97
- Surphling of women's breasts, 257; faces, 271 ; washing them with cosmetics (Nares), ? painting or enamelling
- Surprised, 33/1, overtaken
- SURREY, Henry Howard, Earl of, praised by G. Harvey, 43*
- Suite, 48, sb. suit : see Sluttered
- Swearing, great in England,† 129, 136 (this chapter not in 1st ed.), 294
- Swearing, when lawful, 131; punishment of, 134, 136, 296
- Sweeted, 79 margin, scented
- Swilbowles, 86/32, sb. drunkards
- Swill, 104, 173, v. drink in excess
- Swords, extravagant fashions in, 62, 252
- Tables, 173, sb. pl. backgammon, 37*. 'Table-playing. *Alea.*' 'Tables to playe wyth dice and men. *tabula*' 1552. Huloet
- Tabling, 174, playing at tables, back-gammon
- Tabretters, 172, players on the tabret (157/6), small tabour
- Tagge and ragge, 43, phr. of the lowest class, 238
- Tailor, a woman's, 247, 260
- Tapers, big, lit on Candlemas Day, 328
- Tarantara, Christ's, 24, sb. a word used to represent the blast of the trumpet
- TARLTON, Dick, the clown, and his big slops or breeches, 246, 247. (He is Spenser's comedian 'pleasant Willy,' in *Teares of the*

† " If anie person shall be convicted to be a blasphemor or comon sweareyn, and after one admonition openlie, shall not reforme himselfe, he shal bee sett in the stocks the space of three days and three nights, havyng only durieng that tyme allowed unto him breade and water."—Punishments appointed by the Justices of the Peace at Bury, Suffolk, Febr. 1578-9, from the Cecil Papers in vol. 27 of the Lansdowne Collection, Brit. Mus., quoted in the *Monthly Mag.*, 1813, Aug. 1, vol. 36, p. 43.

- Muses, 1590, according to the nearly contemporary entry in Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's folio, Spenser)
- Tartarian, and mercilesse Turck, 126
- Tea-gowns in 1878, 93*
- Tear, 118, *vb.* bluster, protest
- Tennis, 173, 316: 'Tennyse game, or playing at tennyse. *Speromachia.*' 1552. Huloet
- Ten-pins, a game, 316
- Than, *adv.* then
- Theare, iii, there
- Theatre, The, James Burbage's, 143, 299, 300
- Theatres, a meeting-place for men and women, 144, 304; and actors, 140-150, 301; not wanted open on Sundays now, 47*
- Thend, 138, the end, the purpose
- Theopompus and Moses, 141, 300
- Thetherward, 85, *adv.* thither
- Thrapple, 153/10, *vb.* labour hard
- Tick-tack, 269, copulation; a game, 316†
- Ticktack tauerner, 78*/21, keeper of a tavern and brothel
- Tigerlike saying of Creditors about their Debtors, 127: *see* Dice
- Tight-lacing, evils of, 262, 263, 77*
- Time wasted by women, 87, 274, 276
- Titiuillers, 122, *sb. pl.* flattering fellows
- Title-tattle, the evils of it, 93*
- To the purpose, 180, for the purpose
- Tobacco, 78*
- Too too, 75, *adv.* exceedingly, over: *see* Telltroth, 37/8, 82/16, &c.
- Tokens of the coming Day of Doom, 188
- Tongues, flattering, blearing men's eyes, 92*
- Tortoise, 36, *adj.* deceitful
- Tossing a guy in a blanket, 330
- Toty (fuddled) with drink, 284
- Tract path, 41*/24 (T. Nashe)
- Tradesmen's wives used as lures, 87, 276
- Tradeswomen, how to get presents from, 279
- Transnatureth, 54, *pr. s.* changes (their) natures
- Travelling players, evils of, 301
- TRAVERS, Walter, alluded to by T. Nashe, 37*
- True-looues knottes, 74, *sb. pl.* bows of ribbons
- Trumperies, 180. 'Trumpery or old baggage. *Vide* in baggage' (above). 1552. Huloet
- Trunk hose, 56, 246; sleeves of wire, 261
- Tung, 48, *sb.* tongue, voice
- Turd carrid on a cushion, 330
- TUSSER, praisd by G. Harvey, 42*
- Tutche, 84, *vb.* touch, reach
- Tutched, vi, *pp.* touched
- Twelfth-Day, customs on, 326
- TWELL, John, of Donnington, 58*
- Twist, 76, *sb.* twig, bough. "A twist: frons." *Catholicon Angl.*
- Twopennie Catichismes, 40*
- Tyborne, 233, gallows
- Vgglesome, 72/13; 188, 205, *adj.* hideous
- Vnbowable, *a.* 76, unbendable
- Unchastity, temptations to, 84*, 76*: *see* Dancing, Music, Stage-Plays
- Vnconcluded, 176
- Vnderpropped, 52, *pp.* supported, propt up
- Vnlest, 43, *conj.* unless
- Vnreasonable, 92/27 *adj.* unreasoning, incapable of reasoning, not endowd with reason
- Upsy-freeze, the German's, 286
- Vre, 118, *sb.* use
- Usury, and the treatment of the poor, 288, 292
- Usury in England, 119, 122; punishment of, 120; unlawful, 124
- Vagaries, 49/21, circumlocutions and generalities
- Vaile, 51, *sb.* veil
- Velvers, viii/18, 231, a kind of woollen velvet

† 'In this lande I did see an ape plaie at *ticke-tacke*, and after at Irishe [see Irish above] on the tables with one of that lande.'—1573. Bullein's *Dialogue*, in Wheatley's *Dict. of Reduplicated Words*: 'Ding-Dong Dictionary,' the 2nd ed. is to be call'd.

- Velvet, viii, xii, 32; its derivation, &c., 231; visors made of, for women to ride in, 80, 272
- Vendicate, 26, 185, challenge, claim
- Venereous, 74/4; lecherous
- Veins painted on women's skins, 255
- Velvet scabbards for rapiers, 252
- Vent, 129, *sb.* a market, disposal
- Venter-poynt, a game, 316
- Venus and Adonis* (Shakspere's) carrid in girls' bosoms, 269; the modern play or burlesque of, 47*, note
- Verses in commendation of the author, xiv
- Vertiginie, 62/3, *sb.* giddiness, unsteadiness, weathercock nature
- Vintners' God, St. Urban: his festival, 338-9
- Vice, in Plays, 146
- Victimates, iv, l. 6 from foot; 168, victims
- Virtue, the reuerence due to, 41; maketh gentilitie, 42, 236-7; is the comeliest ornamet, 46; is not hereditary (Chaucer), 327
- Visors, 80, 272, *sb.* *pl.* masks
- Vizard, 130, 271, *sb.* mask
- Waists, women's tight-laced, 256, 77*, n.
- Wakes and feasts, the abuses of, 152-3, 309-313
- Wakeesses, 137; Wakesses, 152, *sb.* *pl.* wakes, feasts: 'Wakedayes. *Esuriæles ferie.*' 1552. R. Huloet
- Wanion, 183, *sb.* in a wanion = a curse on it
- Wanton Looks and Books, † 84*; 144, see Bawdy
- WARNER, WATSON, WHETSTONE, poets praisd by G. Harvey, 42* foot, 43*
- Weale publique, 34, *sb.* commonwealth
- Welts, 73, *sb.* *pl.* hems on borders of fur
- Whalebone bents to bear out women's bums, 254; bodies, and backs of lath, 261, 262; stays, 77*
- Wheel, blazing, run down a mountain on John the Baptist's Day, 339
- WHETSONE, G., on Dicing-houses, 317
- Whipt, 52, *pp.* wound round, covered
- WHITE, Rowland, on Q. Elizabeth's procession to Blackfriars, June 16, 1600, 71*
- Whitsun-ales or Church-ales, 150, 306
- Whitsunday, white pigeons flown on, 337
- 'Who' (relative) left out, 147, "I haue knownen diuers [who] haue in short time become decrepit and lame :" frequent, earlier
- Whoredom and Brothels in England, 88, 90, 280; God's curse on, 91; punishments for, 94, 281, 282; unpunished in England, 101; the cause of beggary, 97; whores kept in taverns, 78*
- Whylest, 76, *adv.* whilst
- Widows and fatherless oppresst, 92*
- Wife, a young, describd, 270-1
- Wine turned to water on Christmas-Day, 324; hallowd on St. John's Day (Dec. 27), and sold, 325
- Wings on a man's dress, 241, 246; on a woman's, 260
- Winking and glancing of wanton eyes at plays, 144
- Winter and Summer, guys of, made to fight, 332
- Witches kept off by frankincense smoke, 326
- Wives' treatment of husbands,

+ 'Wantowrdes. *Bellatula*: as iolye, pretye, fayremayne, minyon, swete herte, pyggesnye, &c. 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*. See 'Dearlynge,' p. 356, col. i.

† "It happled that a yong priest very deuoutly in a procession bare a candel before the crosse for lying with a wenche, and bare it light all the longe way. Wherin people tooke suche spiritual pleasure and inwardre solace, that they laughed a pace. And one mery merchant sayd vnto the priestes that folowed him: *sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus*: Thus let your light shine afore the people. Forsooth, quod we take suche a wretched pleasure in the hearing of their sin, and in the sight of their shame."—Sir T. More's Works, p. 26, ed. 1557.—R. Roberts.

- 275†; they live by whoredom, 101, 283
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† Cp. Huloet's explanation of the word *Honeymoon*,—because its sweetness is sure to change, like the moon does:—"Hony mone, a terme prouerbiall applied to such as be newe maried, which wyll not fall out at the fyrske, but thone loueth the other at the beginnyng exedyngly: the likelyhode of they rexeadyng loue appearing to aswage, the whiche time the vulgar people col the hony mone. *Aphrodisia, feriae, hymena.*" 1552. *Abcedarium Anglo-latinum pro Tyrunculis.*

‡ "I was alone among a Coach full of women, and those of the Electors Dutchesse Chamber forsooth, which you would haue said to haue been of the blacke guard. It was a Comedy for me to heare their discourse; now declaiming against Caluenists, now brawling together, now mutually with teares bewailing their hard fortunes: and they fel into all these changes, while the wind blew from one and the same quarter. *Is anything lighter than a woman?*" 1617. Fynes Moryson. *Itinerary*, p. 13.

PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND
IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,
A.D. 1583.

PART II.
The Display of Corruptions.

PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND
IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,
A.D. 1583.

PART II.

The Display of Corruptions Requiring Reformation.

EDITED BY
FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

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TO

MY FRIEND AND HELPER

Teena (Mary Lilian) Rochfort-Smith.

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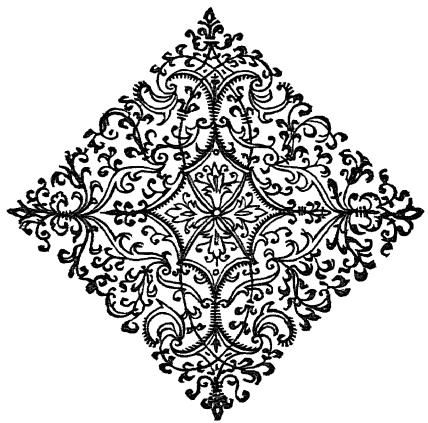
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This Second Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie* is partially described, after the First Part, in Sir E. S. Brydges's *Restituta*, i. 530-5, and quotations are given from the opening, the description of Q. Elizabeth (p. 7 below), the Ruff, Starching House and Poking-Stick bits (p. 35-6), and the scene in the Barber's Shop (p. 50-1). On p. 527 Haslewood says "that a limited impression of the whole work would materially assist the spirit of modern researches." A note on p. 530 states that "Copies of this edition [Part II] are attached to the third edition [1585] of the first part."

There is a copy of Stubbes's *Motine to good Workes*, 1593 (see Forewords to *Anatomie*, Part I, p. 67*), in Emmanuel College, Cambridge.—W. C. Hazlitt. *Bibliog. Collections and Notes*, 2nd Series, 1882. I hope we may be able to print it some day in our *Shakspeare's England Series*.

Anthony Stapley, of Framfield, Sussex, grandfather of "Anne Stapley, 9 years olde, a° 1634," had for his 4th wife a "widow of Mr. Stubbes, but no issue." Harl. MS. 6164 (Visitation of Sussex, 1634), lf. 22, bk.



☞ The Committee of the *New Shakspere Society* give express notice
that the Editor of any of the Society's Books is alone responsible
for the opinions exprest in it.

FORE TALK.

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| <p>§ 1. <i>Stubbes still earnest, and finding fault only with real Evils</i>, p. xit</p> <p>§ 2. <i>Proofs of the Abuses he complains of in Education and Trade, from Elizabeth's and James I's Statutes, &c.,— Colleges and Benefices</i>, 1588-9, p. xiii†
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|---|---|

§ 1. IN the Forewords to my edition of the First Part of Stubbes's *Anatomicie* for the New Shakspere Society in 1877-9, I said that I meant to reprint this Second Part, and I gave a list of the subjects treated in the first Division of it, that describing the Corruptions of the Temporality. Of Stubbes's dealing with the Spirituality, I gave only a mention at the foot of p. 35. Now pages viii-ix of the Contents above sufficiently sketch it.

Readers must not, as I warnd them before, expect to find in this Part II as much amuzement and interest as they found in Part I¹. The only lively bit in the book is the scene in the Barber's shop, p. 50-1 below, the humour of which I commend to those who look on Stubbes as “a mere bitter narrow-sould Puritan.” But the Men and Women who are in ernest themselvs now, will find Stubbes in like ernest in this Second Part, as in his First, dealing with real abuses in the Life of his time, demanding that Justice be dealt to the Poor as

¹ The pages against Ruffs, those Cartwheels of the Devil, is as fierce as anything in Part I. See too the beastly Ruffians who wear long hair, p. 35-6, p. 50.

xii† § i. *Stubbes's Fault-finding, & liberal Church-views.*

fairly as to the Rich ; that endowments be kept for the Poor who deserve them, and not jobd in favour of the monied folk who abuse them ; that Tradesmen shall deal honestly with their Customers,—Drapers and Clothiers not cheating, Butchers not selling diseazd meat ;—that rich men's Pleasures and Profit shall not, by Parks and Sheep, eat up poor men's Homes and Lives ; that Landlords shall not rack their Tenants to their ruin ; that strong and able Beggars shall be made to work, or be hung, while an Almshouse shall be set in every Parish for the sick and aged Poor ; that Doctors shall tend the Poor as well as the Rich, and that a Parish-Doctor shall be provided for the Poor ; that the evils of Forestalling shall be checkt, Astrologers punisht,¹ and that in every act of dealing, Right shall be done through the land.

As to the Spiritualty and Church matters, the view that Stubbes was a mere narrow Puritan utterly breaks down. He comes out as a preacher of implicit obedience to the Sovereign even when he orders what is wrong (p. 17-18) ; he accepts Bishops, ‘My Lord Bishop’ too (p. 104-5), Surplices, Forkt Caps, and other externals which the Puritans held as signs of the Whore of Rome (p. 109—112) ; and his advice about all the trifles of garments about which men then, and since have, made such a needless fuss, is (p. 116) :

“And seeing we do all agree togither, and iump in one truth
“having al one God our father, one Lord Jesus Christ our Sauiour,
“one holy Spirit of adoption, one price of redemption, one faith,
“one hope, one baptisme, and one and the same inheritance in the
“kingdome of heauen, Let vs therefore agree togither in these ex-
“ternall shadowes, ceremonies and rites. For is it not a shame to
“agree about the marrow, and to striue about the bone? to contend
“about the karnell, and to vary about the shell? to agree in the
“truth, and to brabble for the shadow?”

This is surely as much a proof of his good sense, as are his demands that every Congregation shall have the Patronage of its own living (p. 79), and nominate its own Pastor—presenting two

¹ The 5 Eliz. ch. 15, A.D. 1562-3. “An Act agaynst fonde and phantastical Prophecyes” only applies to folk who put them forth “to thintent therby to make anye Rebellion, Insurrection, Dissention, losse of Lief or other Disturbance within this Realme and other the Quenes Dominions.”

or three to the Bishop that he may pick the best (pp. 90-2, 100), that the abuses of private Patronage shall be stopt (p. 80-2), Pluralism (p. 75-6) and Simony abolisht, and that every Church shall have power to alter its form of external government from time to time (p. 101).

On the whole then, I claim that this Part II of the *Anatomie* more than bears out the favourable opinion of Phillip Stubbes that I uttered in my Forewords to Part I.

§ 2. In proof that Stubbes was not inventing the Abuses of which he complaind, I've thought it right to make some extracts from the Statutes and a Proclamation of Queen Elizabeth, and the Statutes of James I, 1. on the corrupt Presentations to Scholarships and Benefices; 2. on the tricks of Clothiers; 3. the bad work of Tanners and Shoemakers; 4. the thefts and evils (which we still know so well) arising from the wrongly-named 'Brokers'—our Pawnbrokers and Marine-Store Dealers;—and 5. from the practice of Regrating. As of old, I quote mainly the words of the Statutes. Any one who finds em too long and tedious, will skip em.

(I.) A.D. 1588-9, 31 Eliz. chap. VI. "An acte against Abuses in Election of Scollers and presentacions to Benefices."

"Whereas by the intent of the Founders of Colledges, Churches Collegiat, Churches Cathedrall, Scoles, Hospitals, Halles, and other like Societies within this Realme, and by the Statutes and good Orders of the same, the Eleccions, presentacions and Nominacions of Fellowes, Schollers, Officers and other Persons to have roome or place in the same, are to be had and made of the fittest and most meeete persons beinge capable of the same Eleccions, presentacions, and Nomiracions, frelye without anye Rewarde, Guyste, or thinge given or taken for the same; And for true perffaunce whereof, some Electors, Presentors and Nomyinators in the same, have or should take a Corporall Oathe to make their Eleccions, Presentacions and Nominacions accordinglye; Yet notwithstandinge it is sene and found by experiance that the saide Eleccions, Presentacions and Nominacions be many tymes wrought and brought to passe with Monye, Guyfes and Rewardes, whereby the fytest persons to be presented, elected or nominated, wanting Money or Friendes, are sildome or not at all preferred, contrarie to the good meaninge of the saide Founders, and the saide good Statutes and Ordynaunces of the saide Colledges, Churches, Scholes, Halles, Hospitalls and Socyeties, and to the great prejudice of

Learning and the Common Wealthe and Estate of the Realme: For Remedye whereof, Be it enacted"—that all Elections effected by Bribery of any kind shall be void, and that the Queen or other Presenter shall appoint fresh persons to the void Offices. § 2 enacts that any one bribing to procure the resignation of a Fellowship or Office, shall lose the place, and that the Resigner accepting the bribe shall forfeit double its value.

§ 4 declares Simoniacial Presentations to Benefices, Dignities, &c. void; and that the Presentations shall devolve to the Crown, both Briber and Bribee paying a fine of double the amount of the Bribe.

§ 5 fines any one corruptly instituting a man to a Benefice, double the yearly value of it; declares the Institution void, and empowers the Patron to present some one else.

(II.) As to Cloth, the 35 Eliz. c. 10, A.D. 1592-3, recites the Queen's Proclamation of the year before "for the Reformacion of thinsufficiencies growen in the Clothes called Devonshire Kersies or Dozens,"—cloths "of late marvailouslie discredited by the Invençions and newe Devises of the Weavers, Tuckers, and Artificers"—and "forbiddinge all other Deceiptes in Weaving, and all dymynishinge and unreasonable drawinge, stretchinge, and other Deceiptes in Tuckers," and then enacts that the Cloths shall be properly made, of good wool, and "without rackinge, stretching, streyning, or other Devise to increase the Lengh therof."

In 1597-8 "An Act aginst the deceitfull stretching and tainterung of Northerne Cloth," 39 Eliz. c. 20, is passt, because "the said Northern Clothes and Karsies doe yeerely and daylie growe worse and worse, and are made more light and muche more stretched and strayed . . . which great Enormities your faythfull Subjectes doe chieflye impute to the great nomber of Tenters and other Engins daylie used and practized in the said Counties for the stretchinge and strayninge of the said Clothes and Karsies." So the Act forbids this stretching, and puts a penalty of £20 on any one who "shall have use or occupie any Tenter, of what sorte or kynde soever, or any manner of Wrinche, Rope, or other Engins to stretch or strayne any Clothes, Kersies, Dozens, Penystones, Rugges, Frises, Cottons, Kighley Whites, Plaine Grayes, or any other Clothes" made within the said Counties. (By the next-quoted Statute this Act is extended to all English Cloths.)

The abuse stretching over other Cloth Districts, and adulteration also prevailing, in 1601 "An Acte for the true workinge and making of Wollen Clothe" was past, saying that the former Acts "for the true makinge and workinge of Wollen Clothe" had been

"frustrated and deluded by strayninge, stretchinge, wante of weighte, Flocks, Sollace, Chalke, Flower, deceitfull things, subtil sleightes and untruethes,¹ soe as the same Clothes beinge put in Water are founde to shrincke rewhey, pursey, squallie, cocklinge, baudy, lighte, and notable faultie, to the great dislike of forraine Princes, and to the hynderance and losse of the buyer and wearer."

It is therefore enacted that

"no persone or persons shall put any Haire, Flocks, Thrummes or Yarne made of Lambes Wooll, or other deceivable thinge or things into or upon any broade Woollen Clothe, Half Clothe, Kersey, Frize, Dozen, Pennystone, or Cotton, Taunton Clothe, Bridgewater, Dunston Cotton . . . or other Clothe . . . upon paine to forfeit every suche Cloth. . . And that no persone . . . shall . . . have use or occupye . . . any Tenter, Instrumente, Engine, or other Device . . . with any lower Barre, Pynne, Ringe, or other Engine or Device . . . wherebie . . . any rough and unwroughte Woollen Broad Clothe, Halfe Clothe, Kersey, Cotton, Dozen, Pennystone, Frize, Rugge . . . shall or may be stretched or strayned in breadthe," under a penalty of £20.

(III.) The Statute i James I. chapter 22 (A.D. 1603-4), not only confirms Stubbes's complaints about Leather-sellers, but also names another fault of theirs:—

§ x. "Much dammage hath redounded to the Common Wealth by reason that divers Tanners for their private lucre have used to convert to Sole Leather suche Hides as are altogether insufficient for that use, which Hides they doe raise in the workmanshipe by divers Mixtures, therbie making the same to seeme verie stronge and substantiall Leather, whereas the same doeth in the wearinge proove hollowe, deceitfull, and altogether unprofitable for the Common wealth,"—and enacts that all such raizd and converted Hides shall be forfeited.

¹ Compare in A.D. 1592-3, the 35 Eliz. ch. 8. "An Acte agaistne deceitfull making of Cordage": the makers of 'Cables, Halsers and other kinde of Cordage' made em of 'oulde, caste, and overworne' stuff, tard em, and sold em as new, whereby not only Ships of the Queen and her Subjects "but also the Lyves of diverse of her saide Subjectes have bene loste, perished and caste awaye."

xvi† § 3. *Stubbes's complaints against Tanners.*

About the not-enuf tand Leather with which Stubbes finds fault on p. 36, the Statute says (1 Jac. 1, c. 22,¹ A.D. 1603-4 Record Statutes, vol. iv. Pt. 2, p. 1041):

§ xii. "... if any person or persons usinge, or which shall use, the Misterie or Facultie of Tanninge, shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter offer or put to sale any kinde of Leather which shalbe insufficientlie or not throughlie tanned, or which shall not then have beeene, after the tanninge thereof, well and thorowlie dried, so that the same by the Triers of Leather lawfullie appointed accordinge to this present Acte for the tyme beinge shalbe founde to be insufficientlie or not throughlie tanned, or not throughlie dried, as aforesaide, that then all and everie suche person and persons so offendinge shall forfeite and loose so much of his or theire said Leather as shalbe soe founde insufficientlie and not throughlie tanned, or not throughlie dried as aforesaide . . ."

Then, as to what Stubbes says of the Tanners taking "vp their hides before they bee halfe tanned," the Statute goes on in § xiii:

"And whereas divers Tanners, for greedines of gaine, doe overmuch hasten the tanning of their Leather, and for that purpose doe use divers craftie and subtile Practises, sometimes layinge theire Leather in theire Fattes set in theire old Tanhils, where it may be tanned in the hott Woozes, takinge unkinde heate in the same Hill, and sometimes by putting of hot Woozes into their Tanne Fats where the same Hides or Leather lie, by which and other like Fraudulent Practises they make theire Leather to seeme bothe faire and well, and sufficientlie tanned within a very short space.² For Reformation whereof, be it enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, That after the saide Feaste of St. Bartholomew next comminge, no person or persons shall sett their Fattes in Tanhils or other Places where the Woozes or Leather that shall be put to tanne in the same, shall or may take any unkinde heates, or shall put any Leather into any hottie or warme Woozes, or shall tanne any Hide, Calve Skinne or Sheep Skinne, with any hote or warme Woozes whatsoever, upon paine that everie person so offendinge shall forfeite for everie such Offence, Tenne Poundes; And shall also, for everie such Offence, stand upon the Pillorie three severall Market Dayes in the Market Towne next to the Place where the saide Offence shall be committed."

¹ Compare its clauses with those of 5 Eliz. ch. 8, from which some are, more or less, taken.

² The right time is enacted by § ix: "Nor shall suffer the Hides for utter Sole Leather to lye in the Woozes any lesse tyme then Twelve Moneths at the leaste, nor the Hides for upper Leathers in the like Woozes any lesse time than Nyne Monethes at the leaste . . ."

The Shoemakers, and their selling Horse hide for Ox-hide, &c. (p. 37, Stubbes), are dealt with in § XXIII. (p. 1043).

And forasmuch as Leather well tanned and curried, may, by the Negligence, Deceite, or evill Workmanshippe of the Cordwainer or Shoemaker, be used deceitfullie, to the hurte of the Occupier or Wearer thereof: Be it further enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, That no person or persons which, after the saide Feast of St. Bartholomew next comminge, shall occupie the Misterie or Occupation of a Cordwainer or Shoemaker, shall make or cause to be made any Bootes, Shoes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, or any parte of them, of Englishe Leather, wet curried (other then Deere Skinnes, Calve Skinnes, or Goate Skinnes, made or dressed, or to be made or dressed like unto Spanish Leather) but of Leather well and truelie tanned and curried, in manner and forme aforesaid, or of Leather well and truelie tanned onelie, and well and substantiallie sewed with good Thred well twisted and made, and sufficientlie waxed with waxe well rosoned, and the stiches harde drawn with Hand Leathers, as hathe bene accustomed, without mixinge or minglinge Overleathers, that is to say, parte of the Overleathers beinge of Neates Leather, and parte of Calves Leather, nor shall put into anie parte of anie Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, any Leather made of a Sheepe Skinne, Bull Hide or Horse Hide, nor into the upper Leather of any Shooes, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, or into the neither [nether] parte of any Bootes (the inner parte of the Shooe onlie excepted) any parte of any Hide from which the Sole Leather is cutte, called the Wombes, Neckes, Shancke, Flancke, Powle, or Cheeke, nor shall put into the utter Sole any other Leather then the beste of the Oxe or Steere Hide, nor into the inner Sole any other Leather than the Wombes, Necke, Poll, or Cheeke, nor in the Treswels of the double soled Shooes, other then the Flancks of any the Hides aforesaide: nor shall make or put to sale in any yeere, betwene the laste of September and the twentieth of April, any Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers or Pantofles, meete for any person to weare exceedinge the age of foure yeeres, wherein shall be any drie English Leather (other than Calve Skinnes or Goate Skinnes made or dressed, or to be made or dressed like unto Spanishe Leather, or any parte thereof); nor shall shew, to the intent to put to sale, any Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers or Pantofles upon the Sunday; upon paine of forfeiture for everie paire of Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers and Pantofles made, solde, shewed or put to sale contrary to the true meaninge of this Acte, three shillings and fourepence, and the juste and full value of the same."

(IV.) Against the evil of miscald 'Brokers'—really our Pawnbrokers and Marine-Store Dealers—buying stolen goods, and thus

xviii† § 3. *Stubbes's complaints against Brokers.*

inciting folk to pilfer, which Stubbes condemns on p. 38-40, an Act was past twenty years later:—

i James I, chap. 21 (A.D. 1603-4; p. 1038). "An Acte againste Brokers." This Act recites that "of large and ancient tyme by divers hundred yeeres . . . certaine Freemen of the Citie" of London had been appointed "to be Brokers within the saide Citie and Liberties of the same, and have taken theire Corporall Oaths before the saide Mayor and Aldermen from tyme to tyme . . . to use and demeane themselves uprightlie and faithfullie betweene Merchant Englishe and Merchant Strangers and Tradesmen, in the contrivinge, makinge, and concluding, Bargaines and Contractes to be made betweene them concerning their Wares and Merchandizes to be bought and solde and contracted for within the Citie of London, and Moneys to be taken up by Exchange betweene such Merchant and Merchantes and Tradesmen, and these kinde of persons so presented, allowed, and sworne to be Brokers as aforesaide, have had and borne the name of Brokers, and bene knownen, called, and taken for Brokers, and dealinge in Brokerage or Brokerie, who never of any ancient tyme used to buy and sell Garmentes, Houshold stuffe, or to take Pawnes and Billes of Sale of Garmentes and Apparel, and all thinges that come to hand for Money, laide out and lent upon Usurie, or to keepe open Shoppes, and to make open Shewes, and open Trade, as now of late yeeres hathe [bene] and is used by a number of Citizens assuminge unto themselves the name of Brokers and Brokerage, as though the same were an honeste and a lawfull Trade, Misterie, or Occupation, teamringe and naminge themselves Brokers, whereas in truthe they are not, abusinge the true and honeste ancient name and trade of Broker or Brokerage: And forasmuch as many Citizens Freemen of the Citie, beinge Men of Manuall Occupation, and Handicrafteſmen and others inhabiting and remayninge neere the Citie and Suburbes of the same, have lefte and given over, and daylie doe leave and give over, their handie and manuell Occupations, and have and daylie doe set up a Trade of buyinge and selling, and taking to pawn of all kinde of worne Apparel, whether it be olde or little the worse for wearinge, Houshold Stuffe and Goods of what kind soever the same be of, findinge therebie that the same is a more idle and easier kinde of Trade of livinge, and that thereriseth and groweth [p. 1039] to them a more readie, more greate, more profitable and speedier Advantage and Gaine then by theire former manuall Labours and Trades did or coulde bringe them: And Forasmuch as the said kinde of counterfeitt Brokers, and Pawnetakers upon Usurie, or otherwise for readie Money, are growne of late to many Hundreds within the Citie of London, and other places next adjoyninge to the Citie and Liberties of the same, and are like to increase to farre greater Multitudes, being Frierers, and no Brokers, nor exercisinge of any honest and

lawfull Trade, and within the memorie of many yet livinge, such kinde of persons Tradesmen were verie fewe and of small number: And forasmuch as there are not any Garmentes, Appareil, Housholde Stiffe or other Goods of any kinde, whatsoeuer the same be of, either beinge stollen or robbed from any, or badlie or unlawfullie purloyned or come by, but these kinde of upstart Brokers, under colour and pretence they be Freemen of the saide Citie of London, or inhabitinge in Westminster, where they pretende to have the like overt Market, as the Citie of London, and therebie presuminge to be lawfull for them to use and set up the same idle and needlesse Trades, being the verie meanes to uphold, maintaine, and embolden all kind of lewde and bad persons to robbe and steale, and unlawfullie to get and come by true Mens Goods, knowinge and findinge that no sooner the same Goods can be stollen or unlawfullie come by, but that they shall and may presentlie utter, vent, sell and pawne the same to such kinde of new upstart Brokers for readie Money: For Remedie whereof, and for the avoidinge of the saide Mischiefes and Inconveniences, and for repressinge and abolishinge of the sayd idle and needlesse Trades, and upstart Brokers, and for the avoidinge of Theftes, Robberies and Felonies, and bad People, and for the repressinge of such kinde of Nourishers and Ayders of Theeves and bad People, and for the defence of honest and true Mens properties and Interestes in theirre Goods: Be it enacted . . . That no Sale, Exchange, Pawne or Morgage of any Jewell, Plate, Apparell, Houshold Stiffe, or other Goods . . . that shall be wrongfullie or unjustlie purloyned, taken, robbed or stollen from any person or persons or Bodies Politicke, and which at any tyme hereafter shall be sold, uttered, delivered, exchanged, pawned, or done awaie within the Citie of London or Liberties thereof, or within the Citie of Westminster in the Countie of Middlesex, or within Southwarke in the Countie of Surrey, or within two miles of the saide Citie of London, to any Broker or Brokers, or Pawne takers, by any way or meanes whatsoever, directlie or indirectlie, shall worke or make any change or alteration of the propertie or interest, of and from any person or persons or Bodie Politicke from whome the same Jewels, Plate, Apparell, Houshold Stiffe or Goods were or shalbe wrongfullie purloined, taken, robbed or stollen: Any Lawe, Usage of Custome to the contrarie notwithstanding."

§ 2 enacts that Brokers and Pawntakers who refuse to produce Goods to the owner from whom they've been stolen, shall forfeit Double the Value of them.

§ 3, that the Act shall not affect those folk 'using and exercising the ancient Trade of Brokers betweene Merchant and Merchant.'

(V.) The evil of, and continued struggle of folk and lawmakers

xx† § 2. *Queen Elizabeth against Regraters.*

against Regratering or Ingrating,—that is, buying-up all the get-at-able Corn or other produce, and then selling it out at a large profit—are so well known that confirmation of Stubbes's complaints is hardly needed; but as the Dearth of 1594-6 has appear'd before in our *Stafford*, p. xiv, and elsewhere with regard to the suppozed date of *Midsummer Night's Dream* and otherwise, I give here short extracts from Elizabeth's Proclamation of 1596 relating to Regraters, and the duty of continuing Hospitality:—

“ BY THE QUEENE.

The Queenes Maiesties Proclamation, 1. For obseruation of former Orders against Ingrossers, & Regraters of Corne, 2. And to see the Markets furnished with Corne. 3. And also against the carying of Corne out of the Realme. 4. And a prohibition to men of hospitalitie from remoueing from their habitation in the time of dearth. 5. And finally a strait commandement to all Officers hauing charge of Forts to reside thereon personally, and no inhabitant to depart from the Sea coast.

THE Queenes Maiestie hauing had of late time consideracion of great dearth growen in sundry parts of her Realme,¹ iudging that the Rich owners of Corne would keepe their store from common Markets, thereby to increase the prices thereof, and so the multitude of her poore people hauing no graine growing of their owne, to susteine great lacke, caused speciall orders to be made and published to all parts of her Realme, in what sort the Iustices of peace in every quarter should stay all Ingrossers, Forestallers, and Regraters of Corne, and to direct all Owners and Farmers hauing Corne to furnish the Markets ratably and weekly with such quantities as vsually they had done before time, or reasonably might and ought to doe: By which orders, many other things were prescribed to be obserued for the staying of the dearth, and relieve of the people: Yet neuerthesesse, her Maiestie is informed, that in some parts of her Realme the dearth doth not diminish, but rather increase for lacke of due execution of the sayd orders, and specially by the couetousnes of the Owners, forbearing to furnish the Markets, as reasonably they might do, and by secretly selling

¹ On July 31, 1596, in consequence of the scarcity of Corn, the Queen issued her Proclamation from Greenwich, forbidding Starch to be made of home-grown Corn, or even from Bran by the holders of the Patent for the manufacture of it from Bran.

In 1598 (May A.D. 40) she granted the sole right to import Starch to John Packington for 8 years.

out of their houses to a kinde of people that commonly are called Badgers, at prices vnreasonable, who like wise do sell and regrate the same out of the Markets at very high and excessive prices. For remedy whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all officers to whom the obseruation of the sayd orders hath bene directed, presently as they haue any naturall care of their Christian brethren & Countreymen, being in need, to cause all and euery part of the sayd orders from point to point to be executed, and the offenders against the same to be seuerely punished, to the terrorre of others . . .

Finally her Maiestie is particularly informed of some intentions of sundry persons, of abilitie to keepe hospitalitie in their Countreys, to leauie their said hospitalitie, and to come to the Cite of London, and other Cities and townes corporate, thereby leauing the relieve of theire poore neighbours, as well for foode, as for good rule, and with couetous minds to liue in London, and about the Citie priuately, and so also in other Townes corporate, without charge of company ; for notwithstanding whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all maner of persons, that shall haue any such intention during this time of dearth, not to breake up their housshoulds, nor to come to the said Cite, or other towns corporate : and all others that haue of late time broken vp their housshoulds, to returne to their houses againe without delay. And whilst her Maiestie had thus determined, for relief of her people, to stay all good householders in their Countreys, there is charitable sort to helpe hospitalitie, her Maiestie hath had an instant occasion giuen her to extend her commandement euen for the necessary defence of her Realme . . .

The obseruation of all which, her Maiesties commandement, is to be performed vpon paine of her Maiesties heauie indignation.

Giuen at her Maiesties Mannour of Richmond the second day of Nouember 1596, in the eight and thirtieth yeere of her Maiesties regne.

God save the Queene."

§ 3. On the subject of the Relief of the Poor, and Stubbes's reasonable demands on it, I refer the reader to Sir George Nicholls's *History of the English Poor Law* (1854), i. 161—239. Among these reasonable demands I shoud not now include hanging a man who *can* work and won't; but before Stubbes's time, in 1547, the 1st of Edward VI, chapter 3, enacted that every idle person who ran away from work set him shoud be branded with the letter V, and be adjudgd a slave for 2 years to any person who should demand him ; then, if he ran away again, he should be branded in the cheek with the letter S, and adjudgd a

xxii† § 3. *Stubbes's changes in the Poor-Laws.*

slave for life; and lastly, if he ran away a third time, he was to suffer death as a felon. This act was repealed in 1549-50, by the 3 and 4 Edw. VI, ch. 16; but in 1572-3, measures almost as harsh were re-enacted: beggars and vagabonds were to be grievously whipt, and burnt thro the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about, unless any honest person would take them into service for a year. If he would, and the beggar ran away, then he was to be whipt, and burnt thro the ear; for a second offence to be treated as a felon, unless some honest person would take him into his service for 2 years, and he continued in it; while for a third offence he was adjudged to suffer death, and loss of land and goods as a felon, without allowance of benefit of clergy or sanctuary. Stubbes was then, in 1583, only asking that the actual law shoud be allowd to take its course, when he wisht that sturdy Beggars who wouldn't work, shoud be hangd.

The same Act of 1572-3 ordered 'abiding places' to be provided for the aged and infirm poor, appointed Overseers to raise and apply taxes for their benefit, and sanctioned a rate on richer neighbours in aid of poor parishes who couldn't support their own poor. This legislation was developt by 18 Eliz. ch. 3, A.D. 1575-6, which enacted that a competent stock of wool, hemp, flax, iron, or other stuff should be got, by taxation, to set the poor on work, and if they wouldn't work, they were to be sent to 'houses of correction' and made to work.

After Stubbes wrote in 1583, came the 39 Eliz. chaps. 3 and 4, in 1597-8; 3 for the Relief of the Poor, and 4 for the Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars. Chap. 3 makes the appointment of Overseers in every parish compulsory, empowers them to tax inhabitants—and to levy a rate in aid on richer parishes—in orderto get material to support the idle poor at work, and provide for the sick and aged, and the care and apprenticing of children. This Act establishes the mutual responsibility of parents and children to maintain one another.

It also, by § 5 (vol. iv, Pt. 2, Record Com. Statutes, p. 897), empowers the Churchwardens and Overseers 'to erect, buylde, and sett upp in fit and convenient Places of Habitacion . . . at the

general Chardges of the Parishe . . . conveynent Howses of Dwellinge for the sayde ympotent Poore ; and also to place Inmates or more Famylies than one in one Cottage or Howse.'

Chap. 4 provides for the whipping of sturdy Beggars who won't work, and their committal to gaol, their banishment beyond seas, or their death, in case they won't give up their roguish kind of life.

'We are now arrived,' says Sir Geo. Nichols, i. 192, 'at the important period when by *The 43rd Elizabeth, cap. 2* (A.D. 1601), the principle of a compulsory assessment for relief of the poor was fully and finally established as an essential portion of our domestic policy.' This Act, 'the great turning-point of our Poor-Law Legislation, is still the foundation and text-book of English Poor Law' (i. 194). It carries out more effectually, and extends, the provisions of the prior Acts, and again sanctions the Rate in Aid. In 1610 the 7th of James I, chapter 4, provides for the building of Houses of Correction in every county; but not till 1624 does the 21 James I—'An Act for the erecting of Hospitals and Working-houses for the Poor'—carry out what I take to be Stubbes's demand for an Almshouse in every parish; while not till 1834 does the Poor Law Amendment Act provide for the Poor the proper Medical Relief which Stubbes called for in 1583.

As to Education, Harrison (see my Part I. p. 77), Latimer before him (*Sermons*, Parker Soc. edn. i. 186, 290, 291, 349), and many others, but uttered the same complaints about the jobbing of Scholarships, Fellowships, &c. that Stubbes makes, page 19; and not yet has the jobbing of the nominations of Bluecoat Boys to Christ's Hospital been done away with.

The hardship to the poor of wholesale enclosure of Commons—another complaint of Stubbes's—has been long admitted, and is now partially stopt by the Law. That Stubbes was right in calling for proper examination and licensing of Doctors, the keeping out of tag, rag, and quacks (p. 53), no one will deny. And that he took a reasonable and moderate view of the religious topics disputed in his day, I think every one will admit. His Part II, then, supports the character that I drew of him from his Part I.

xxiv† § 4. *Stubbes's possible 2nd Marriage, and Bond.*

§ 4. Of Phillip Stubbes himself I have some fresh tidings ; of his family, none.

1. He may have married again in 1593, when he wrote his *Motive to good Workes*. I have a melancholy interest in printing the late Col. Chester's letter to me on the point :—

124, Southwark Park Road, London, S.E.
18 Nov. '79.

“MY DEAR MR. FURNIVALL,

Did I ever send you the following Marriage from the Registers of St. Olave, Southwark?

1593, April 3, Philip Stubbes and Elenor Powell—by License.

It has this moment met my eye in one of my volumes that has recently been indexed.

It would have been only 3 years after the death of your Author's wife Katharine Emmes.¹

Or, were there ‘two Richmonds in the field’?

A search for the License would, I fear, be hopeless, as those for that date issued from the Faculty and Vicar General's Offices are not in existence, and one from the Bp. of London would not have availed in Southwark.

Sincerely yours

JOS. L. CHESTER.

“The Powell Wills of the period might reveal the Connection.

The marrying by license, at that period, indicates that they were certainly not of the lower orders.”

2. Our Phillip Stubbes may be the man of that name at Benefield in Northampton, who in July 1586 executed a Bond of which Mr. Henry Stubbes of Danby, Ballyshannon, got hold in 1879. He writes on 13 Nov. 1879 :—

¹ Katharine Stubbes is alluded to in George Powell's ‘*Very Good Wife*, a Comedy. London. S. Briscoe, 1693,’ p. 21, Act III. sc. i.

“Well. Death, fight now, or you'll die infamous, was your Mother a Whore?

Squeez. Comparatively she might be in respect of some Holy Women, as the late Lady Ramsey, Mrs. Katherine Stubbs, and such, ha, ha, is that a Cause !”

'I have now very little doubt that I have in my possession the Autograph of the Author of the "Anatomie," and it may besides furnish a clue to his family, and perhaps bring to light some particulars of his life hitherto unknown. The following is the reason of my forming this opinion: The Bond relates to a "messuage or tenement" in Congleton, Cheshire, which Phil. S. is granting to Will. S. to hold for ever, and the former binds himself to leave the latter in undisturbed possession. The Bond itself is in Latin, the Conditions in English—Now, coupling this with what the Author of the "Anatomie" says of knowing a man "for a dozen or sixteene yeares togither" in Congleton (Part I. p. 136), whose death he relates as a warning to swearers, makes, I think, a very good case to show that they were one and the same person; and the house referred to in the Bond was in all probability where the Puritan spent a good many yeares of his life. He is described in the Bond as "Philippus Stubbes de Benefield al[ias] Beningfeilde in Com. Northt. generosus," and the other as "Willelmus Stubbes de Ratcliffe in Com. Midd. generosus"—

'I conjecture Phil. in the course of his rambles had settled for a time at Benefield, as he did afterwards at Burton-on-Trent. It is not stated whether Willm. was any relative, but it seems probable he was; perhaps brother. I enclose two extracts from the Chancery Proceedings relating to Willm., but I am not certain that the second extract refers to the same person. These I got the other day. I have made no searches at Congleton, Chester, or Benefield.'

'CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

1 Nov. 1584. Bill filed by Robt. Wright, Citizen and Goldsmith of Lond. against William Stubbs of Ratcliff, Co. Middx., Gent.

23 Nov. 1598. Bill filed by William Stubbes of Radcliff, Co. Middx., Ropemaker (who about 4 years now last past inhabited and dwelt at Boston, Co. Linc., being unmarried and having a great family household by reason of his trade) against Thomas Strangrushe of the same town, Fuller.'

As to Phillip Stubbes's family, Prof. Stubbs felt sure that Phillip

xxvii § 4. *Stubbes folk and Wills in Cheshire.*

came from Congleton, and that a gentle family of the name was still in that neighbourhood. So I wrote there, and found that no Stubbes was known but a sweep. Still, Mr. J. P. Earwaker says in his *East Cheshire*, ii. 362: "In 1654 I find it stated in a MS. at Capesthorne that "Nell, Nan, and Bess Stubbs, being mother and two daughters, were hanged [at Chester] for bewitching to death Mrs. Furnivall, wyfe to Mr. Anth. [a mistake for Ralph] Furnivall, daughter to Mr. J. Fellowes." Prof. Stubbs sent me this bit, and he finds that in 1595, William Stubbs of Congleton, gentleman, presented to the living of Gauseworth. The Congleton Records are, he says, full of Stubbeses; he has traced three generations of Congleton Jurors in the Town book—Ralph or Reynold, from 1540 onwards; John from 1565 or so; and then another Ralph at the beginning of James I's reign. He also found a Randall Stubbes in the first year of Elizabeth, who would do for our Phillip's father. He thinks the Astbury registers will most likely settle the matter. There is an account of some Stubbeses, he says, among the Rawlinson MSS. I paid for a search of the Chester Indexes, with the following result:

Chester Registry. List of Wills proved and Admons granted in the names of Stubbs and Stubbes from the earliest date of the Indexes, 1540 to 1630 both inclusive

- 1586 Will of Geoffrey Stubbs of Ludlow
- 1591 Will of Willam Stubbs of Gawsorth, County of Chester
- 1595 Admon of Lawrence Stubbs of North Rode, Co. of Chester
- 1597 Will of Hugh Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1603 Admon of Thomas Stubbs of Allostock in the County of Chester
- 1617 Will of George Stubbs of Lower Tabley, County of Chester
- 1617 Admon of John Stubbs of Heaton, County of Chester
- 1621 Will of Nicholas Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1622 Will of Thomas Stubbs of Hulse
- 1622 Will of Thomas Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1623 Will of George Stubbs of Knutsford, County of Chester
- 1624 Will of John Stubbs of Merton
- 1630 Will of Ann Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester

None of these look likely.

Mr. Walter Rye felt sure that he'd find some traces of Phillip Stubbes at Donnington in Lincolnshire (where there's a town of that name as well as in Leicestershire): see Forewords to Part I. p. 59*),—but diligent search shoud none, tho' the Will of a Richard Stubbes of Donnington in 1622 is in the Lincoln Consistory Court.

It is clear that our Phillip was not the son of Ralph Stubbes of St. Mary le Wigford in the City of Lincoln, whose will is dated 4 April 1558, prov'd 29 July 1559, and of whose estate a *de bonis non* grant was issued on Jan. 29, 1562-3. Ralph's will was registered twice over, being in 36 Chaynay and 5 Chare (Somerset House). It mentions his children John, Henry, Justinian, and Elizabeth Stubbes, &c. &c., of whom Justinian may well be the M.A. of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, mentiond by Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, in the note on p. 53* of my Forewords to Part I. In the Chancery Proceedings temp. Eliz., S. s. 25, no. 31, Ralph Stubbes's executors claim £11 6s. 8d. of one Edmund, and in S. s. 23, £4 17s. 11½d. of Thos. Burton's executor.

The Essex Stubbeses yield no result either. There was a Philip Stubbes of Little Clacton, Essex, Will dated 19 June 1551, to whose estate the first Letters of Administration were granted on Sept. 25, 1555, and the second Letters on Oct. 31, 1561. He had an only son John, and a daughter Margaret. This John Stubbs of Cocks, Little Clacton, Essex, and Cotton Hall, Suffolk, made his will dated in 1587, but his son Phillip was not then of age. The Will was prov'd in the Commissary Court of Essex and Hertfordshire on Sept. 10, 1596. The right of Administration to this Philip Stubbs, then late of Clacton Parva deceasd, was renounced by Elizabeth, his Relict, in March 1626; and in May 1627, Administration was granted to Edward Luckin of Tiltey, one of Philip Stubbes's Creditors.

In the Chancery Proceedings of the time of Elizabeth are notes of other Stubbeses:

Richard Stubbe, and Anne his wife, Norfolk. G. g. 4, no. 59.
John Stubbs of Norfolk. C. c. 14, no. 57.
Richard Stubbs of Norfolk and Shropshire in vol. 3.

xxviii† § 4. *Divers Stubbeses in divers Parts.*

John Stubbs of Rutland, with sons William and Thomas, and
a grandson Henry, 21 Eliz. 1579.

Wm. Stubbs of Radcliffe, Ropemaker, 23 Nov. 1598.—S. s. 5.

Alexander Stubbes of Codsall, Staffordshire yeoman. S. s. 6.

Richard Stubbs of Southwark, yeoman. S. s. 13.

Christopher Stubbs of Berkshire and Hampshire.

Edward Stubbs of Norfolk.

William Stubbs of Devonshire.

The name Stubbes occurs in a book dated 1626. John Gee.
New Shreds of the Old Snare:—p. 121, “Factors employed for the
conveying ouer of the said Women to the Nunneries. . . .

Master Peeters
Stubbes.”

Then Mr. Ellacombe hoped that he'd hit on traces, in his
parish, Bitton, Glo'stershire, of our Stubbes, and he sent me up
his Register; but the only Stubbes entries in it show that the Rev.
Henry Stubbes or Stubbe, when doing duty at Bitton—not being
Vicar of it, had a daughter and a son baptized there:

“Mary daughter of Henry Stubbs, *Clericus*, was baptised
February xith 1643.”

“John the sonne of Mr. Henrie Stubbs, was babb. October
xxvii. 1647.

There is no entry of the burial of any Stubbes from 1594 to
1643 (and a few years later).

Whether our Phillip Stubbes had anything to do with any of
the folk above-named, I must leave to some future searcher to
decide.

I have not tried to get up many Notes for this 2nd Part. Those
to Part I. cost so much, that a second set, even were one possible,
must not be indulged in. The text is reprinted from the copy
of *The Display of Corruptions* in the Grenville Library, British
Museum.

What have Books like the present one to do with Shakspere?
They help us to realize the England of his day, and the social
evils that he must have seen.

3, St. George's Square, N.W.

July 18, 1882.

NOTES FOR PART II.

p. xxvii† Wills of John and Phillip Stubbes of Essex, and Ralph Stubbes of Lincoln:—

Jn. Stubbes, 1587.

(In Room 32) Will of John *Stubbes* of Cocks, Little Clacton, Essex (and Cotton Hall, Suffolk), dated 1587, gives Cocks and appurtenances, and lease of Cotton Hall to his son Phillip (under age) when he attains 21. If he dies under 21, then to testator's wife Agnes for life, and then over. Provision for boy Phillip's maintenance, &c. Prov'd in Com. Court of Essex and Herts, 10 Septr. 1596. (Phillip livd. Admōn to him ab. 1622.—Grigson.)

19 June, 1551.

(P. C. C. Bucke, quire 25) *Will of Phillip Stubbes* of Little Clacton, Essex—most lands to wife Johane for life, part to son John on attg. 21—if he doesn't, then to daughter Margret. If she dies under 18, then her share of personality to son John. Evidently, only son John, and daughter Margret. No son Phillip.

25 Septr. 1555, authority to administer Ph. Stubbes's goods, granted to Rd. Blaxton, Ed. Assheman, and Edw^d. Shorte, the exor Jn. Hockett having died.

31 Octr. 1561, Commission to Rd. Godfrey and Alice his wife to administer the goods not administered.

Ralph Stubbes, Alderman of *Lincoln*, April 4, 1558 (of the parish of St. Mary's, Wygford, in the suburbs of the City of Lincoln). Will proved, July 29, 1559:—

Gives all his property, less legacies and special bequests, to his 4 children, *John*, *Henry*, *Justynyan*, and *Elizabeth*. If any die without issue—they're evidently under age—his share is to go to the survivors.

Gives Christabell *Bartram* his sister, to her marriage, 20*£*; and if she die or she be marayed, then 16*£* to go to his 4 children, and 4*£* ‘to my thre bretherne, *Henry* Stubbes, *John* Stubbes and *Thomas* Stubbes’.

Gives to his ‘father *Bartrame* xij li. to bye the rest of the said house whiche he shulde purchase. And I wille . . . that John *Bartrame* shalhaue the said house’ in fee . . . (As to children’s bringing-up) ‘I will that my mother in lawe [Margarete Smythe] shall haue the kepinge and bringyng vppe of my children durynghe her lif, and after her death I will that John Stubbes and

xxx† Notes on p. xxviii†. *Two Henry Stubbeses.*

Justynyan Stubbes, with theire partes and portions shalbe in the Rule, ordre, and kepinge of Mr. John Hutchinson, and Henry Stubbes . . of Thomas Dawson my brother-in-lawe' (Elizth. not given to any one). Residue to 4 children Exors. 4 children, and "Margarete Smythe my mother in lawe."

p. xxviii† *Henry Stubbes.* See Ant. Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, 1817; 1255:—

HENRY STUBBE, son of a father of both his names of Bitton in Gloucestershire,¹ was born in that county, became a student in Magdalen hall in the latter end of 1623, aged eighteen years; admitted bachelor of arts the 26th of January 1627, & master of arts the 8th of July 1630, took holy orders, and became a curate or vicar, sided with the puritans in the begining of the rebellion, took the covenant, preached seditiously—took the engagement, and as a minister of the city of Wells was constituted one of the commissioners for the ejecting of such whom they then (1654) called scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. After his majesty's restoration, he lost what he had for want of conformity, retired to London, and lived there. He hath, among several things pertaining to divinity, written

Great Treaty of Peace, Exhortation of making Peace with God. Lond. 1676-77, oct.

Dissuasive from Conformity to the World. Lond. 1675, in oct.

God's Severity against Man's Iniquity. Printed with the *Dissuasive.*

God's Gracious Presence, the Saint's great Privilege—a farewell Sermon to a Congregation in London, on 2 Thes. 3, 16. Printed also with the *Dissuasive.*

Conscience the best Friend upon Earth: or the happy Effects of keeping a good Conscience very useful for this Age. London 1678, 8vo.; 1685 in twelves, and other things which I have not yet seen; among which is his *Answer to the Friendly Debate*, an. 1669 in octavo. When he died, I know not; sure I am that after his death, which was in London, his books were exposed to sale by way of auction the 29th of Nov. 1680.

[See a very amiable character of this writer in Calamy, who adds

1. *A Funeral Sermon for a Lady in Gloucestershire.*

2. *A Voice from Heaven; with his last Prayer.*

Granger, who mentions a small head of Stubbe, gives us the title of a third book omitted by Wood :

3. *Two Epistles to the professing Parents of baptized Children,* written a little before his death.

Calamy says that Stubbe was of Wadham college, which I cannot believe. He was certainly matriculated of Magdalen hall, April 16 [18, Col. Chester], 1624. See *Reg. Matric. Univ. Oxon.* PP. fol. 299, b.] He died on July 7, 1678, aged 73, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.—(Col. Chester.)

Of this Henry Stubbes, Richard Baxter says in his *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, Part III. (written in 1670) p. 189 [After his *Answer to Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Sherlock, &c.*], § 66. In a short time I was called on, with a grieved heart,

¹ He was born, says Calamy [wrongly], at Upton in this county, upon an estate that was given to his grandfather by king James I, with whom he came from Scotland. *Ejected Ministers*, ii. 319.

Notes on p. xxviii†. *Two Henry Stubbenses.* xxxi†

to Preach and Publish many Funeral Sermons, on the Death of many Excellent Saints.

Mr. *Stubbes* went first, that Humble, Holy, Serious Preacher, long a blessing to Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, and other parts, and lastly to London. I had great reason to lament my particular Loss, of so holy a friend, who oft told me, That for very many years he never went to God in solemn Prayer, without a particular remembrance of me: but of him before.—*Reliquiae Baxterianæ*, 1696.

Part III. p. 95, § 205 (written 1670). But because there are some few who by Preaching more openly than the rest, and to greater Numbers, are under more Men's displeasure and censure, I shall say of them truly but what I know . . .

ii. Old Mr. *Stubbs*, who joineth with him [Mr. *Turner*], is one of a Thousand, sometimes Minister at Wells, and last at *Dursley* in *Gloucestershire*, an ancient grave Divine, wholly given up to the Service of God, who hath gone about from place to place Preaching with unwearied Labour since he was silenced, and with great Success, being a plain, moving, fervent Preacher, for the work of converting impenitent sinners to God: And yet being settled in peaceable Principles by aged Experience, he every where expresseth [= presses out, excludes] the Spirit of Censoriousness, and unjust Separations, and Preacheth up the ancient zeal and sincerity with a Spirit suitable thereunto. *Reliq. Baxt.* 1696.

Ant. Wood gives an account of another Henry *Stubbes*, whose father was a clergyman at Parterey in Lincolnshire, where he was born on Feb. 28, 163¹₂. He was at Oxford, and ultimately turn'd Doctor. He was drownd on July 12, 1676, and buried in the Abbey Church at Bath. Him, *Baxter* mentions in the following passage of his *Relig. Baxterianæ*, 1696: *Life*, Part I. (written 1664), p. 75-6, "being writing against the Papists, coming to vindicate our Religion against them, when they imparte to us the Blood of the King, I fully proved that the Protestants, and particularly the Presbyterians, abhorred it, and suffered greatly for opposing it; and that it was the Act of *Cromwell's* Army and the Sectaries, among which I named the *Vanists* as one sort . . . Hereupon, Sir Henry *Vane* being exceedingly provoked, threatened me to many, and spake against me in the House, and one *Stubbs* (that had been whipt in the Convocation House at *Oxford*) wrote for him a bitter Book against me, who from a *Vanist* afterwards turned a Conformist; since that, he turned Physician, and was drowned in a small Puddle or Brook as he was riding near the Bath."

Chaucer and Stubbes. In a short poem 'The | Laurel, | and the | Olive': | Inscrib'd to | George Bubb, Esq; | By Geo. *Stubbes*, M.A. | Fellow of Exeter-College in Oxon. | London, | Printed for Egbert Sanger at the Post-Office at the | Middle Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet .M.DCC.X. are some lines 'To the Author' ending thus:

So when revolving Years have run their Race,
Bright the same Fires in different Bosoms blaze;
Known by his glorious Scars, and deathless Lines,
Again the *Hero*, and the *Poet* shines.
In gentler *Harrison*, soft *Waller* sighs,
And *Mira* wounds with *Sacharissa's* Eyes.

Achilles lives, and *Homer* still delights,
Whilst *Addison* records, and *Churchill* fights.
This happy Age, each Worthy shall renew,
And all dissolv'd in pleasing Wonder, view
In ANN—*Philippa, Chaucer* shine in you. }

p. 6. *Papal Plots, Jesuits, &c.* Stubbes may allude specially to Campion's conspiracy two years before, of which Stowe—or Antony Munday—gives the following account in his *Annales* (ed. 1605, p. 1169), and a longer one in his additions to Holinshed's (or Reginald Wolfe's) Chronicle:—

[1581]. “On the 20. of Nouember, Edmond Campion, *Jesuit*, Ralfe Sherwine, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Rishton, Thomas Coteham, Henrie Orton, Robert Johnson & Iames Bosgraue, were brought to the high bar at Westminester, where they were seuerally, & al together indicted vpon high treason, for that, contrary both to loue & duty, they forsooke their native country, to liue beyond the seas under the Popes obedience, as at Rome, Rheimes, and diuers other places, where (*the Pope hauing with other princes practised the death and depriuation of our most gracious princesse, and vitter subversion of her state and kingdome*, to aduance his most abhominable religion), these men, hauing vowed their allegiance to the Pope, to obey him in all causes whatsoeuer, being there, gaue their consent, to aide him in this most traitorous determination. And for this intent & purpose, they were sent ouer to seduce the harts of her maiesties louing subiects, & to conspire and practise her graces death, as much as in them lay, against a great day set & appointed, when the generall hauocke should be made, those onely reserued that ioyned with them. This laid to their charge, they boldly denied; but by a iurie they were approoued guilty, and had iudgement to be hanged, bowelled & quartered.

Campion and others executed. The first of December, Edmond Campion, *Jesuit*, Ralfe Sherwine and Alexander Brian, seminarie priests, were drawne from the Tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled & quartered. Looke more in my continuation of Reine Woolfes Chronicle.”

p. 9, as that blessed martyr of God, Maister Latimer hath said in a sermon made before King Edward the sixt. This is ‘The seconde Sermon of Master Hugh Latemer, whych he preached before the Kynges maestie, wythin hys graces Palayce at Westminster y°. xv. day of Marche M.CC[C]CC. xl ix.’ Sign. E. I. “I must desyre my Lorde protectours grace to heare me in thyss matter, that your grace would heare poor mens suetes your selfe. Putte it to none other to heare, let them not be delayed. The saying is nowe, that mony is harde every wher: if he be ryche, he shall soone haue an ende of his matter. Other ar fayn to go home with weeping teares, for ani help they can obtain at ani Judges hand. Heere mens suets your selfe, I requyre you in godes behalfe, & put it not to the hering of these velvet cotes, these vp skippes. Nowe a man can skarse knowe them from an auncyent Knight of the countrey.

“I can not go to my boke, for pore folkes come vnto me, desirynge me that I wyll speake that theyr matters maye be heard. . . . I am no soner in the garden

Notes on pp. 9—24. *Angel. Clothiers' Tricks.* xxxiii†

and haue red a whyle, but . . . some one or other . . . desireth me that I wyll speake that hys matter myght be heard, & that [Sign. E. ii.] he hath the layne thys longe at great costes and charges, and can not once haue hys matter come to the hearing . . . [E. ii. back]. I beseche your grace that ye wyll loke to these matters.

“Heare them your selfe! Vieu your Judges! And haere pore mens causes. And you proude Judges, herken what God sayeth in hys holy boke. *Audite illos, ita parum ut magnum.* Heare theym, sayeth he, the small as well as the greate, the pore as well as the ryche. Regarde no person, feare no man—Why? *Quia domini iudicium est.* The iudgment is Goddes.

“Marcke thys sayinge, thou proude Judge! The deuyl will [E. iii.] bryngē thys sentence at the daye of Dombe. Hel wyl be ful of these Judges, if they repente not and amende.

“They are worse then the wicked Judge that Christe speaketh of, that neyther feared God nor the worlde. There was a certain wyddowe that was a suter to a Judge, & she met hym in euery corner of the streete, cryinge: ‘I praye you haere me, I besech you haere me, I aske nothyng but ryght.’ When the Judge saw hyr so importunate, ‘though I fear neyther God, sayth he, nor the worlde, yet bycause of hyr importunatenes I wyll graunte hyr requeste.’

“But our Judges are worse then thys Judge was. For [sign. E. iii. back] they wyll neyther haere men for Gods sake, nor feare of the worlde, nor importunatenes, nor any thyngē else. Yea, some of them wyll commaund them to ward, if thei be importunat.”

p. 12, *an angell, (for that is called a counsellors fee).* The well-known lawyer's 'six and eightpence.' Miss Rochfort Smith sends me the following Epigram, 594, from *Wits Recreations* :—

“Upon Anne's marriage with a Lawyer.
Anne is an angel : what if so she be?
What is an angel but a lawyer's fee?”

p. 19. *Colleges, &c., abused and peruerted.* See my Harrison's *Description of England, 1577-87*, p. 77. On Education in Early England, see my Forewords to the *Babees Book*, or *Meals and Manners*: Early English Text Society.

p. 24, *stretching and thicking Cloth.* “I here saye, there is a certayne Cloth makers connynge come vp in myxyng of wares. are become Poticaryes, yea and amonge the Gospellers. “Howe saye you, were it not wonder to here that clothe makers should become poticaries.

“Yea, and as I haere saye, in such a place, where as they haue professed the Gospell, and the word of God most earnestly of a long tyme. Se how busie the Deuell is to sclauder the word of god. Thus the pore gospel goeth to wracke. Yf his clothe be xviii. yerdes longe, he wyl set hym on a rackinge, A pretti kind of streach hym tyll the senewes shrinke agayne, whyles he hath multiplyinge. brought hym to xxvii. yarde. When they haue brought hym to that perfection, they haue a prety feate [sign. E. iii.] to thycke him againe. He Flocke powder. makes me a pouder for it, an playles the poticary: thei cal it floke

xxxiv† Notes on pp. 24—33. *Commons. Tailors.*

pouder : they do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderfull to consider : truely a goodly iuention."

p. 24, *Dark Shops.* p. 49, *False Weights.* p. 22, *Merchants.* p. 47, *Farmers.* p. 29, *Griping Landlords.* These Shop-keepers that can blind mens eyes, with dym and obscure lights, and deceiue their eares with false & flattering words, be they not Vsurers ?

These Tradesmen that can buy by one weight, and selle by another, be they not Vsurers ?

These Marchants that doe robbe the Realme, by carrying away of Corne, Lead, Tinne, Hydes, Leather, and such other like, to the impouerishing of the common wealth, bee they not Vsurers ?

These Farmers that doe hurde vppe their Corne, Butter, & Cheese, but of purpose to make a dearth, or that if they thinke it to rayne but one houre to much, or that a drought doe last but two dayes longer then they thinke good, will therfore the next market day hoyse vp the prises of all manner [p. 46] of victuall, be not these Vsurers ?

The *Land-Lordes* that doe sette out their liuings at those high rates, that their *Tenants* that were wont to keepe good Hospitalitie, are not nowe able to giue a peece of Bread to the *Poore*, be they not Vsurers ? 1614. Barnabee Rych. *The Honestie of this Age.* p. 45-6.

p. 27, *the commons . . . are inclosed, made severall.* Compare Shakspere's phrase, in *Loues Labor's Lost*, II. i. 223, Qo. i :—

Bo. So you graunt pasture for me.

Lady. Not so, gentle Beast,

My lippes are no Common, though seuerall they be.

Thomas Greene's Diary says, on 1615, Sept. I. "Mr. Shakspere told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe" Common. Leop. Shaksp. Introd., p. cix. See p. 45* and 116 in Stubbes, Part I.

p. 28. *Enclosures of Commons, &c.* See Harrison, Part I., p. 306-7, and Latimer's 7th Sermon before Edw. VI, Sermon 14, Parker Soc., p. 248.

p. 28, *rich men's game eating up poor men's corn, grass, &c.* This goes on still, as every one in a game-preserving county knows. I heard Joseph Arch once say how his garden was cleard by Lord Warwick's rabbits, and how he in return took his own compensation in game.

p. 33, *Tailors.* "now it were a hard matter for me to distinguish betweene men, who were good and who were bad, but if I might giue my verdict to say who were the wisest men nowe in this age, I would say they were *Taylers*: would you heare my reason? because I doe see the wisedome of women to be still ouer-reached by *Taylers*, that can every day induce them to as many new-fangled fashions, as they please to iuent: and the wisedome of men againe, are as much ouer-reached by women, that canne intice their husbandes to surrender and giue way to all their newe-fangled follies: they are *Taylers* then that canne ouer-rule the wisest women, and they be women that can besot the wisest men : so that if Ma. Maiors conclusion be good, that because *Jacke*, his youngest sonne, ouer-ruled his mother, and *Jacke's* mother agayne ouerruled M. Maior himselfe,

and M. Maior by office ouerruled the Towne, *Ergo*, the whole Towne was ouer-ruled by *Iacke*, Ma. Maiors sonne : by the same consequence, I may likewise conclude, that *Taylers* are the wisest men : the reason is alreadie rendered, they doe make vs all *Fooles*, both men and women, and doe mocke the whole worlde with their newe inuentions : but are they women alone that are thus seduced by *Taylers*? doe but looke amongst our gallants in this age, and tell me, if you shall not finde men amongst them to be as vaine, as nice, and as gaudie in their attyres, as shee that amongst women is accounted the most foolish

“The holy scriptures haue denounced a curse no lesse grievous to the *Idole-maker*, then to the *Idole* it selfe ; now (vnder the correction of *Diuinitie*) I would but demaund, what are these *Puppet*-making *Taylers*, that are every day inuenting of newe fashions, and what are these, that they doe call *Attyre-makers*, the first inuenters of these monstrous *Periwigs*, and the finders out of many other like immodest *Attyres*: what are these, and all the rest of these *Fashion* Mongers, the inuenters of vanities, that are every day whetting their wits to finde out those *Gaudes*, that are not onely offensiuе vnto God, but many wayes preiudiciali to the whole Common wealth: if you will not acknowledge these to be *Idolemakers*, yet you cannot deny them to be the *Deuils enginers*, vngodly instruments, to decke and ornifie such men and women, as may well be reputed to be but *Idollers*, for they haue eyes, but they see not into the wayes of their own salvation, & they haue eares, but they cannot heare the Judgements of God, denounced against them for their pride and vanitie.” 1614. Barnabee Rych. *The Honestie of this Age*, p. 23.

p. 35. *Ruffes*. See Part I, p. 52, 240-2.

p. 41, 42. *The Poor, and Beggars*. See my Harrison, Part I, p. 213, &c.

p. 51, *long hair*. In 1614, Barnabee Rych asks: “And from whence commeth this wearing, & this imbrodering of long lockes, this curiositie that is vsed amongst men, in freziling and curling of their hayre, this gentlewoman-like starch bands, so be-edged, and be-laced, fitter for *Mayd Marion* in a *Moris dance*, then for him that hath either that spirit or courage, that should be in a gentleman?”—*The Honestie of this Age*, p. 35. “There are certaine new inuented professions that within these fourtie or fiftie years, were not so much as heard of,” says Rich, p. 24, “& yet have become flourishing, namely, ‘Attyre-makers,’ Coach-makers & Coachmen, Body-makers, and Tobacco-dealers. The 3 most gainful trades are,” he says, p. 28, “the first is to keepe an *Ale house*, the 2. a *Tobacco House*, and the third to keepe a *Brothell House*.”

p. 57. *A marvellous strange coniunction*. This alludes to R. Harvey’s notorious tract addrest to his brother the author Gabriel Harvey, “An Astrological Discourse upon the great and notable Conjunction of the two superiour Planets, Saturne and Jupiter, which shall happen the 28 day of April, 1583,” 18 mo. *black letter*. H. Bynneman, 1583. The years 1588 and 1593 were to be “dangerous years” too. See my note in *N. Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-6, p. 151-4.

p. 82. *Such a dish of apples as Master Latimer talketh of, with thirty angelis in every apple*. This is in “The fifte Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whyche

he prached before the kynges Maiestye wythin hys Graces Palace at Westminster the fyft daye of Aprille” [1549]. *Sig.* R. iii. “Ther was a patron in England (when it was) that had a benefyce fallen into hys hande, and a good brother of The merye tale mine came vnto hym, and brought hym xxx. Apples in a dyshe, and that sold a gaue them hys man to carrie them to hys mayster. It is like he benefyce for a gaue one to his man for his laboure to make vp the game, and so deynytte dyshe of Apples.” ther was .xxxii.

“This man commeth to his mayster, and presented hym wyth the dyshe of Apples, sayinge: ‘Syr, suche a man hathe sente you a [*R. iii. back*] dyshe of frute, and desyret you to be good vnto hym for suche a benefyce.’ ‘Tushe, tushe,’ quod he, ‘thys is no apple matter. I wyll none of hys apples. I haue as good as these (or as he hath any) in myne owne orcharde.’ The man came to the preest agayne, and toulde hym what hys mayster sayed. ‘Then,’ quod the priest, ‘desyre hym yet to proue one of them for my sake, he shal find them much better theze they loke for.’ He cut one of them, and founde ten peces of golde in it [$\text{£}10 = 30$ Angels]. ‘Mary,’ quod he, ‘thys is a good apple. The pryst standyng not farre of, herynge what the Gentle man sayed, cryed out and answered, ‘they are all one apples, I warrantee you, Syr, they grewe all on one A graft of gold tree and haue all one taste.’ ‘Well, he is a good fellowe [*sign. R.* to get a benefyce wrythal is *iii.*], let hym haue it,’ quod the patron, &c. Get you a grafte of worth a great deal of learnyng. then all Sayncte Paules learnyng. Well, let patrons take heede, for they shall aunswere for all the soules that peryshe through theys defaute.” See too the Third Sermon, p. 145-6, Parker Soc., on the bribe-taking Judge flayd alive by Cambyses; the pudding-story, p. 140.

NOTES FOR PART I.

p. 60*, note 2. The woodcut is at the back of the Dedication, p. 2*.

p. 86*. See too the *Homily against Idleness*.

p. 89*. Dice, wine, and women, wonne, drunke, & spent all,
And now he lines a vassall at each call.

1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. E. 2, back, ‘On a ruind Gallant.’

p. 95*. The cut of Irish Costumes is from the Additional MS. 28,330 in the British Museum: a Dutch ‘Short Description of England, Scotland & Ireland,’ 1574.

p. 97*. There is no ornamental border round the original 1584 Title-page.

p. 231. *Velure*, &c. See note p. 363-4, Dekker’s Works, 1874, vol. iii.

p. 232. Nash’s *Anatomie of Abuses* was enterd in the Stationers’ Registers in advance, on Sept. 19, 1588.

p. 236. *Farrefetched and deare bought*. “we vse to say by manner of

Notes for Part I, pp. 248—375. *Football, &c.* xxxvii†

Prouerbe, ‘things farrefet and deare bought are good for Ladies.’ 1589.
Puttenham, p. 193, ed. Arber.

p. 248. Andrew Boorde’s cut is also alluded to in the Homily against Excess of Apparel; and by Dekker, p. 77* above.

p. 271, 273. *Women’s face-painting.*

“Whers the Deuill? . . .
He’s got into a boxe of Women’s paint. . . .
Where pride is, thers the Diuell too.”

1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. F. 2.

p. 280. See the Homily against Whoredom and Adultery.

p. 284. See the Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness.

p. 293. *Prisons*. See too in 1618, Geffrey Mynshul’s *Essays and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners*.

p. 296. *Sunday Sports, &c.* See Humphrey Roberts’s, ‘An earnest Complaint of diuers vain, wicked and abused Exercises practised on the Sabath day,’ 1572. Hazlitt’s *Collections and Notes*, p. 360-1.

p. 307, at foot: *beaten with a Brewers washing bittle, drunk.*

“these people
Are all brainde with a Brewers washing beetle.”

1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. F. 2, back.

p. 318. *Deaths at Football*. Coroner’s inquest on one Gibbs kild in a game. “The Coroner, in summing up, advocated a return to the rules practised in football twenty years ago, for, *as now played, it was only worthy of a set of costermongers.*” See also the notice of the Mayor of Southampton prohibiting football under Association or Rugby rules, on the town’s public lands.—*Echo*, Dec. 11, 1880. On Saturday . . . Mr. Joseph Hunter at Sheffield had his arm and three ribs broken; at Mexborough a young man named William Howitt had his arm and leg dislocated.—*Daily News*, Dec. 13, 1880.

p. 349. Insert *Abandon*, v. t. banish, 125. *Ames ace & the dice*, 37*. *Deuse ace*, 272; a man’s genitals.

p. 352, col. 2. Insert *Breasts*: see Bare, and Naked.

p. 356, col. 2. *Disgesture*, digestion. “Glut with gazing, surfe with seeing and relish with reading [my book]:—It may be there are some preseruatiues, not poyson, though harsh in *disgesture*. 1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. A. iij.

p. 362, col. 1. Insert *Honeymoon*, p. 376, n. 1.

p. 371, col. 2, to ‘Spanish &c.’ add ‘boots, 242.’

p. 375, col. 1. Insert *Venetians* 250. ‘Graques; f. Gregs, Gallogaskins, wide venitians.’ 1611. Cotgrave; and *Venetian hose*, 56.



THE
Second part
of the Anatomie of
Abuses, containing The display
of Corruptions, with a perfect de-
scription of such imperfections, blemi-
shes, and abuses, as now reigning in eue-
rie degree, require reformation for feare
of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon
the people and countrie, without
speedie repentance and con-
uersion vnto God : made
dialogwise by Phil-
ip Stubbes.

Except your righteousnes exceed the righ-
teousnes of the Scribes and Phari-
ses, you cannot enter into the
kingdome of heauen.

LO N D O N .

Printed by R. W. for William Wright,
and are to be sold at his shop ioining
to S. Mildreds Church in the
Poultrey, being the mid-
dle shop in the rowe.

THE DISPLAY OF

[Siz. B x.]
[The Title is the
only A.]

corruptions, requiring refor-
mation for feare of Gods iudge-
ments to be powred vpon the people
and country without spee-
die amendment.

The speakers, THEODORVS and AMPHILOGVS.¹



OD bleffe you my friend, and well ouertaken.

Amphilogus. You are hartlie welcome, good fir,
with all my hart.

Theod. How farre purpose you to trauell this way
by the grace of God ?

Amphil. As far as *Nodnol* if God permit.

Theod. What place is that, I pray you, and where is it scituate ?

Stubbes is
going to London.

Amphil. It is a famous citie and the chiefest place in *Dnalgne* :
haue you not heard of it ?

Theod. No truely. For I am a stranger, and newly come into
these countries, onely to see fashions, and to learne the state and con-
diⁿtion of those things whereof I am ignorant.

Amphil. What country man are you, I pray you, if I may be
so bold as to aske ?

Theod. I am of the country and nation of the *Idumeans*, a cruell,
fierce, and seruile kind of people.

Amphil. I haue beene in those countries my selfe ere now, and
therefore it is maruell that you knowe me not.

He says he's
been in Idumea.

Theod. Me thinke I should knowe you, but yet I cannot call your
name to remembrance.

Amphil. My name is *Amphilogus*, somtime of your acquaintance,
though now you haue (through tract of time, which is *Omnium*

¹ *Amphilogus* is Stubbes. The side notes are all mine. Stubbes put notes to
his First Part only.

² B 1, back. The headline all thro, is 'The Display of Corruptions.'

2 II. I. *England the wickedest Country under the Sun.*

terum edax, A deuourer of al things) forgot the same. But notwithstanding that you haue forgot me, yet I remember you very well : is not your name Maister *Theodorus* ?

Theod. Yes truly, my name is *Theodorus* ; I neither can, nor yet will, euer denie the same.

Amphil. What make you in these countries, if I may aske you without offence ?

Theod. Truly I came hither to see the country, people, and nation, to learne the toong, and to see (as I told you) the state generally of all things.

¹ *Amphil.* You are most hartily welcome, and I, hauing beene a traueler, borne in these countries, and knowing the state thereof in euerie respect, to congratulate your comming, will impart vnto you the substance and effect therof in as few words as I can.

Theod. I pracie you then giue me leaue (vnder correction) to aske you such necessary questions, as are incident to my purpose, and which may serue for my better instrucion in all the foresaide premisses ?

Amphil. Go to then, aske on in the name of God, and I will addrefse myself to satissifie your reasonable requests in anything I can.

Theod. What be the inhabiteres of this countrie ? Be they a vertuous, godlie, and religious kinde of people, or otherwise cleane contrarie ?

Amphil. Surely they are, as all other countries and nations be for the most part, inclined to sinne, and wickednes, drinking vp iniquitie as it were water ; but yet I am perswaded that, albeit all flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of GOD, yet is there not any nation or countrey vnder the sunne, that for pride, whoredome, droonkennes, gluttonie, and all kinde of oppression, iniurie and mischiefe, may compare with this one country ² of *Dnalgne*, God be mercifull vnto it, and haften his kingdome, that all wickednes may be done away.

Theod. Then, as in all other countries where euer I haue trauelled, so in this also is verified the old adage, namely, that the first age of the world was called *Aurea ætas*, the golden age, for that men liued godlie and in the feare of God ; the seconde age was called *Argentea ætas*, the siluer age, for that men began somewhat to decline, and fall from their former holinesse, and integritie of life, to sinne and wicked-

Stubbes will de-
scribe the state
of England.
[¹ Sig. B 2]

No nation is so
proud, drunken,
and so full of
mischiefe, as Eng-
land is.

[² Sig. B 2, back]

x. The Golden
Age.

z. The Silver.

nes: the thirde and last age, which is this that we are fallen into, is and may justlie be called *Ferrea* or *Plumbea ætas*, the yron or leaden age, in as much as now men are fallen from all godlineffe whatsoeuer, and are as it were wedded to iniquitie, committing finne without any remorse, and running into all kinde of abomination and impietie, without restraint. All which things dulie in the good hart of a faithful christian confidered & weied, may easily persuade a wise man to think their destruction to be at hand, except they repent.

3. The Iron or
Leaden Age, our
sinful one.

Amphil. You say verie well. Therefore I would wish them to take heed to themselues, and to leauie their wickednes before the Lords wrath be gon out against them; for let them be ¹sure, that when the measure of their wickednesse is full, then will the Lord cut them off from the face of the earth, if they repent not, and truely turne to the Lord. The wise man saith, that a little before destrucion come, the hart of man shall swell into pride, and wickednes. Our sauour Christ saith, when men flatter themselues, and ‘saie “peace, peace, al things are well, we neede not to feare anything,”’ then, even then, shall sudden destruction fall vpon them, as sorrow commeth upon a woman trauellung with childe, and they shall not escape, bicause they would not knowe the Lord, nor the day of his visitation.’ Which thing we see to be true through all the histories of the sacred Bible; for when the Sodomites and Gomorreans had filled vp the measures of their iniquitie, and faciate themselues in finne, then came there fire and brimstone raining from heauen vpon them and their citie, and confunmed them all, from the vpper face of the earth. When all the worlde in the daies of Noah, was giuen ouer to finne, and wickednes, immediatelie came the floud of Gods vengeance, and destroied them all, eight persons—to wit, Noah, his wife, his three sonnes and their wiues,—who serued the Lord in true simplicite of hart, onelie excepted. The Hierosoltinitanes ²when their finne was ripe, were they not confounded, and put to the edge of the sworde?

[¹ Sig. B 3]
But God 'll cut
the sinners off.

Destruction'll
follow Pride,

When Pharao the king of Egypt his finne was ripe, did not the Lord harden his hart to pursue the Israelits, and so drowned him and all his retinue in the read sea? Herod and Nabuchadnezer swelling in finne, and rising vp against the maiestie of God in the malice of their harts, was not the one stroken dead in a moment, and eaten vp with worms, the other deposid from his kingdome, and constrained to eate

as it did with
Sodom and Go-
morrhah,

in Noah's days,

[² Sig. B 3, back]

with Pharaoh,

Herod and
Nebuchad-
nezzar.

4 II. I. *England fertile. The 3 sorts of Englishmen.*

graffe with the beasts of the earth ; with the like examples, which, for the auoiding of prolixitie, I omit. By all which it appeareth, that when destruction is neereit, then are the people the seurest, and the most indurate and frozen in the dregs of their finne ; and being so, the fequele is either confusio[n] in this life, or perdition in the world to come, or both. And therefore I beseech the Lord, that both this country, and all others, may repent, & amende euerie one their wicked waies, to the glorie of God and their owne saluation.

Theod. Is this country fruitfull, and plenty of all things, or barren, and emptie ?

England is a
plentiful land,

[¹ Sig. B 4]

but covetous
wretches export
its goods.

Amphil. There is no nation or country in the world, that for store, and abundance of all things, may compare with the same ; for ¹ of all things there is such plentie (God haue the praise thereof) as they may feeme to haue neede of no other nation, but all others of them. In so much as if they were wise people (as they be wise inough, if they would vse their wisedome well) to keepe their owne substance within themselues, and not to transp[ort] it ouer to other countries (as many couetous wretches for their owne priuate gaine doe) they might liue richly and in abundance of all things, whilst other countries should languish and want. But hereof more shall be spoken hereafter.

Theod. I pray you how is this country adiacent vpon other countries ?

It has English-
men, Welshmen,
Cornishmen,
whose speech
differs from one
another.

[² Sig. B 4, back]

Amphil. It lieth inuironed with the oceane sea rounde about ; vpon the one fide eastwarde, it bordereth vpon the confines of France : vpon the other fide westward, vpon Ireland ; towards the septentrionall or north part, vpon Scotland ; and vpon the south fide it respecteth Germanie. And is inhabited with three sundrie sortes of people, Englishmen, Cornishmen, and welchmen, all which, if not in lawes and constitutions, yet in language, doe differ one from another. But as they doe differ in toong and speech, so are they subiect (and that *Patrio iure*, By iustice and law) ² to one Prince, and gouernour onely to whom they owe their allegiance.

Theod. Is the country quiet, peaceable, and at vnitie within it selfe, or otherwise troubled with mutenies, wars, and ciuill dissentions ?

Amphil. The whole lande (God be praised therefore, and preserue hir noble Grace by whom it is gouerned and maintained !) is,

and hath beene, at peace and vnitie, not onely within it selfe, but also abroad, for this foure or fve and twenty yeeres. During all which time there hath beene neither wars, iuasions, insurrections, nor any effusion of blood to speake of, except of a sort of architraitours, who haue receiued but the same reward they deserued, and the same that I pray God all traitours with their complices may receiue hereafter, if they practise the same which they haue done. The like continuance of peace was neuer heard of, not this hundred yeeres before, as this country hath inioied since hir maiesties reigne: the Lord preserve hir grace, and roiall Maiestie for euer!

England has
been at peace for
25 years.

Theod. Are the other countries, lands, and nations about them (for as I gather by your former intimations, this country is scituate as it were in the centrie, or midſt of ¹others) their friends, and well-willers, or their enimies?

[¹ Sig. B 5]

Amphil. It is an old ſaieng and true: *Ex incertis, & ambiguis rebus optimum tenere sapientis eſt:* Of things vncerteine, a christian man ought to iudge and hope the beſt. They hope wel that all are their friends and welwillers: but it is thought (and I feare me too true) that they are ſo far from being their friends (*Nisi verbo tenuis,* From mouth outward onely) that they haue vowed and ſworne their deſtruſion, if they could as eaſily atchieue it, as they ſecretly intend it. Which thing to be true, ſome of their late praefices haue (yet to their owne conuincion, Gods name be Praifeſed) proued true. For how manie times hath that man of finne, that ſonne of the diuell, that *Italian Antichrift of Rome,* interdicted, excommunicated, ſuspended, and accuſed with booke, bell and candle, both the Prince, the Nobilitie, the Commons, and whole Realme? How often hath he ſent forth his roring buls againſt hir Maiefie, excommunicating (as I have ſaid) hir Grace, and diſcharging hir Highneſſe liege people and naturall ſubiects, from their allegeance to hir Grace? How often hath he with his adherents conſpired and intended the death and ouerthrowe of hir Maiefie and Nobilitie, by con²iuration, necromancy, exorcismes, art magike, witchcraft, and all kind of diuelrie beſides, wherein the moſt part of them are ſkilfuller than in diuinity? And when theſe deuifes would not take place, nor effect as they wiſhed, then attempted they by other waies and meaneſ to ouerthrowe the estate, the Prince, nobles, people and country: ſometime by ſecret irruption, ſometime

But it has lip-
friends who
hate it.

That ſon of the
Devil, the Pope,

has conſpired the
Queen's death,
[² Sig. B 5, back]

and tried to over-
throw the land.

6 ii. 1. *Bloodthirsty Papists and Devil's-agent Jesuits.*

The Pope has sent here blood-thirsty Papists

to stir up rebellions.

[P Sig. B 6]
These Devil's agents are call'd Jesuits,

but their every deed and word is directly contrary to Christ's.

They delude the world with their trash.

[P Sig. B 6, back]

by open inuasion, insurrection, and rebellion, sometime by open treason, sometime by secret conspiracie, and sometimes by one meanes, sometimes by another. And now of late attempted they the ouerthrowe and subuersion of hir Maiestie, people, country, and all by fending into the realme a sort of cutthrotes, false traitors, and bloudthirstie Papists, who vnder the pretence of religious men (in whom for the most part there is as much religion as is in a dog) should not onely lurke in corners like howlets that abhorre the light, creepe into noble mens bosoms, thereby to withdrawe hir Maiesties subiects from their allegiance, but also moue them to rebellion, and to take sword in hand against Prince, country, yea, and against God himselfe (if it were possible) and to dispense with them that shall thus mischieuoufly behauie themselues. And forsooth these goodlie fellowes, the diuels agents, that must worke these feates, are called (in the ¹ diuels name) by the name of Iesuites, seminarie preests, and catholikes, vsurping to themselves a name never heard of till of late daies, being indeed a name verie blasphemously deriuied from the name of Iesus, and improperly alluded and attributed to themselues. But what will it preuaile them to be like vnto Iesus in name onely, or how can they, nay, how dare they, arrogate that name vnto themselues, whereas their doctrine, religion, life and whole profession, togither with their corrupt liues and conuersations are directly contrarie to the doctrine, religion, life, and profession of Christ Iesus? There is nothing in the world more contradictorie one to another, than all their proceedings in generall are to Christ Iesus and his lawes, and yet will they, vnder the pretence of a bare and naked name, promise to themselues such excellencie, such integritie, and perfection, as GOD cannot require more, yea, such as doth merite *Ex opere operato*, Eternall felicitie in the heauens. And thus they deceiue themselues, and delude the world also with their trash: but of them inough.

Theod. Surely that country had neede to take heed to it selfe, to feare, and stand in awe, ²hauing so manie enimies on euerie fide. And aboue all things next vnto the seruing of God, to keepe themselues aloofe, and in any case not to trust them, what faire weather soever the make them. The sweeter the *Syren* fingeth, the dangerouser is it to lend hir our eares: the Cocatrice never meaneth so much crueltie, as when he fawneth vpon thee and weepeth: then take heed, for he

meaneth to fucke thy bloud. The stille the water standeth, the more perilous it is. Let them remember it is an old and true saieng: *Sub nalle iacet venenum, Vnder honey lieth hid poison. Sub placidis herbis latitat coluber,* vnder the pleasantest grasse, lurketh the venemouſt adder. Take heed of thoſe fellowes that haue *Mel in ore, verba lactis,* ſweet words and plauible ſpeeches: for they haue *Fel in corde,* and *Fraudem facis,* Gall in their harts, & deceit in their deeds. So falleth it out with theſe ambidexters, theſe hollowe harted friends, where they intend deſtruſion, then will they couer it with the cloke or garment of amity & friendſhip; therefore are they not to be truſted.

These Jesuits are
ambidexters,
hollow-hearted
friends,

Amphil. You ſay the truth. For I am thus perſuaded, that he who is falſe to God (as all ¹Papifts with their complices and adherents are) can neuer be true and faithfull, neither to prince nor country. Therefore God grant they may be taken heed of betimes.

[¹ Sig. B 7]
never true to
prince or country

Theod. Conſidering that this country of *Dnalgne* is enuied abroad with ſo many enimies, and infefted within by ſo many feditious Papifts, and hollowe harted people, it is great maruell, that it can ſtand without great wars, and troubles. Belike it hath a wife politike prince, and good gouernors, either elſe it were vnpoffible to preſerue the ſame in ſuch peace and tranquillitie, and that ſo long together. I pray you therefore by what prince is the ſame gouerned, and after what maner?

Amphil. The whole realme or country of *Dnalgne* is ruled and gouerned by a noble Queene, a chafe Maide, and pure Virgin, who for all reſpects may compare with any vnder the funne. In ſo much as I doubt not to call her ſacred breast the promptuarie, the receptacle, or ſtorehouſe of all true virtue and godlines. For if you ſpeake of wiſdom, knowledge and vnderſtanding, her Grace is ſingular, yea, able at the firſt bliſh to diſcearne truthe from falſehood, and falſehood from truthe, in any matter, how ambiguous or obſcure ſoeuer: ſo as it may iuſtly be called into queſtion whether ²*Salomon* himſelfe had greater light of wiſdom infiſtled into his ſacred breast, than her Maiestie hath into her highnes roiall minde. If you ſpeake of learning and knowledge in the toongs, whether it be in the Latine, Greeke, French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, or any other vſuall toong, it may be doubted whether Christendome hath her peere, or not. If you ſpeake

England is
governd by a
noble Queen,

virtuous and
godly, wise and
underſtanding,

[¹ Sig. B 7, back]

learned in the
tongues,

8 II. I. *The Queen's Council, and the Magistrates.*

modest, gentle,
affable, of sobrietie, modestie, mansuetude and gentlenesse, it is woonderfull
in hir Highnesse; yea, so affable, so lowly and humble is hir Grace,
as she will not disdaine to talke familiarlie to the meanest or poorest
of hir Graces subjects vpon speciall occasions. If you speake of mercie,
and compassion to euery one that hath offended, I stande in suspence
whether hir like were euer borne. If you speake of religion, of
zeale and ferenctie to the truth, or if you speake of the vpright
execution or administration of iustice, all the world can beare witnes,
that herein (as in all godlinesse else) hir Highnes is inferior to none
that liueth at this day. So that hir Grace seemeth rather a dñe
creature, than an earthly creature, a vefel of grace, mercie and com
passion, wherinto the Lord hath powred euen the full measures of
his superabundant grace, and heauenlie influence. The Lord increase
the same in hir ¹Highnes roiall breast, and preserue hir Grace, to the
end of the world, to the glorie of God, the comfort of hir Maiefsties
subiects, and confusion of all hir enimies whatsoeuer.

The Lord pre
serve her!

[¹ Sig. B 8]

The Queen's
Council are wise
and experient
men,

who make the
laws, which are
carried out by
Magistrates

[² Sig. B 8, back]

Theod. What is hir Maiefsties Councell? It shold seeme that
they must needes be excellent men, hauing such a vertuous Ladie and
Phenix Queene to rule ouer them?

Amphil. The Councell are Honorable and noble personages in
deed, of great grauitie, wisedome, and pollicie, of singuler experience,
modestie and discretion, for zeale to religion famous, for dexteritie in
giuing counsell renoumed, for the administration of iustice incompar
able, finally, for all honorable and noble exploits inferior to none, or
rather excelling all. So as their worthie deedes, through the golden
trumpe of fame are blowne ouer all the worlde. The whole regiment
of the Realme confisfeth in the execution of good lawes, fanchions,
statutes, and confitutions enacted and set foorth by hir roiall Maiefstie
and hir most honorable Council, and committed by the same to
inferior officers, and maiefstates to be put in practise, by whose dilige
nt execution thereof, iustice is maintained, vertue erected, iniurie
repreffed, and finne feuerely punished, to the great glorie of God, and
² common tranquilitie of the Realme in euery condition.

Theod. Is the lande diuided into shires, counties, precincts, and
feuerall exempt liberties, to the ende iustice may the better be main
tained? And hath euery county, shire, and precinct, good lawes in
the same for the deciding and appeasing of controuerfies that happen

in the same, so that they neede not to seeke further for redresse than in their owne shire?

Amphil. The whole land indeede is diuided (as you say,), into shires, countys, and feuerall precincts, (which are in number, as I take it, 40). In euerie which shire or countie, be courts, lawe daies, and leets, as they call them, every moneth, or every quarter of a yeere, wherin any controuersie (lightlie) may be heard and determined, so that none needs (except vpon some speciall occasions) to seeke to other courts for deciding of any controuersie. But as there be good lawes, if they were executed dulie, so are there corruptions and abuses not a few crept into them. For sometimes you shall haue a matter hang in sute after it is commenced a quarter of a yeere, halfe a yeare, yea, a twelue month, two or three yeeres togither, yea, seauen or eight yeeres now and then, if either friends or money can ¹be made. This deferring of iustice is as damnable before God, as the sentence of false iudgement is, as that blessed martyr of God, Maister *Latimer*, hath said in a sermon made before King *Edward* the fixt. Besides this deferring and delaieng of poore mens causes, I will not say how iudgement is perverted in the end. I reed them take heed to it that be the authors thereof. Therefore the reformed churches beyond the seas are worthie of commendations ; for there the Judges sit in the open gates, streets, and high waies, that every man that will, may speake vnto them, and complaine if he haue occasion. And so farre from delaieng, or putting off² poore mens causes be they, as they will not suffer any matter, how weighty soever, to hang in sute aboue one day, or two, or at the most three daies, which happeneth verie feldome. But if the lawes within every particular countie or shire were dulie ministristed without parcialite, and truly executed with all expedition, as they ought, and not so lingred as they be, then needed not the poore people to run 100, 200, yea 300, or 400 miles (as commonly they doe) to seeke iustice, when they might haue it neerer home : through the want whereof, besides that their sutes are like to hang in ballance peraduenture seuen yeeres, ³they, hauing spent al, in the end fall to extreme beggerie ; which inconuenience might easilie be remoued, if all matters and caufes whatsoever were heard at home in their owne shire or countie with expedition. And to say the truth, what fooles

England is divided into shires and precincts, in each of which Law-Courts are held monthly or quarterly.

But abuses have crept in : causes are delayd, and that's as bad as false judgment, as Latimer said.

[¹ Sig. C 1]

Also poor folk have to go 100 miles off to get justice,

[² Sig. C 1, back] and perhaps wait for 7 years.

10 II. I. Englishmen are very fond of going to law.

They spend their
all, too, on
greedy lawyers.

are they (yea, woorthie to be inaugured fooles with the laurell crowne of triple follie) that, whilst they might haue iustice at home in their owne country, and all matters of controuerſie decided amongſt their neighbors and friends at home, will yet go to lawe two or three hundred miles diſtant from them, and ſpend all that they haue to inrich a ſort of greedie lawiers, when at the laſt a ſort of ignorant men of their neighbors muſt make an end of it, whether they will or not. This, me thinke, if euerie good man would perpend in himſelfe, he would neither go to lawe himſelf, nor yet giue occaſion to others to doe the like.

Theod. I gather by your ſpeeches that theſe people are very contentious and quarellous, either elſe they would neuer be ſo diſirous of revenge, nor yet proſecute the lawe ſo feuerely for euerie trifle.

Englishmen are
very contentious,
and fond of going
to law.

[P Sig. C 2]

Amphil. They are very contentious indeed. Inſomuch as, if one giue neuer ſo ſmall occaſion to another, ſute muſt ſtraight be commenced; and to lawe go they, as round as a ball, till ¹either both, or at leaſt the one, become a begger all daies of his life after.

Theod. But on the other fide, if they ſhuld not go to lawe, then ſhould they ſuſtaine great wrong, and be iniuriſed on euerie fide.

The Law was
made to do right
and to ſtill ſtrife,
but it's now per-
verted to con-
trary ends.

Amphil. Indeed the lawe was made for the administration of equitie and iuftice, for the appeaſing of controuerſies & debates, and for to giue to every man (*Quod ſuum eſt*) That which is his owne, but being now peruered and abuſed to cleane contrarie ends (for now commonly the law is ended as a man is fr[e]inded) is it not better to ſuffer a little wrong with patience, referring the reuenge to him who faith: *Mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam.* ‘Vengeance is mine, and I wil reward,’ than for a trifle to go to lawe, and ſpende all that euer he hath, and yet come by no remedie neither? Our fauour Christ biddeth vs, if any man will go to law with vs for our cote, to giue him our cloke alſo, and if any man will giue thee a blowe on the one cheeke, turne to him the other, whereby is ment, that if any man will iniuriſe vs, and doe vs wrong, we ſhould not refiſt nor trouble our felues, but ſuffer awhile, and with patience refer the due reuenge thereof to the Lord.

Christ teaches us
to ſuffer wrong
patiently, and let
God revenge it.

[P Sig. C 2, back]

Amphil. Why? Is it not lawful then for one Christian ² man, to go to lawe with another?

Amphil. The Apostle faith ‘many things are lawfull which are not

expedient,' and therefore, though it be after a sort lawfull, yet for euery trifle it is not lawfull, but for matters of importance it is. And yet not neither, if the matter might otherwise, by neighbors at home, be determined.

Theod. Yet soone doubt whether it be lawfull or no for one Christian man to go to lawe with another for any worldly matter, bringing in the apostle Paule rebuking the Corinthians for going to lawe one with another.

Amphil. The apostle in that place reprehendeth them not for going to law for reasonable causes, but for that they, being christians, went to lawe vnder heathen judges, which tended to the great discredite and infamie of the Gospell. But certeine it is, though some anabaptists *Quibus veritas odio est*, and certeine other heritikes have taught the contrarie, yet it is certeine, that one christian man may go to lawe with an other for causes reasonable. For it being true, as it cannot be denied, that there is a certeine singularitie, interest, and proprietie in euery thing, and the lawe being not onely the meane to conferue the same propriety, but also to restore it againe,¹ being violate, is therefore lawfull, and may lawfully be attempted out, yet with this prouiso, that it is better, if the matter may otherwise be apeased at home, not to attempt lawe, than to attempt it. But if any schismatikes (as alas the worlde is too full of them) should altogether deny the vse of the lawe, as not christian, besides that the manifest word of God in euery place would easilie conuince them, the examples and practises of all ages, times, countries, and nations, from the first beginning of the world, togither with the example of our fauour Christ himselfe, who submitted himselfe to the lawes then established, would quicklie ouerthrow their vaine imaginations. The lawe in it selfe, is the square, the leuell, and rule of equitie and iustice, and therefore who absolutely contendeth the same not to be christian, may well be accused of extreeme folly. But if the lawes be wicked and antichristian, then ought not good christians to sue vnto them, but rather to sustaine all kind of wrong whatsoeuer.

Theod. Then it seemeth by your reason, that if the lawe be so necessarie, as without the which Christian kingdomes could not stand, then are lawiers necessarie also for the execution thereof.

Amphil. They are most necessarie. And in my iudgement a man [^{1st} Sig. C 3, b ck]

St. Paul rebukes
the Corinthians,
who were Chris-
tians, for going
to law before
Heathens.

But as it's Law's
business to keep
things straight,
Christians may
go to law.

[^{1st} Sig. C 3]

Law is the
square and level
of Equity.

Lawyers are necessary, and can serve God; but English ones don't, they've such cheveril consciences.

Lawyers take bribes, and beggar the poor, and

turn Law topsy-turvy.

Their fee is an Angel, xos.

[¹ Sig. C 4]

The abuses of our procedure and Prisons are frightful.

A man is clapt in irons, thrown into a dungeon, with only a little straw fit for a

dog; and there he lies, lice-bit, ill-fed, till he looks like a ghost, or dies.

He stops there for 3 months, 3 years, perhaps his whole life.

can serue God in no calling better than in it, if he be a man of a good conscience, but in *Dnalgne* the lawiers have such chauerell consciences, that they can serue the deuill better in no kind of calling than in that: for they handle poore mens matters coldly, they execute iustice parcially, & they receiue bribes greedily, so that iustice is peruerted, the poore beggared, and many a good man iniuried therby. They respect the persons, and not the causes; mony, not the poore; rewards, and not conscience. So that law is turned almost topsie turvie, and therefore happy is he that hath leaft to doe with them.

Theod. The lawiers must needs be verie rich if they haue such large consciences.

Amphil. Rich, quoth you? They are rich indeede toward the deuill and the world, but towards God and heauen, they are poore inough. It is no meruaile if they be rich and get much, when they will not speake two words vnder an angell (for that is called a counfellers fee.) But how they handle the poore mens causes for it, God and their owne consciences can tell; and one day, I feare me, they shall feele to their perpetuall paine, except they repent and amend.

¹ *Theod.* How be iudgments executed there vpon offenders, transgreffours, and malefactors? with equitie, & expedition, or otherwise?

Amphil. It greeueth me to relate thereof vnto you, the abuses therein are so inormous. For if a felonie, homicide, a murtherer, or else what greeuous offender foever, that hath deserued a thousand deaths, if it were possible, happen to be taken and apprehended, he is straightway committed to prison, and clapt vp in as many cold yrons as he can beare, yea, throwne into dungeons and darke places vnder the ground, without either bed, clothes, or anything else to helpe himselfe withall, saue a little straw or litter bad inough for a dog to lie in. And in this miserie shall he lie, amongst frogs, toades, and other filthie vermine, till lice eate the flesh of² his bones. In the meane space hauing nothing to eate, but either bread and water or else some other modicum scarce able to suffice nature; and many times it hapneth, that for want of the same pittance they are macerate and shronke so low, as they either looke like ghofts, or else are famished out of hand. And this extreme misery they lie in some time (perhaps) a quarter of a yeere, sometimes halfe a yeere, a

² off.

tweluemonth, yea, sometimes two or three yeeres, and perchance ¹all ¶ Sig. C 4, back;
their life, though they have deserued death, by their flagitious facts
committed. Who feeth not that it were much better for them to die
at once, than to suffer this extreme miserie? Yea, the sufferance of
this extremitie is better vnto them, than the taft of present death
it selfe. And therefore in the cities reformed beyond seas, there is
notable order for this: for as soone [as] any felon or malefactor what-
foever that hath deserued death is taken, he is brought before the
magistrate, witnesse comes in, and giues euidence against him, and
being found guilty, and conuict by iustice, is presently, without any
further imprisonment, repriuation or delay, condemned, and being
condemned, is led presently to the place of execution, and so com-
mitted to the sword.

Theod. What is the cause why they are kept so long before they
go to execution in *Dnalgne*.

Amphil. Sometimes it commeth to passe by reason of (will doe all) otherwife called mony, and sometimes by freends, or both, for certeine it is, the one will not worke without the other. Hereby it commeth to passe, that great abuses are committed. For if any man that hath freends and mony (as mony alwaies bringeth freendes with him) chance to haue ²committed neuer so heinous, or flagicious a deed, whether robbed, stollen, slaine, killed or murthered, or what-foever it be, then letters walke, freends besfir them, and mony carrieth all away: yea, and though the lawe condemne him, iustice conuicteth him, and good conscience executeth him, yet must he needes be repriued, and in the meane time his pardon, by false suggestion forsooth, must be purchased, either for friendship or mony.

Theod. That is a great abuse, that he whom the lawe of God and of man doth condemne, should be pardoned. Can man pardon or remit him whom God doth condemne? Or shall man be more mercifull in euill, then the author of mercie himselfe? it is God that condemneth, who is he that can faue? Therefore those that ought to die by the lawe of God, are not to be faued by the lawe of man. The lawe of God commandeth that the murtherer, the adulterer, the exorcist, magician and witch, and the like, should die the death. Is it now in the power or strength of man to pardon him his life?

Amphil. Although it be wilfull and purposed murther, yet is the

The oversea Re-
form Cities try
culprits at once,
and execute em.

Will-do-all or
money.
In England the
delay's due to
Will-Do-All,
money.

¶ Sig. C 51
If a felon or
murderer has
friends and
money, he's safe
to get reprieved
or pardoned.

14 II. I. *One law for the Rich, another for the Poor.*

The crime is set
down to chance
medley, accident.
[¹ Sig. C 5, back]

prince borne in hande that it was plaine chance medley (as they call it) meere casuall, and fortunate, and therefore ¹may easily be dispensed withall. Indeede, the wisedome of God ordeined, that if any man chanced to kill an other against his will, he shoule flie to certeine cities of refuge, and so be faued, but if it were proued that he killed him wittingly, willingly, & prepensedly, then he shoule without al exception be put to death. And herein is great abuse, that two hauing committed one and the same fault, the one shall be pardoned and the other executed. If it be so that both haue committed offence worthy of death, let both die for it; if not, why should either die? Experience prooueth this true, for if a Gentleman commit a greeuous offence, and a poore man commit the like, the poore shal be sure of his *Sursum collum?* But the other shall be pardoned. So Diogenes, seeing a sort of poore men going to hanging, fell into a great laughter. And being demanded wherefore he laughed, he answered at the vanitie and follie of this blind word. For, ifaith he, I see great theeuers lead little theeuers to hanging. And to say the truth, before God, is not he a greater theefe that robbeth a man of his good name for euer, that taketh a mans house ouer his head, before his yeeres be expired, that wrefeth from a man his goods, his lands and liuings whervpon he, his wife, children and familie should ²liue, than he that stealeth a sheepe, a cow, or an oxe, for necessities sake onely, hauing not otherwise to releue his neede? And is not he a great theefe that taketh great summes of mony of the poore (vnder the names of fees), and doth little or nothing for them? Though this be not theft before the world, nor punishable by penall lawes, yet before God it is plaine theft, and punishable with eternall torments in hel. Let them take heede to it.

If a Gentleman
and a Poor Man
commit the same
offence, the
Gentleman gets
pardond, and the
Poor Man hung.

Yet isn't a grasping
landlord or
lawyer, a bigger
thief than the
poor man who
steals from
hunger?

[² Sig. C 6]

Theod. Cannot the prince then pardon any malefactor?

Amphil. Some are of opinion that the prince, by his power imperiall and prorogatiue, may pardon and remit the penaltie of any law, either diuine or humane, but I am of opinion that if Gods lawe condemne him, no prince ought to faue him, but to execute iudgement and iustice without respect of persons to all indifferently. But in causes wherein Gods lawe doth not condemne him, the prince may pardon the offender, if there appeere likelyhoode of amendment in him. And yet let the prince be sure of this, to answere at the day of

No prince should
pardon him
whom Gods lawe
condemns.

judgement before the tribunall seate of GOD, for all the offences that the partie pardoned shall commit any time of his life after. For if the prince had cutte him off when the ¹lawe had passed on him, that [p. Sig. C 6, back] euill had not been committed. To this purpose I remember I haue heard a certeine pretie apothegue vttered by a iester to a king. The king had pardoned one of his subiectes that had committed murther, who, being pardoned, committed the like offence againe, and by meanes was pardoned the seconde time also, and yet filling up the measure of his iniquitie, killed the third, and being brought before the king, the king being very forie, asked why he had killed three men, to whom his iester stading by replied, saieng: "No (O king) he killed but the first, and thou haft killed the other two: for if thou hadst hanged him vp at the first, the other two had not beeene killed, therefore thou haft killed them, and shalt answere for their bloud." Which thing being heard, the king hanged him vp straightway, as he very well deserued: yet notwithstanding, I grant that a prince by his power regall and prerogatiue imperial may pardon offenders, but not such as Gods lawes and good conscience doe condemne, as I said before. The power of a prince is comprehended *In Reluis licitis in Deo*, but not *in Rebus illicitis contra Deum*: In things lawfull in God, not in things vnlawfull contrarie to God. No power or principalitie vpon the earth ¹whatsoeuer may dispense with the lawe of God, but what it setteth downe must stand inuiolable. Therefore if it be asked me wherein a prince may pardon any malefactor, I answer, for the breach or violation of any humane lawe, ordinance, constitution, statute, or sanction, but not against Gods word and lawe in any condition.

Theod. How is iustice ministered there, sincerenly and truely, so as the poore haue no cause iustly to complaine, or otherwise?

Amphil. If any haue cause to complaine (as alas too many haue) it is for want of due execution of the lawes, not for lacke of good lawes. For, God be praised, there be many good lawes, but indeed now and then through the negligence of the officers they are coldly executed. But if the lawes there in force were without parcialtie dulia executed, there shuld be no iust occasion for any to complaine. And truly to speake my conscience there is great parcialtie in the magistrates and officers, nay, great corruption. For if a rich

How a king was shown by his jester that, by pardoning a murderer, he had kill'd 2 men.

[p. Sig. C 7]

A prince can only pardon breaches of man's law, not God's.

There's great partiality in English magistrates and officers.

The rich man is
favour'd against
the poor.

[² Sig. C 7, back]

Judges should go
by justice, not
by bribes.

Lawyers rob
their poor clients
by taking big
fees,

and fees from 3
people when they
can only do one's
work.

The fees for
warrants, &c.
are too high.

[² Sig. C 8]

The marrow's
suckt out of
poor men's bones.

Bailiffs take
bribes to let de-
fendants get
away.

All officials
should act with
a single eye to
God's glory.

man and a poore man chance to haue to doe before them, the matter I warrant you shall quickly be ended, and, my life for yours, shall go vpon the rich mans fide, notwithstanding the poore mans right be apparent to all the world. But ¹if two poore men of equall estate go to lawe togither, then their sute shall hang three or foure yeeres, peraduenture seuen yeeres, a dozen, yea twentie yeeres, before it be ended, till either the one or both be made beggers. For reformation whereof, I would wish iudges and officers to respect the caufe, not the persons, the matter, not the gaine? and not to regard either letter or any thing else, which might be sent them to peruer true iudgement. And iustice being ministred, then to read ouer their commendatorie letters in Gods name, remembraunce what the wise man saith : 'Gifts blinde the eies of the wise, and peruer iudgement.' The lawiers I would wish to take leſſe fees of their clients. For is not this a plaine theft before God, to take ten, twentie, or fortie shillings of one poore man at one time, and so much of a great fort at once, and yet to speake neuer a word for the most part of it? And notwithstanding that they can be present but at one barre at once, yet will they take diuers fees of fundry clients to speake for them at three or foure places in one day. The other officers who grant foorth the warrants, the *Subpœnas*, the *Scire facias*, and diuers other wris, and those who keepe the seales of the same, I would wish to take leſſe fees also. For is not ²this too vnreasonable, to take a crowne, or ten shillings for writing six or seuen lines, or little more. And then the keeper of the feale, for a little waxe, he must haue as much as the other. And thus they fooke out (as it were) euē the very marrowe out of poore mens bones. The shirifs, bailifs, and other officers also, I would wish, for fees, for bribes, for friendship and rewards, not to returne a *Tarde venit*, or a *Non est inuentus*, when they haue either sent the partie word to auoid couertly, or else, looking through their fingers, see him, & will not see him, forcing herby the poore plaintife to lose not only his great & importable charges in the lawe, but also peraduenture his whole right of that which he sueth for. Thus let euery officer by what kind of name or title soever he be called, or in what kind of calling soever he be placed, doe all things with single eie, and good conscience, that God may be glorified, the common peace maintained, iustice supported, and their owne consciences dif-

II. I. *No Subject may take Arms against his Prince.* 17

charged against the great daye of the Lorde, when all flesh shall be conuented before the tribunall seate of G O D all naked as euer they were borne, to render accounts of all their dooings, whether they bee good or badde, and to receiue a rewarde according to their deeds. ¹By [1 Sig. C. 8, back] all which it appeareth, that if any for want of iustice have caufe to complaine, it is thorow the corruption of iniquitie, auarice, and ambition of greedy and insaciable cormorants, who, for desire of gaine, make haucke of all things, yea, make shipwracke of bodies and soules to the deuill for euer, vnlesse they repent.

Theod. How farre are princes lawes to be obeied, in all things indifferently without exception?

Princes are to be
obeyd in all
things not con-
trary to God's
law.

Amphil. In all things not contrarie to the lawe of God and good conscience, which, if they be against God and true godlineffe, then must we say with the apostles, *Melius est deo obedire, quam hominibus,* It is better to obey God than man.

Theod. If the prince than doe set foorth a lawe contrarie to the lawe of God, and do constraine vs to doe that, that Gods word commandeth vs we shall not doe. In this or like case, may subiects lawfully take armes, and rise against their prince?

Amphil. No, at no hand, vnlesse they will purchase to themselues eternall damnation, and the wrath of God for euer. For it is not lawfull for the subiects to rise up in armes against their liege prince for any occasion what² soever. For proofe whereof we read that our [2 Sig. D. 1] sauiaour Christ was, not onely obedient to the maististrates, and superior powers in all things, but also taught his apostles, discipiles, and in them all people and nations of the world, the very same doctrine. And therefore the apostle faith, *Omnis anima potestatis superioribus subdita sit:* Let euery soule submit himselfe to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. And he that refisteth this power, refisteth the ordinance of God, and purchaseth to himselfe eternall damnation. Peter also giueth the like charge, that obedience in all godlines be giuen to the superior powers, and that praiers and intercessions be made for kings and rulers, and giueth the reason why, namely, that we may lead *Vitam pacificam*, A peacable life vnder them.

But their sub-
jects mustn't in
any case take
arms against
them.

If subjects do,
they resist God's
ordinance.

Theod. Why? How than? If we shall not refist them, then we do obey them in any thing either good or bad.

If princes order
things against
God's law,
subjects must
lay down goods
and life, and

[¹ Sig. D. 1, back]

put their necks
on the block,
rather than dis-
obey God.

Even if the
prince is ungodly,
he's sent by God,

and is to be
obeyed.

[² Sig. D. 2]

Every one is to
love his prince as
himself.

May every Eng-
lishman who
won't love and
pray for Queen
Elizabeth, die
straight off!

Amphil. No, not so neither. In all things not contrarie to Gods word we must obey them, on paine of damnation. But in things contrarie to the word and truth of God, we are thus to doe. We must depose and lay foorth ourselues, both bodie, and goods, life, and time, (our ¹ conscience onely excepted, in the true obedience whereof we are to serue our God) euen all that we haue of nature, and committing the same into the hands of the prince, submit our selues, and lay downe our necks vpon the blocke, chooing rather to die than to doe any thing contrarie to the lawe of God and good conscience. And this is that, that the apostles ment when they saide: It is better to obey God than man. Not that obedience to man in all godlineffe is forbid, but that obedience to God is to be preferred before the obedience to man.

Theod. What if the prince be a tyrant, a wicked prince, and an vngodly, is he notwithstanding to be obeied?

Amphil. Yea, truely in the same order as I haue shewed before. For whether the prince be wicked, or godlye, hee is sent of GOD, bicause the Apostle saith: There is no power but of GOD. If the prince be a godlye prince, then is hee sent as a great blessing from GOD, and if hee be a tyrant, then is he raised of GOD for a scourge to the people for their finnes. And therefore whether the prince be the one, or the other, he is to be obeied as before.

Theod. And bee kings and rulers to ²bee beloued, and praied for of their subiects.

Amphil. That is without all doubt. For hee that hateth his prince in his hart, is a contemner of Gods ordinance, a traitour vnto GOD, and to his countreye: yea, hee is to loue his prince as well as himselfe, and better, if better can bee, and to praye for him as for himselfe. For that an infinite number doe rest and depend vpon his Maiestie, which doe not so vpon himselfe. So that the miscarrieng of him, were the destruction (peraduenture) of manye thousands.

Theod. This being so, then hath *Dnalgne* great cause to praye for their prince, by whose woorthye indeuour, and wise gouernement, the state of that realme is so peaceably maintained.

Amphil. They haue great caufe indeede not onely to loue hir Maiestie, but also to praye for hir Grace, and whosoeuer will not doe so, I beseech the LORDE in the bowels of his mercie, to stoppe their

breath, and to take them awaye quicklye from the face of the earth. For by hir Highnesse wife gouernement, the realme is in peace, Gods word flourisheth, and abundance ¹ of al things floweth in the same, [¹ Sig. D. 2, back] the Lord God be praised therefore, and preserue hir noble Grace long to reigne amongst vs. Amen.

Theod. Let vs proceed a little further: I pray you how is the youth ^{As to Education,} of that country brought vp, in learning or otherwise?

Amphil. The youth truely is well brought vp, both in good letters, nurture, and maners for the most part. For the better performance whereof, they haue excellent good schooles, both in cities, townes, and countries, wherein abundance of children are learnedly brought vp. But yet notwithstanding, some parents are much to be blamed in the education of their children, for the most keepe their sonnes to schoole but for a time, till they can write and read, and well if all that too, and very seldome or neuer doe they keepe them so long at their booke, as vntill they atteine to any perfect knowledge indeed. So that by this means learning doth, and is like, greatly to decay. And if one aske them, why they keepe not their children to schoole till they prooue learned, they will answer, " Bicause I see learning and learned men are little esteemed, and ne thinke the best of them can hardly live by the same. And therefore I will set him to an occupation, which will be alwaies sure." As herein they say ²true, for I cannot but lament the smal preferment now adayes that learning getteth in the world amongst men, & the smal account that is made of the same. This is the cause why learning doth, and will in time, greatly decay. For who is he, that hauing spent all his substance vpon learning, yea, his bodie, strength, and all, and yet can hardly liue thereby, and maintaine himselfe withall, that will couet after learning, which is both so chargeable, and painfull to be come by?

Theod. Be there not Vniuersities, colledges, and free schooles, where youth may bee brought vp in learning *Gratis* without any charges to their parents?

Amphil. There are such places indeed. But alas they are abused & peruerted to other ends than was intended by them at the first. For whereas those places had great liuings, rents, reuenues & possessions giuen to them, it was to this onely end and purpose, that those poore children whose parents were not able otherwise to main-

we've good schools, and plenty of children at 'em,

but the boys stay only till they can read and write;

then they're put to business, because they can't live by Learning, which gets small preferment now-adays.

[² Sig. D. 3]

The free Colleges and Schools are abused and perverted

taine them at learning, should be brought vp vpon the charges of the house, and not those whose parents are able to maintaine them of themselues. But now we see the contrarie is true, and whereas they were giuen to maintaine none but the poore only, now ¹ they maintaine none but the rich onely. For except one be able to give the regent or prouost of the house, a peece of mony, ten pound, twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a hundred pound, a yoke of fatte oxen, or a couple of fine geldings, or the like, though he be neuer so toward a youth, nor haue neuer so much need of maintenance, yet he comes not there, I warant him. If he cannot preuaile this way, Let him get him letters commendatory from some of reputation, and perchance he may speed, in hope of benefite to insue. So that the places in the vniuersities and free schooles, seeme rather to be folde for mony and frenship, than giuen *gratis* to them that haue neede, as they ought to be.

Theod. Are there not many inferior schooles in the country besides, both for the instrucion and catechisifg of youth?

Amphil. There are so, almost in euery parish. But alas, such small pittance is allowed the schoolmaisters, as they can neither buy the libraries, nor which is leffe, hardly maintaine themselues; which thing altogether disuadeth them from their booke, and is occasion why many a one shortheit in palpable ignorance all daies of their life.

Theod. Would you haue any man without exception, to take vpon him the office of a ²schoolmaister, and to teach the youth?

Amphil. No, at no hand. Firft I would wish that euery one that is a schoolmaster, how learned or vnlearned soeuer, should be examined, as wel for his religion, and his sufficiencie in knowledge, as also for his integrtie of life, & being found found in them all, to be alowed & admitted to teach. For if euerie one that wold, should take vpon him to teach without further triall, then might there great inconuenience follow. For papists and other schismatikes, apostataes, or else whatsoeuer, might thrust in themselues, & so corrupt the youth. Ignorant & vnlearned would take vpon them high learning & so delude their schoolers. And if his life should not be answerable to his profession, then should he perueret his auditorie also. Therefore in my iudgement is there great choise to be made of schoolmaisters. Thus they being tried, let them be admitted *gratis*,

from poor chil-
dren to rich ones.
[¹ Sig. D. 3, back]

Unless a father
can bribe the
Master,

his son 'll not get
into College or
School.

The places are
jobd, not given
to the needy.

In poor schools,
Schoolmasters
are so badly paid
that pupils shor-
t in palpable igno-
rance all their
days.

[² Sig. D. 4]

Every School-
master should be
examined for
character and
knowledge,

and then pay no
fees to teach.

by authoritie. But now there is great abuses herein, for being found sufficient in all respect, yet must he be constrained to take a license, whether he will or not, and must pay xxvi. or xx. shillings for it, & yet will this serue him no longer than he tarieth in that dioces, & comming into another he must pay as much there for y^e like license also, whereas peraduenture he shall scarcely get ¹so much cleere in three or foure yeeres in that dioces, they haue such fat pasture. But if they would needes haue them to haue licenses, (which I grant to be very good,) I would wish they might haue them *gratis*, without mony, for if it be lawfull for them to teach for mony, it is also lawfull without. And if they be not woorthie it is pittie that mony should make them woorthie ; and againe, if they be woorthie, it is pittie that without mony they cannot be so accepted.

Theod. What way were best to be taken for the good education of youth?

Amphil. It were good (if it might be brought to passe) that in euery parish throughout the Realme, there were an indifferent able man appointed for the instruction of youth in good letters, hauing a reasonable stipend alowed him of the same parish for his paines. But now they teach and take paines for little or nothing, which vtterly discourageth them, and maketh manie a cold schooler in *Dnalgne*, as experience daily teacheth.

Theod. Be there men of all kinde of trades, occupations, and ^{Asto} Tradesmen, artes, as there be in other countries.

Amphil. Yea, truely: there are men of all sciences, trades, mysteries, faculties, occupa^{tions}, and artes whatsoeuer, and that as cunning as any be vnder the sunne. Yea, so expert they be, as if they would let a thing alone when it is well, they were the brauest workmen in the world. But as they seeke to excell and surpassee al other nations, in finenes of workmanship, so now and than they reape the fruits of their vaine curiositie, to their owne detriment, hinderance, and decay.

Theod. How liue the merchant men amongst them? are they rich and wealthy, or but poore?

Amphil. How should they be poore, gaining as they do, more then halfe in halfe in euerie thing they buy or sell? And which is more, fometimes they gaine double and triple; if I faid quadruple, I lied not.

Now he must
pay 26s. or 30s.
for a license for
every diocese he
teaches in.

[¹ Sig. D. 4, back.]

Licenses should
be given to fit
men gratis.

Every Parish
ought to have its
Schoolmaster
with a good
stipend.

English Artisans
are as clever as
any under the
sun.

[² Sig. D. 5]

The Merchants
are rich, making
from 100 to 400
per cent.

22 II. I. *Merchants export goods wanted at home.*

Theod. I pray you how can that be so?

Amphil. I will tell you. They haue mony to lay foorth vpon euerie thing, to buy them at the first and best hand, yea, to ingroffe, and to store themselues with abundance of al things. And then will they keepe these marchandise till they waxe verie scarse, (and no maruaile, for they buy vp all things) and so consequently deere. And then will they sell them at their owne prices, or else (being able to beare the mony) they will keepe them still. By this ¹meanes they get the deuill and all; besides these, they haue a hundred flights in their budgets to rake in gaine withall.

They buy up the whole stock of an article, hold it till it gets dear, and then sell it at their own price.

[¹ Sig. D. 5. back]

Theod. I pray you, what be those?

Merchants also buy up English goods and export them.

Amphil. They will go into the countries, and buy vp all the wooll, corne, leather, butter, cheese, bacon, or else what marchandise soever they knowe will be vendible, and these they transport ouer seas, whereby they gaine infinit summes of mony.

Theod. That is woorderful that they are so permitted: are there no lawes, nor prohibitions to the contrarie, that no wooll, corne or leather, shoulde be transported ouer seas?

Traitors to God and their country they are, dodging the laws by buying the Queen's license,

[² Sig. D. 6]

and then exporting 500 times as much as they've leave to.

They thus make things dear; and

many a black curse do they get from the poor for it!

Amphil. There are good lawes, and great restraints to the contrary, in so much as they be apparent traitors to God, their prince and country, that carrie any of the foresaid things ouer without speciaill licence thereto. Yet notwithstanding, either by hooke or crooke, by night or day, by direct or indirect meanes, either knowne or unknowne, they wil convey them ouer, though their owne country want the same. But to auoide all dangers, they purchase a licence & a dispensation for mony, bearing the prince in hand that they do it for some good cause, when indeed the cause is their owne ²priuate gaine. And for the speedier obtaining of their desires, they demand license for the cariage ouer but of so much and so much, when in truth they conuey ouer, vnder the colour of this their license, ten times,

twenty times, yea, a hundred times, five hundred times, yea, a thousande times as much more. And thus they delude their prince, impouerish their country, and inrich themselues, feeding, clothing and inriching our enimies with our owne treasure. Hereby it commeth to passe that all things are deerer, and scarfer, than otherwise they would be if restraynt were had, and I warrant them many a blacke curse haue they of the poore commons for their doing.

Theod. Would you not haue licenses granted for the transporting ouer of such things for no cause?

Amphil. Yes. But first I would haue our owne people serued, that they wante not in any case. For it is very vnmeete to feede We ought to feed
our own folk
first. forren nations, and our owne country famish at home. But if it were so, that *Dnalgne* flowed in abundance and plentie of all things, whatsoever are necessarie for the vse and sustentation of man in this life, and other nations (prouided that they bee our freendes ¹and of Then we may
export our sur-
plus to friendly
lands.
¶ Sig. D. 6, back. christian religion) wanted the same then would I wishe that some of our superfluitie might be erogate to them, to the supplie of their necessities, but not otherwise. And this standeth both with the lawes of God, charitie, and good conscience.

Theod. These are marueilous sleights to get mony withall. But I pray you, haue they no more?

Amphil. They want none, I warrant you; for rather than to faile, they haue their false weights, their counterfet ballances, their adulterate measures, and what not, to deceiue the poore people withall, and to rake in mony. But the Wise man telleteth them, that false ballances, counterfet weightes, and vntrue measures, are abomination to the Lord. And the Apostle telleteth them, that God is the iust reuenger of all those that deceiue their brethren in bargaining. And yet shall you haue them, in the sale of their wares, to sweare, to teare, and protest, that 'before God, before Iefus Christ, as God shall saue my soule, as God shall judge me, as the Lord liueth, as God receiue me, as God helpe me, by God and by the world, by my faith and troth, by Iefus Christ,' and infinite the like othes, that such a thing cost them so much, & so much, and it is woorth ²this much and that much, when And they swear
by all that's holy
that their wares
cost so much,
and are worth so
much, lying
loudly.
¶ Sig. D. 7. in truth they sweare as false, as the liuing Lord is true, as their owne consciences can beare them witnesse, and I feare me will condemne them at the day of the Lord, if they repent not. For if a thinge cost them ten shillings, they will not blush to aske twentie shillings for it. If it cost them twentie shillings, they will not shame to aske forty shillings for it, and so of all others, doubling, tripling, and quadruplicing the price thereof, without either feare of God, or regard of good conscience.

Theod. What say you of the Drapers and cloth sellers? liue they in the same order that the oth.r doe?

They'll not blush
to ask 20s. for
what cost 'em
10s. ! having no
fear of God.

And the Drapers
are as bad.

They rack and
stretch their
cloth, so that it
won't keep out
rain.

[¹ Sig. D. 7, back]
They have dark
shops, to take
buyers in.

They charge 100
per cent. profit,
and swear the
goods cost em all
the money.

The Clothmakers
are a bad lot
too.

They use bad
wool; get the
Fuller to thicken
it, and the
Clothier to shear
it low; then they
sell it for fine
cloth.

[¹ Sig. D. 8]

They stretch it
too.

Our Goldsmiths

Amphil. Of Drapers I haue little to say, sauing that I thinke them cater cofins, or cofin germans to merchants. For after they haue bought their cloth, they cause it to be tentered, racked, and so drawne out, as it shall be both broader and longer than it was when they bought it almost by halfe in halfe, or at leſt by a good large fife. Now the cloth being thus ſtreched forth in euery vaine, how is it poſſible either to endure or hold out; but when a shower of raine taketh it, then it falleth and ſhrinketh in, that it is shame to ſee it. Then haue they their ſhops and places where they ¹ſell their cloth commonly very darke and obscure, of purpoſe to deceiue the buiers. But *Caveat emptor* (as the old faieng is) Let the buiers take heed. For *Technas machinant, & retia tendant pedibus*, as the faieng is: 'They meane deceit, and lay fnares to intrap the feet of the ſimple.' And yet notwithstanding, they will be ſure to make price of their racked cloth, double and triple more than it coſt them. And will not ſtickle to ſweare, and take on (as the other their confraters before) that it coſt them ſo much, and that they doe you no wrong. God giue them grace to haue an eie to their conſciences, and to content themſelues with reaſonable gaines.

Theod. I thinke there is great fault to bee found in the firſt makers of the cloth, for the naughtineſſe thereof, as well as in the Drapers, is there not?

Amphil. No doubt of that. For ſome put in naughtie wool, and cauſe it to be ſpun & drawne into a very ſmall thred, and then compounding with the Fuller to thicke it very muſch, and with the Clothier alſo to ſheare it very lowe, and with ſome liquide matter to lay downe the wooll ſo cloſe, as you can hardly ſee any wale, and then ſelleth it as though it were a very fine cloth indeed. Other ſome mixe good ²wooll and naughtie wooll together, and viſing it as before, they will ſell it for principall good cloth, when it is no thing leſſe. And then for their further aduantage, euery vaine, euery ioint, and euery thred muſt be ſo tentered and racked, as I warrant it for euer being good after. Now, it being thus tentered at his hands, and after at the Drapers handes, I pray you how ſhould this cloth be ought, or endure long?

Theod. Be there Goldſmithes there any ſtore alſo, as in ſome other countries there be?

Amphil. There are inow, and more than a good meanie. They are (for the most part) very rich and wealthye, or else they turne the fairest fide outwards, as many doe in *Dnalgne*. They haue their shops and stalles fraught and bedecked with chaines, rings, golde, filuer, and what not woonderfull richly. They will make you any monster or antike whatsoeuer, of golde, filuer, or what you will. They haue store of all kinde of plate whatsoeuer. But what? Is there no deceit in all these goodlye shewes? Yes, too many. If you will buy a chaine of golde, a ring, or any kinde of plate, besides that you shall paye almost halfe in halfe more than it is woorth (for they will per-suade¹ ²you the workmanship of it comes to so much, the fashion to so much, and I cannot tell what:) you shall also perhaps haue that golde which is naught, or else at least mixt with other droffie rubbage, and refuse mettall, which in comparison is good for nothing. And sometimes, or for the most part, you shal haue tinne, lead, and the like, mixt with filuer. And againe, in some things some will not sticke to sell you filuer gilt for gold, and well if no worse too now and then. But this happeneth very seldome, by reason of good orders, and constitutions made for the punishment of them that offend in this kind of deceit, and therfore they seldome dare offend therein, though now and then they chance to stumble in the darke.

Theod. Haue you good wines in *Dnalgne*?

Amphil. Indeede there are excellent wines as any be in the world, yet not made within the Realme, but comming from beyond seas: which when the vintners have once got into their clouches, and placed in their sellers, I warrant you they make of one hogshead almost two, or at lefft, one and a halfe, by mixing & blenting one with another, & infusing other liquor into them. So that it is almost vnpossible, to get a cup of pure wine of it selfe at the tauerne. But harshe, rough, stipticke, and hard³ wine, neither pleasant to the mouth, nor wholsome to the bodie. And notwithstanding that they gaine (welneare) one hogshead in another, yet shall their measures, their gallons, pints, and quarts be so spare, and their prices so hie, that it is woonderful to see. And if a poore simple man go to drinke a pint of wine for the strengthening of his bodie, and for necessities sake onely, he shall be sure to haue that wine brought him, that is too bad, though his monie (I am sure) is as good as the rich mans. But

are very rich, and
have shops and
stalls loaded with
gold and silver
ornaments.

[¹ used orig.]
[² Sig. D 8, back]
Goldsmiths mix
gold with base
alloy; and some
sell silver-gilt
for gold.

Vintners mix
bad wine with
good;

[³ Sig. E 1]

give short
measure, and
palm off bad
wine on poor
men.

26 *Butchers' Tricks. Greedy Grasiers' profits.*

if a man of countenance come to drinke for pleasure & niceenesse, he shall haue of the best wine in the seller, though his mony be no beter than the poore mans. With infinite the like abusess, which I omit.

Theod. Haue you anything to say of Butchers, and thosse that kill and sel meate to eate?

Butchers are
impudent
enough to try
and make too
per cent profit!

Butchers let the
blood soak into
their meat.

[¹ Sig. E 1, back]

They puff lean
meat up with
air, and pin fat
on it.

Some 'll also
sell meat that
has died in a
ditch.

[² for for, orig.]

[³ Sig. E 2]

Meat is dear.
Greedy grasers
keep up the
price of beasts.

Amphil. Nothing but this: that they are not behind in their abusess, fallacies, and deceits. For whereas they pay a certeine price for a fat beefe, they are so impudent that they thinke their market is naught, except they may gaine halfe in halfe, or the best quarter at the least. And to the end their meate may be more saleable to the eie, the fairer, and the fatter, they will kill their beasts, and suffer the bloud to remaine within them still, for this cause that ¹it may incorporate it selfe in the flesh, and so thereby the flesh may not onely be the weightier (for in some places they buy all by waight) but also may feeme both fresher, fairer, newer, tenderer, and yonger. And, which is more commonly, they vse to blowe and pufte it vp with winde, to the end it may feeme bigger, fatter, and fairer to the eie. Or if the meate it selfe be leane, and naught, then will they take the fat of other meate, and pin vpon the same very artificially, and all to delude the eies of the beholders. And though it be neuer so old meate, tough, and stale, yet will they sweare, protest, and take on woonderfully, that it is very new, fresh and tender. So that no more in them than in others, there is little conscience at all. There be some of them also now and then that will not sticke to sell meate which hath died (perchance) in a ditch, if it be worth the eating (which is most lamentable), and yet wil beare the world in hand that it is excellent meate, that it died kindly, and so foorth. So that hereby infinite diseases are caught, and manie times present death insueth to the eaters thereof.

Theod. Is meate deere or good cheape there for ² the most part?

Amphil. It is commonly deere, seldom good ³cheape, and the reason is, bicause a sort of infaciablie cormorants, greedie grafiers I meane, who, hauing raked togither infinite pasture, feed all themselfes, and will not sell for anie reasonable gaine, and then must the Butchers needs sell deere, when as they buie deere.

II. I. *Evils of enclosing Commons & making Parks.* 27

Theod. Why? would you haue no grafiers? then how coulde there bee anie meate fatted?

Amphil. Yes I would haue grafiers. But I would not haue a few rich cobs to get into their clowches almost whole countries, so as the poore can haue no releefe by them. For by this meanes pastures and groundes are not onely excessively deere, but also not to be got of any poore men for monie, whereby it commeth to passe, that the poore are impouerished, and the rich onlie benefited. Yea, so greatly are the poore hereby inthralled, that they can hardly get a peece of ground to keepe so much as a poore cow or two vpon for the maintenance of themselues, and their poore families. This is a great abuse: for by this meanes rich men eate vp poore men, as beasts eate vp grasse.

A few rich cobs
get whole
counties into
their hands,

and stop poor
folk keeping a
cow.

Rich men eat
up poor ones as
beasts do grass.

Theod. Doe the gentlemen and others, take in commons & inclosures (as your words feeme to imploye) for their better feeding?

¹ *Amphil.* Yea, almost all indifferently. For whereas before was [1 Sig. E 2, back] any commons, heathes, moores, plaines, or free places of feeding for the poore and others, euen all in generall, now you shall haue all feuerall, inclosed, and appropriate to a few greedy gentlemen, who will neuer haue inough, till their mouths be full of clay, and their bodie full of grauell. Commons and moores which were woont to be the onely stae of the poore, & whervpon eche might keepe cattle, both neate and sheepe, according to his estate, are now taken from them, wherby manie are constrained either to famish, or else to beg their breade from doore to doore. So that in proces of time, if these inclosures be suffered to continue, the state of the whole Realme will mightily decay, a few shall be inriched, & many a thousand poore people, both men, women, and children, in citie and country, vtterlie beggered. Oh it was a goodlie matter, when the poore man might turne out a cow, or two, & certeine numbers of sheepe to the commons, and haue them kept well vpon the same, both winter & sommer, freely without costing them ought; whereas now they are inclofed, made feueral, and imployed to the priuate commoditie of a few ambitious gentlemen, so as the poore man cannot keepe so much as a pig or a goose vpon ²the same.

The gentry
enclose the poor
folk's commons,

and make em
starve.

A good time it
was when a poor
man could keep
a cow on the
common!

Now he can't
keep a goose.
[2 Sig. E 3]

Theod. It is great pittie that such oppresyon of the poore should be borne withall or suffered in any of what degree foever.

28 II. I. Sheep turn-out Men. Wool-sellers' Tricks.

Then vain rich
men pull down
villages to make
parks and
warrens;

and their conies
eat up poor
men's corn.

Parks must not
be made out of
poor men's
livelihoods.

[[¶] Sig. E 3, back]

[[¶] read Too]

Commons are
inclosed; and in-
stead of a village
you've only a
shepherd and
a dog.

Some grasiess
keep from 500
to 20,000 (?)
sheep.

[[¶] Sig. E 4]
They cheat in
selling their
wool, mixing
bad with good;

Amphil. It is so. But what than? You shall haue some that, not for the benefit of graffing and feeding onely, will take in commons, and inclosures, but also some that for vaineglorie, worldly pompe, promotion & foolith pleasure, will not sticke to pull downe whole townes, subuert whole parishes, and turning foorth all a begging, rather than to faile, make them parkes, chases, warrants, and I cannot tell what of the same. And when they haue thus done, their bucks, their does, their stags, harts, hinds, conies and the like, not onely not fead *intra gyrum suum*, Within their circuit, but eate vp and deuoure all the poore mens fields, corne, graffe and all. So that it is hard if any poore mans corne scape their fangs within a dozen myles compasse, which is a pitifull and a lamentable case.

Theod. Would you not haue parkes, and chases for game?

Amphil. I disallow them not. But I would not haue them to be made of the poore mens liuings, nor yet to stand to the prejudice of the whole country adioining. Therefore if they ¹will haue parkes and chases, First let them see that they be of their owne proper lande, and then that they be no annoiance to the country about, and then let them haue them, in the name of God.

Theod. Be there any grasiess of sheep there also?

Amphil. Two ² manie, if it pleased God. For nowe euerie meane gentleman, if he can pretend (though neuer so little) title to any common, heath, moore or pasture, he will haue it, *quo iure, quaque iniuria*, Either by hooke or crooke. And wheras before time there hath bin a whole parish or towne maintained vpon the same, now is there no bodie there dwelling, but a sheepeheard and a dogge lolling vnder a bush. Thus are whole parishes and townes made praiers to rich grasiess. Yea, you shall haue some grasiess to keepe fие hundred, a thousand, fие thousand, ten thousand, twentie thousand sheepe of his owne at one time: now iudge you what infinite commodities ariseth hereof. Besides that, when they sell their wooll (as though they gayned not inough otherwife), it is a worlde to see what subtleties, (I will not faie what falsities), they vse in the sale thereof. As first to intermixt and blente the good and naughtie wooll ³ together, to winde it vppe cloofelie that it shall not be seene within. And which is more, because they sell all by waight, they will not sticke to vse sinistre meanes to make it pease well in waight. Some lay it, after it

II. i. *Landlords rack Tenants. Incoming Fines.* 29

is clipped from the sheepe's backe, in a moyft seller, vnderneath the grounde, to the ende that the moyfture, humiditie and wette of the seller may infill into it, and so may peafe the more. Othersome will cast wette salt into it, which in time will liquifie, and cause it to be the waightier. With manie other the like wicked sleights and leger-dimeanes, wherof, for that I would rather give them a taste in hope of amendment, then a plaine description for feare of displeasing them, at this time I will omit to speake any more till further occasion be offered.

wetting it
putting salt into
it, &c.

Theod. Is the lande there possessed in common, or else is their propertie in all things, and so consequently landlords?

Amphil. There is not onelie a propertie in lands there, but also in all things else, and so landlords inow more than be good ones iwis.

Landlords

Theod. Doe they let out their lands, their farmes, and tenements, fo as the poore tenants may liue well vpon them?

¹ *Amphil.* Oh no. Nothing lesse. But rather the contrarie is [¹ Sig. E 4, back] most true. For when a gentleman or other hath a farme or a lease to let: first he causeth a surueior to make strict inquirie what may be made of it, and how much it is woorth by yeere; which being found out, and signified to the owner, he racketh it, straineth it, and as it were so setteth it on the tenter hookes, stretching euery vaine, and ioint thereof, as no poore man can liue of it. And yet if he might haue it freely for this racked rent too, it were somewhat well. But (out alas, and fie for shame) that cannot be. For though he pay never so great an annuell rent, yet must he pay at his entrance a fine, or (as they call it) an income of ten pound, twenty pound, forty pound, threescore pound, an hundred pound, whereas in truth the purchase thereof is hardly woorth so much. So that hereby the poore man, if hee haue scraped any little thing togithèr, is forced to disburse it at the first dash, before he enter the doores of his poore farme, wherein, what through the exceſſive fine, and the vreafonable rent, he is scarce able to buy his dog aloſe, liuing like a begger, or little better, all his life after. The time hath beene, and not long ſince, when men feared God & loued their brethren, that one might haue had a house, with paſture ² lieng to it, yea good farmes, leafes and liuings for little or nothing. Or (as ſome hold) for a Gods penie, as they called it. But howſoeuer it be, certeine it is, that that farme or

get their farms
valued, and not
only rack the
rent higher,

but make the
tenant pay a fine
as an incoming,

so that he's
hardly enough
left to buy his
dog a loaf.

[² Sig. E 5]

30 II. I. *Landlords should not grind their Tenants.*

Rents have risen
twentyfold of
late years.

lease, which one might haue had then for ten shillings, is now woorth ten pound. For twentie shillings, now is woorth twentie or three-score pound. For fortie shillings, is now woorth fortie pound, or a hundred pound and more.

Theod. Then I perceiue, they let not out their land after the old rent : doe they ?

Amphil. No. You may be sure of that, they loue nothing worse. They cannot at any hand brooke or digest them that would counsel them to that.

Theod. Why ? Haue not landlords authoritie, and may they not make as much of their owne lands as they can ? They count that good policie, and I haue heard them say : Is it not lawfull for me to liue vpon mine owne, and to get as much for it as I can ?

Landlords
should think
that they've
only the use of
the land ; and so
they ought to
give the poor a
chance of living
by it.
¹ Sig. E 5, backl

Amphil. They must first consider that the earth is the Lords (as the Psalmograph saith : *Domini est terra, & plenitudo eius*, The earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse thereof) and all that dwelleth therein. And therefore being the Lords in propertie, it is theirs but in vse onely. And yet not so. But that they¹ ought to lay it foorth to the support of the poore, that all may liue iointly togither, & maintaine y^e state of the common wealth to Gods glorie. For other wise, if a few rich cobs shuld haue al, & the poore none, it shuld come to passe, that the state of the common wealth would soone decay, & come to confusion. They ought also to consider how they came by their lands, whether by right or wrong. If by right, then are they bound by Gods lawe, and good conscience, to let forth the same so as the poore may well liue vpon them. But if they posses them wrongfully, then ought they to surrender their tytle, and give it to the right heire :

No man ought
to plunder his
fellow-man,

but do to him as
he'd be done by.

but take them with that fault, & cut of their necks : No man ought to poole and pill his brother, nor yet to exact and extort of him more than right and reason requireth, being sure that the same measure which he measureth to others, shal be measured to him againe. Euery one must so deale with his owne, so let it out, & so liue, as others may liue by him, and not himself alone, for the earth is comon to al *Adams* children ; & though fortune haue given more abundance to some than to other some, yet dame nature hath brought foorth al alike, & will receiue them againe into hir wombe alike also. And therefore ought euerie christian to doe to others, as they would wish to

II. I. *How Landlords pillage their poor tenants.* 31

be done to : which ¹lawe, if it were obserued well, would cut of all [Sig. E 6] oppresion whatsoeuer.

Theod. I pray you, how came noble men and gentlemen by their lands at the first?

Amphil. Cicero saith that in the beginning, before the world was impeopled, men comming into huge & waft places inhabitable, either toke to themselues as much land as they would, or else wan it by y^e sword, bought it by purchase, had it by gift, or else receiuied it from their forefathers, by lineal discent, or hereditary poffeffion. Which faieng of his muſt needs be true, both in the people of the former world & in vs also. Then feeing this is so, ought not euery good christian to ſet forth his lande, ſo as poore men may liue upon it as wel as himſelfe: whoſoeuer doth not this, eſchewing al kind of exaction, polling, pilling & ſhauing of his poore tenants, he is no perfect member of Chriſt, nor doth not as he would be done by.

Christian landlords are bound to let their land at moderate rents.

Theod. You talked before of fines, and incomes: what if a poore man be not able to paye them, what then?

Amphil. Then may he go ſue y^e goose, for houſe gets he none, y^e deuill thal haue it before him, if he will giue him mony inough: no, if y^e fine be not paid (thogh the rent be neuer ſo gret) he ſhall haue a fig, affone as a houſe. If y^t a poore man haue got neuer ſo little a ſtock to liue vpon and to ²maintaine his occupation or trade withall, yet ſhall he be conſtrained to ſell the fame, yea, peraduenture all the goods and implements he hath, to pay this fine, ſo that during y^e whole terme of his life, he ſhall hardly recouer the fame againe. And then his leafe being expired, out of doores goes he, for that he is not able to pay as great a fine or greater than before. Thus are many a one, with their wiues, children, and whole families, turned out a beging, and die, not a fewe of them, in extreeme miserie.

[Sig. E 6, back]
Poor men have to ſell all their ſtock to pay Fines to Landlords;

and at the end of their leafe, out they go.

Theod. I thought one might haue had a farme or a lease for a reasonable rent yeerely, without any fine or income paing.

Amphil. One would thinke ſo. For, paing as much yeerely, as can be made of the thing it ſelue: I wonder what deuill put it into their heads to receiuie ſuch fines and incomes, to vndoe the poore withall. The deuill himſelf, I thinke, will not be ſo ſtraiete laced, nor yet ſo niggardly to his feruants, as they are to their poore tenants. For whereas they will not let out a farme or a lease for one and twentie yeeres

The Devil himſelf is not ſo niggardly as ſome Landlords.

32 II. I. *Landlords cheat by Renewal-Fines.*

[¹ Sig. E 71]

without a great fine, the deuill will giue them his whole territorie and kingdome of hell, to their inheritance for euer, and that freely, paing nothing for the same. And yet notwithstanding all this.

Some cheat their
tenants out of
the first year or
two's rent when
paid in advance.

There are some landlords, (nay lewdlords) that hauing racked their rents to the vttermost, exacted fines, & made all that euer they can of their farms, will yet proceede further, and as men neuer content with inough, will haue their poore tenants to pay a yeere or two yeeres rent before hande, promising them (before they haue it) that they shall pay no more rent yeerelie, till the same be runne vp. But when they haue it, they pay their yeerely rent notwithstanding, and neuer receiuē any restitution for the other. And at euerie change forsooth they must take newe leafes, and pay new fines, being borne in hand that their leases before are insufficient, and of no effect. And sometimes fourre or five yeres, yea ten, twentie, fortie, or fiftie yeeres before their former lease be expired, shal they be constrained to renue their leafes, and disburse great somes, or else haue their houses taken ouer their heads. Besides, as though these pollages and pillages were not ill enough, if their leases be not warely and circumspetely made (all quirks and quiddities of the lawe obserued), they will finde such meanes (or else it shal go verie hard) that the poore man shall forfait his lease, before his lease be expired: which thing if it happen, out goes the poore man, ² come on it what will.

Landlords force
tenants to renew
their Leases at
heavy fines,

and make 'em
forfeit their
Leases too.

[² Sig. E 7, back]

Theod. Are the instruments, the writings, & conueiances in that land so intricate, as they are hard to be kept, for so I gather by your words?

Leases and Con-
veyances are
also terribly
long, and contain
so many pro-
visoes that a
poor man can
hardly keep
em all.

Amphil. Yea, truly. For whereas in times past when men dealt vprightly, and in the feare of God, fixe or feuen lines was sufficient for the assurance of any peece of land whatsoeuer, now 40. 60. 100. 200. 500. nay a whole skin of parchment, and sometimes 2. or 3. skins will hardly serue. Wherin shalbe so many prouisoies, particles, & clauses, & so many obseruances, that it is hard for a poore ignorant man to keep halfe of them: and if he fail in one of the left, you knowe what followeth. In former time a mans bare word was sufficient, now no instrument, band, nor obligation can be sure inough. Fy vpon vs! what shal become of vs? we are they of whom the prophet speakest, saing: There is no faith, there is no truth nor righeteousnes left vpon the earth. God be mercifull vnto vs!

II. I. *Landlords the cause of Dearness. Tailors.* 33

Theod. Seing that farms and leafes are so deere, I am perswaded that euerie thing else is deere also : is it not so ?

Amphil. Yea truly it cannot be chosfen. And yet it is strange, that in abundance of althings there shuld be dearth of all things, as there is.

Theod. Who is it long of, can you tell ?

^[1 Sig. E 8] *Amphil.* Truly of the landlords onlie in my simple iudgment : *Landlords are the only cause of high prices.* for whenas they inhance the rents, & set their fines on tenter as they do, how shuld he either faue himselfe, pay his rent, or maintaine his familie : so that these greedy landlords are the very causers of al the derth in *Dnalgne*; for truly they are worse than the caterpillers & locusts of Egypt, for they yet left some thing vndeououred, these nothing ; they spoiled but for a time, these for euer : thofe by commandement from God, these by commision from the diuel.

Theod. How, I pray you, doe these iollie fellowes spend these wicked gotten goods ?

Amphil. I shame to thinke, & I blush to tell you how. For, for the most part, they spend it in dicing, carding, bowling, tennise plaieng, in rioting, feasting & banketing, in hauking, hunting, & other the like prophane exercisises. And not onlie vpon these things do they spend their goods (or rather the goods of the poore) but also in pride their *Summum gaudium*, & vpon their danſing minions, that minſ it ful gingerlie, God wot, tripping like gotes, that an egge would not brek vnder their feet. But herof inough, & more than perchance wil pleſe their deinty humors.

Theod. Do they exceed in pride of apparel, or are they very ^{As to Apparel,} temperate, & sober minded people ?

^[2 Sig. E 8, back] *Amphil.* They are not onely not inferior to any nation in the world in the exceſſe of apparell, but are farre woorſer, if woorſer can be. For the tailors doe nothing else but inuenſ new fashions, disguised ſhapes, and monſtrous formeſ of apparell euery day. Yea turely I thinke they ſtudie more in one day for the inuenſion of new toies, and ſtrange deuifes in apparell, than they doe in ſeauen yeeres, yea, in all the daies of their life, for the knowledge of Gods word.

Theod. Me thinke then by your reaſons it ſeemeth, that Tailors

and are the
causers of all the
monstrous
English dress.

are the causers of all that monstrous kind of attire worne in *Dnalgne*,
and so consequently are guiltie of all the euill committed by the same.

Amphil. You say very truly. For *Mali alicuius author, ipsius mali, & malorum omnium, quae ex inde orientur, reus erit coram Deo*, The author of any euill, is not onely giltie before God of the euill committed, but also of all the euill which springeth of the same. Therefore I would wish them to beware, and not *Communicare alienis peccatis*, To be partakers of other mens finnes, for be sure they shall finde inough of their owne to answer for. But so far are they from making conscience hereof, that they heape vp finne vpon finne. For if a man ¹aske them how much cloth, veluet, or filke wil make a cote, a dublet, a cloke, a gowne, hosen, or the like, they must needs haue so much, as they may gaine the best quarter thereof to themselves. So play they with the lace also : for if tenne yards would serue, they must haue twentie ; if twentie would serue, they must haue fortie ; if fortie woulde serue, they must haue fixtie ; if fixtie would serue, they must an hundred, and so forward. Besides that, it must be so drawne out, strecthed, and pulled in in the sowing, as they

[Sig. F 1]
And they charge
too high for
making it.

They're in
league with the
Drapers, to cheat
their customers.

[2 Sig. F 1, back]

get the best quarter of it that way too. Then must there as much go for the making, as halfe the garment is woorth. Befides this, they are in league, and in fee, with the Drapers and Clothfellers, that if a man come to them to desyre them to helpe them to buy a peece of cloth, and to bring them where good is, they will straightway conduct them to their feer, and whatsoeuer price hee setteth of the cloth, they perfaude the buier it is good, and that it is woorth the money, whereas indeed it is nothing so, nor so. And thus they betwixt them diuide the spoile, and he (the tailor) receiuers his wages for his faithfull seruice done. If a man buy a garment of them made, hee shall haue

it very faire to the eie (therfore it is true : *Omne quod gliscit non est aurum*, Euerie faire thing is not the best) but either it shall be lined with filthie baggage, and rotten geare, or else strecthed & drawne out vpon the tenter, so as if they once come to wetting, they shrinke almost halfe in halfe, so as it is a shame to see them. Therefore I aduise euery one to see to his garments himselfe, and according to the old prouerbe : *Sit oculus ipsi coquus*, Let his eie be his best cooke, for feare lest he be serued of the same sauce, as manie haue beene to their great hinderance.

II. i. Great Ruffs worn. Starching-Houses for Ruffs. 35

Theod. I haue heard it saide that they vse great ruffes in *Dnalgne*: As to *Ruffs*, do they continue them still as they were woont to doe, or not?

Amphil. There is no amendement in any thing that I can see, neither in one thing nor in other, but euery day woorser and woorser, for they not only continue their great ruffes still, but also vse them bigger than euer they did. And whereas before they were too bad, now they are past al shame & honestie, yea most abhominable and detestable, and such as the diuell himselfe would be ashamed to weare the like. And if it be true, as I heare say, they haue their starching houses made of purpose, to that vse and end only, the better to trimme and dresse their ruffes to please the diuels eies withall.

men wear bigger ones than ever, such as the Devil himself 'ud be ashamed to put on.

Theod. Haue they starching houses of purpose made to starch in? Now truly that pases¹ of all that euer I heard. And do they nothing [? Sig. F 2] in those brothell houses (starching houses I shuld say) but onelie starch bands and ruffes?

They have
Starching
Houses for
Ruffs,

Amphil. No, nothing else, for to that end only were they erected, & therefore now are consecrate to Belzebub and Cerberus, archdiuels of great ruffes.

Theod. Haue they not also houses to set their ruffes in, to trim them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in? *and Trimming Houses too*

Amphil. Yea, marry haue they, for either the same starching houses (I had almost said farting houfes) do serue the turn, or else they haue their other chambers and secret closets to the same vse, wherein they tricke vp these cartwheele of the diuels charet of pride, leading the direct way to the dungeon of hell.

for these
Cartwheels of
the Devil's
chariot.

Amphil. What tooles and instruments haue they to set their ruffes withall. For I am persuaded they cannot set them artificially inough without some kind of tooles?

Amphil. Very true: and doe you thiuke that they want any thing that might set forth their diuelrie to the world? In faith fir, no, then the diuell were to blame if he should serue his clients so, that maintaine his kingdome of pride with such diligence as they doe. And therefore I would you wifit it, they haue their tooles and instruments for the purpose.

² *Theod.* Whereof be they made, I pray you, or howe?

Amphil. They be made of yron and steele, and some of braffe kept as bright as filuer, yea, and some of filuer it selfe; and it is well, [? Sig. F 2, back]
They've metal Tools too,

36 II. I. *Putters and Setting-Sticks. Bad Leather.*

Like a Squirt or
Squib,

call'd *Putters*
or *Putting-Sticks*.
Setting-Sticks
they have too,
for their cursed
Ruffs.

Some *Leather*
is only half
tanned,

and won't
keep out water.

if in processe of time they grow not to be gold. The fashion whereafter they be made, I cannot resemble to anything so well as to a squirt, or a squibbe, which little children vsed to squirt out water withall; and when they come to starching, and setting of their ruffes then must this instrument be heated in the fire, the better to stiffer the ruffe. For you know heate will drie and stiffer any thing. And if you woulde know the name of this goodly toole, forsooth the deuill hath giuen it to name a putter, or else a putting sticke, as I heare say. They haue also another instrument called a setting sticke, either of wood or bone, and sometimes of gold and siluer, made forked wise at both ends, and with this (*Si diis placet*) they set their ruffes. But bicause this cursed fruit is not yet grown to his full perfection of ripenesse, I will therefore at this time say no more of it, vntil I here more.

Theod. What is the leather in that country? excellent good, and wel tanned, or but indifferently? I haue heard some complaine of it.

[¹ Sig. F 3]

¹ *Amphil.* There is of both sorts, as of all things else; but as there is some naught (I can not denie) so is there otherosome as good as any is vnder the sunne. And yet I must needes confess, there is great abuse in the tanners, makers, curriers, and dressers of the same: for you shall haue some leather scarcely halfe tanned, so that within two or three daies or a week wearing (especially if it come in any weat) wil straight-way become browne as a hare backe, and which is more, fleete and run abroad like a dishclout, and which is most of all, will holde out no water, or very little. And the faieng is (*Erubefco dicere*, I shame to speake it) that to the ende they may saue lyme and barke, and make the speedier returne of their mony, they will take vp their hides before they bee halfe tanned, and make sale of them. And as herein they are faultie and much to be blamed, so in the surprisng of their hides, they are worthie of reprehencion. For that which they buy for ten shillings, they will hardly sell for twentie shillings; that which they buy for twentie shillings they will not willingly sell for fortie shillings. And thus by this meanes, they make shooes unreasonale deere.

Theod. Then the fault is not in the shoomakers onely, that shooes be so deere?

[² Sig. F 3, back]

² *Amphil.* There is fault inough in them also. For whereas the

others inhanse the price of their hides excessiuelie, these felowes racke
it very vncioncionaly. And yet if the shooes were good, though Shoemakers

deere, it were somwhat tollerable; but when they shall be both naught,

and yet deere too, it is too bad, and abhominable. Now if you aske

the shoomakers in whom the fault doth confift, they will answere you

ſtraiſt, in the tanner. But this is certeine, that as there is a horrible fault

in the tanner, ſo there is more, or as much in the shoomaker. For firſt

of all the shoomaker liquoreth his leather, with wateriſh liquor, kit-

then ſtuffe, and all kinde of baggage mingled togither. And as

though that were not ill inough, they faie they vſe to put ſalt in the

liquor, wherewithall they greafe the leather of purpose, to the ende

that the leather ſhal neuer hold out water. And truelie it is verie

likelie they doe ſo, or ſome ſuch like thing, for ſurelie almost none of

their leather will holde out water, nor ſcarſelie durt neither. Befides

this, it is a worlde to fee how lowſely they ſhall be fowed, with hotte

alles, and burning threeedes, euerie ſtitch an inch or two from another,

ſo as with-in two or three daies you ſhall haue them feamerent and all

too betorne. And yet as though this were not ¹ill inouge, they adde

more. Sometimes they will ſell you calues leather for cow leather,

horse hides for oxe hides, and truelie I thinke rotten ſheepe ſkins for

good ſubſtantial & dureable ſtuffe. And yet ſhall a man pay for

theſe as well as for better ſtuffe. And to the ende they may ſeeme

gaudie to the eie, they muſt be ſtitched finelie, pincked, cutte, karued,

rased, nickt, and I cannot tell what. And good reaſon, for elſe

would they neuer be fold. The inwardre foole of the shooe commonlie

ſhall be no better than a cattes ſkinne, the heeles of the shooes ſhall

be little better. And if the ſooles be naught (as they be indeede

yet muſt they be vnderlaied with other peeces of leather, to make

them ſeeme thiſke and excellent ſtuffe, whereas indeede they are

nothing leſſe. And to make the ſooles ſtiffe, and harde, they muſt be

parched before the fire, and then they are moſt excellent ſooles, And

ſuch as will neuer be worne, no, I thinke not in halfe a coopple of

daies, which is a woondershull thing. Oh, farewell former worlde,

for I haue hearde my Father faie, and I thinke it moſt certeineſſe

true, that a paire of shooes in thoſe daies woule haue kept a man as

drie as a feather, though he had gone in water all the daye thorowe,

²yea, all the weeke thorow, to the very laſt day, and would haue

Shoemakers

liquor their
leather,

and salt
it, ſo that it
won't keep out
water.

They ſow with
hot awls and
rotten thread

¹ Sig. F 4]

They ſell you
horse-hide for
ox-hide,

and use cat-skin
for inside ſoles.

They parch the
ſoles too.

Why, in my
Father's days, a
pair of ſhoes 'ud
keep the wet
out, and laſt a
year.

² Sig. F 4, back]

Now, they'll
hardly last a
month.

serued a man almost a whole yeere togither, with a little repairing. But now fwe or fixe paire, halfe a score, yea, twentie paire of shooes will scarsely serue some a yeere, such excellent stuffe are they made of. But let all shooemakers, tanners, and the rest, take heed, for at the day of judgement they shal render accounts for this their doing. And here-of hitherto.

Theod. Be there any Brokers, or such kind of fellowes in your country?

Amphil. If it be a thing that is good, it is a doubt whether it be there, or no, but if it bee naught (as brokerie is) then past peraduenture it is there.

Brokers are

Theod. What maner of fellowes are those Brokers, for truly their profession, and the vse thereof, is vnknowne to me, saue onely that I haue heard of some of their dealings?

jolly fellows

[¹ Sig. F 5]
who, not being
able to live by
anything else,

make friends
with thieves,
and buy every-
thing these steal,

Amphil. Seeing that you are ignorant of this goodly mysterie, and high profession of brokerie, and also so desirous to knowe the truth of them, I will in few words (as briefly as I can) declare vnto you the substance thereof. These Brokers are iolly fellowes forsooth, and such as in the beginning of their occupation, haue either iuft nothing, or else very little ¹at all, who, when they haue attempted, and assaied by all kind of meanes and waises to liue, and cannot by any of them al either any thing thriue, or which is leffe, not so much as maintaine their poore estate withall, though but meanly, then fall they into acquaintance with loose, dissolute, and licentious persons, either men or women, to whom all is fish that comes to net, and who haue limed fingers, liuing vpon pilfering, and stealing, and of these they buy for little or nothing, whatsoeuer they shal haue filched from any. And thus by this meanes in proesse of time, they feather their nests well inough, and growe (many of them) to great subfstance and wealth.

Theod. Will they buy any thing whatsoeuer commeth to hand?

Amphil. Yea, all things indifferently without any exception. All is good fish with them that comes to net. They will refuse nothing, whatsoeuer it be, nor whom-soeuer bringeth it, though they be neuer to suspitious, no, although it be as cleere as the day, that it hath beene purloined by finifter meanes from some one or other. And can you for half its value: blame them For why? They haue it for halfe it is woorth.

Amphil. What wares be they (for the most part) which these Brokers doe buy and sell?

¹*Amphil.* I told you they wil refuse nothing. But especially they [Sig. F 5, back] buy remnents of filks, veluets, satins, damasks, grograins, taffeties, lace, either of filke, gold, filuer, or any thing else that is worth ought drapers' and haberdashers' goods chiefly. Othersome buy cloakes, hosen, dublets, hats, caps, coates, flockings, & the like. And these goodly marchandize, as they haue them good cheape, so they will sel them againe to their no small gaines.

Theod. If this be true, that they will receiue all, and buy al that comes to hand, than it must needs be that this is a great prouocation to many wicked persons, to filch & steale whatsoeuer they can lay their hands vpon, seing they may haue such good vent for y^e fame. Is it not?

Amphil. You say very true. And therefore I am perswaded that this dunghill trade of brokerie newly sprong vp, & coined in the deuels minting house, the shoppe of all mischefe, hath made many a theefe more than euer would haue bin, & hath brought many a one to a shamefull end at Tiburne, & else where. Yea, I haue hard prisoners (and not any almost but they sing the same song) when they haue gone to execution, declaime & crie out against brookers. For, said they, ‘if brookers had not bin, we had not come to this shamefull death; if they would not haue received our stollen goods, we woulde neuer ²haue stollen them; and if we had not stollen them, we had not bin hanged.’

This dunghill
Brokerie's made
many thieves,
and brought
many a man to
the Gallows.

Theod. Then it seemeth by your reafons, that brokers are in effect accessory to the goods feloniouslie stolen, & are worthie of the same punishment *that* the others that stale them are worthy of?

Brokers ought
to be hung with
Thieves.

Amphil. They are so, if before they buy them they know pre-cisely that they are stollen, & yet notwithstanding will not onely willingly buy them, but also rather animate, than disanimate them to perseuere in their wickednes, as this their greedy buieng of their wares doth argue *that* they doe. This maketh many a tailer to aske more cloth, more silk, velvet, & lace, than he nedeth, & all to the ende the broker may haue his share; for, be they neuer so litle scraps or shreds or short ends of lace, or smal peces of velvet, satan, silk or y^e like, the broker will giue mony for them, with a wet finger. This maketh many seruants to pilfer, filch, & purloin from their masters, makes Tailors
cheat, and servants pilfer.

Brokers are seed-beds of villainy.

some a yard or two of veluet, satin, taffety, lace, silke, & what not, some hats, cots, cloks, & the like, & some one thing, some another: this hindereth the merchant man, is discomodious to y^e tailer, & beneficial vnto none, but to themselues: & therfore, as they be the seminaries of wickednes, so I besech God, they may be supplanted, except they amend, which I hardly looke for at their hands.

[¹ Sig. F 6, back]

Theod. What woulde you haue them to do, that they may exercise their trade, with good conscience, both before God, and the world?

Amphil. I would wish them to doe thus, which, if they would doe, they might vse their trade in the feare of G O D, both with good conscience before the Lord, with honestie before the world, and finallie to the lesse detriment of the common wealth. First, let them be sure, that the goods which they buy be truely and justly come by of the sellers thereof. And to the end, that herein they may not be deceiued, Let them examine the matter strichtly, where they had it, whose it is, vpon what occasion they would sel it. And in conclusion not to buy it, vntill they haue gone themselues to the right owners of the goodes, and if they find all things well, that they may with good conscience buy it, let them give reason for it, else not. And if euerie brooker would deale thus, their would not so many false knaues bring them such lauish of stollen goods, as they do, neither should their trade grow, as it doth, into hatred and contempt.

Theod. You saide before (except I be deceiued) that if they know before they buy any wares, that the same is stollen, if they than buy them, they are accessary to the same goods so ² feloniously stollen, & so are worthie of the same punishment, that the principals are woorthie of. I pray you, what punishment is inflicted vpon accessaries in *Dnalgne*.

Amphil. Accessaries are punishable by the lawes of *Dnalgne* with the same punishment that the principals are to be punished withall (for so the lawe standeth); but in the execution thereof, we see the cleane contrarie practised. For when as a theefe, or a felon stealeth any thing, hee bringeth it to his receiuer, who, though he knowe it to be stollen, yet with alacritie admitteth it into his custodie, and reteineth it, hereby making himselfe accessorie, and guiltie of the felonie committed. And yet notwithstanding when execution is to be done for the same, the principall is (peraduenture) hanged vp, the other that

To deal honestly,
Broker should
buy only goods
honestly come-
by,

and should
find out the
owners them-
selves.

[² Sig. F 7]

Brokers get out
of the claws of
Justice.

is the accessorie is not once spoken of, nor none can saie 'blacke is his eie.' But howsoeuer it be, I cannot be otherwise persuaded, but that the receiuers and accessories are a great deale more woorthe of death (by the penall lawes) than he who stealeth the thing it selfe, whatsoeuer it be. Bicaufe if they had [not] any to receiue their stolen goods,

But Receivers
deserve hanging
more than the
Thieves they
tempt.

they would not steale at all. And therefore are the receiuers (in my simple opinion) rather the authors, and the principals (especially if they know before they receiue it, that it is stolen) then they that [Sig. F 7, back]

commit the fact, and being the authors of the euill committed, they are to be punished rather than the perpetrators of the fact it selfe.

But for want of due punishment to be executed as well vpon the one as vpon the other, we see greeuous crimes, and flagitious facts without all remorse, or feare of God, daily committed. Good lawes there are, both for the repressing of these, and al other enormities whatsoeuer, but the want of the due execution thereof, is the caufe why all wickednes and mischiefe dooth reigne and rage euerie where as it doth: God amend it, if it be his good pleasure! And thus much briefly of the noble science of brokerie.

Against these,
and like evils,
we have good Laws,
but they're not
put in force.

Theod. What hospitalitie is there kept, or relief for the poore?

Amphil. Very smal. For as for the poore tenants and -commons, they are not able to maintaine any hospitalitie, or to give any thing to the poore, their rents are so raised, & their fines so inhansed, and yet notwithstanding they minister (I am persuaded) more releefe to the poore than the rich & wealthie doe: more poore are fed at their dores than at the rich: more clothed at their hands than at the rich, & more lodged and harboured in their poore houses, than in the ²rich. But yet can I not denie but that the gentlemen, & others, keepe sumptuous houses, lusty ports, and great hospitalitie, but so as the pore hath the leſt part thereof, or rather iuft nothing at all. If the poore come to their houses, their gates be shut against them, where they, standing³ frost and snow, haile, wind or raine whatsoeuer, are forced to tary two houres, 3. 4. yea sometimes halfe a day, and then shal they haue but the refuse, and the very scraps neither. And well if they haue anything too; in steed whereof they are sometimes sent to prison, clapt in irons, manicled, stocked, and what not. This is the almes that most men giue.

As to Hospi-
talitie, the poor
can't afford it.

the in fact they
help other poor
more than the
rich do.

[² Sig. F 8]
Gentlemen keep
grand houses, but
make poor folk
stand for hours
in the cold for a
few scraps.

³ ?=suffering, putting up with; or is 'in' left out?

Of Beggers

we have two
kinds, the Strong,
who won't work;[¹ Sig. F 8, back]Drones, who
ought to be put
in prison till
they do work ;and the old,
sick, and
diseasd.The Sturdy
Beggars who
can work, and
won't,

I'd just hang.

[² Sig. G 1]The aged and
sick ones I'd
have kept in
their own
parish, and
rate richer
parishes for em.*Theod.* Then it seemeth that the poore are simple prouided for ?*Amphil.* They are so indeed, God amend it. And yet I am not so full of foolish pittie that I would haue all kind of beggers indifferently without any exception to be fed and nourished vpon the sweat of other mens browes.*Theod.* Doe you make a difference of beggers then ? Are there two sorts of them ?*Amphil.* Yea, there are two sorts. One sort is of stout, strong, lustie, couragious, and valiant beggers, which are able to worke, and will not. These at no hand are not to be relieved (for *qui non operatur non manducet*,¹ saith the apostle, He that will not worke, let him not eat) but are to be compelled to worke, and not to liue vpon other mens labours. For he that releeueth these, maintaineth them in their idlenesse, and taketh awaie the childrens bred, and giueth it to dogs. These are as drone bees, that liue vpon the spoile of the poore bees that labour and toile to get their liuing with the sweat of their faces. If such fellowes as these will not worke, but liue vpon begging, let them be punished and imprisoned till they be content to worke. The other sort of beggers are they that be old, aged, impotent, decrepite or lame, sicke, sore, or diseased : these I would wish should be looked vnto : and these are they that euerie Christian man is bound in conscience to releuee.*Theod.* What order would you haue obserued in these respects ?*Amphil.* The former sort of sturdie valiant beggers, which are able to worke and will not, I would wish them to be compelled to worke, or else not to haue any releefe giuen them. And if they would not work, to punish them ; if that will not serue, to hang them vp. But herein I would wish a prouiso, that being content to worke, they might haue maisters prouided them, with reasonable wages, for many would faine ²worke, and can get none ; and than if they will not worke, to Tiburne with them. The other sort of beggers, which are either halt, lame, impotent, decrepite, blind, sicke, sore, infirme and diseased, or aged and the like, I woulde wish that they should be maintained, euerie one in his owne parish, at the costs and charges of the same. And if the parish be not able to maintain so manie, then that there should be collections & contributions made in other parishes to supplie their want, and so the former poore people

to be maintained therevpon. For wante of which godlie order and constitution, there are infinite of the foresaid persons that die, some in ditches, some in holes, some in caues and dens, some in fields, some in one place, some in another, rather like dogs than christian people.

Now, many
die in the fields
like dogs.

For notwithstanding that they be neuer so impotent, blind, lame, fick, old, or aged, yet are they forced to walke the countries from place to place to seeke their releefe at every mans doore, except they wil sterue or famish at home, such unmercifulnes is in *Dnalgne*. Yea, in such troupes doe they flocke, and in such swarmes doe they flow, that you can lightlie go no way, but you shall see numbers of them at euerie doore, in euerie lane, and in euerie poore caue; and as though this were not extremity inough ¹they drive them from citie to citie, from parish to parish, from towne to towne, from hundred to hundred, from shire to shire, and from country to country, like flocks of sheepe.

They get no
relief except by
wandering about
and begging.

Here they dare not tarrie for this Iustice, nor there for that Iustice, here for this man, nor there for that man, without a licence or a pasport, wheras a man woulde thinke their old age, their hoare haire, their blindnesse, lamenesse, and other infirmities, shoulde bee pasports good inough for them to go abrod withal, if they cannot get releefe at home. But if the former order, that euery parish shoulde maintaine their poore, were taken, then shoulde they neither need to go abroad, nor otherwise want their daily releefe.

You see poor
aged and sick
Beggars at
every door; and
they're driven
from town to
town like flocks
of sheep.

[¹ Sig. G 1, back]

Theod. Are there no hospitals, spittles, lazars houses, almes houses, nor the like, for the releefe of these poore people?

Not a hundredth
part can be
relieved in our
Hospitals.

Amphil. Yes there are some such in cities, townes, and some other places, wherein manie poore are relieved, but not the hundred part of those that want. For the supplie wheroft would God there might be in euerie parish an almes house erected, that the poore (such as are poore indeede) might be maintained, helped and relieved. For vntill the true poore indeed be better prouided for, let them neuer thinke to please God. Is it not great pity when a man can passe ²no waie almost neither citie nor country, but shall haue both halt, blind, lame, old, aged, fiske, sore, & diseased, hanging vpon his sleue, and crauing of releefe? Whereas, if the former order were establisched, then shoulde none at al need to go abroad, but al shoulde haue sufficient at home. The reformed churches beyond seas, and euen the French, Dutch, & Italian churches in *Dnalgne* are worthie of great com-

We want an
Almshouse in
every Parish,

[² Sig. G 2]

and then the poor
'd get enough
at home.

44 II. I. *Our Husbandmen are shifful, but rach-rented.*

The Reformed
Churches abroad
and the forin
ones here, set us
a good example
in this.

mendations herin, & shal rise vp at the day of iudgment to our condemnation except we repent & amend our vnmercifulneſſe towards the poore. These good churches, folowing the counſel of the almighty who biddeth that there be no begger amonſt vs, ſuffer neuer a one of their countrymen, nor yet any other dweling in their parish, to beg or aſke almes without his parish, nor yet in his parish neither; but by mutual contributions and collections maintaine them, & minister to their neceſſities in all things, Which thing G O D grant the churches of *Dnalgne* may once begin to practife amonſt themſelues, that God may be glorified, and the poore members of Christ Iefus releeued and maintained.

Our *Husband-*
men, or
Farmers, are as
ſkill'd as any in
the world.

[¹ Sig. G 2, back]

Theod. Be there husbandmen there & ſuch others as manure and till the ground, for the further increase of fruits, to the maintenance of the commonwealth?

¹ *Amphil.* There are of ſuch indeed good ſtore, and as excellent men in that kinde of exercife, as any be vpon the earth. They know exactly, I warrant you, the times and ſeasons of the yeere, when euerie kinde of graine is to be ſowed, and what ground is beſt for euerie kinde of corne. They are not ignorant alſo, howe to culture & drefſe the fame; and if it be barren, what kind of dung is beſt to fatten the fame againe. They know the nature, the propertie, and qualitie of euerie ſoile, and what corne it will bring. They know alſo when the ground is to be tilled, when not, how long it will bring foorth good corne, how long not, when it ought to reſt, when not, with all things elſe incident to the fame.

Theod. I thinke they haue good farmes and tenements, that are able to furniſh their ground in this iort, for otherwife they were not able to keepe their oxen, their horses, their feruants, and other neceſſaries, belonging thereto: haue they not ſo?

But many haue
very poor farms,

and others only
houses with no
land,
[² Sig. G 3]

Amphil. No truely haue they not. For ſome haue ſuch fatte farmes, and tenements, as either will bring forth no corne at all (in a manner) or if it doe, verie little, and that not without great coſt beſtowed vpon it. Othersome haue houses with no lande belonging to ²them at all, and yet notwithstanding ſhall pay a good round ſome for the fame alſo. And no marueile, for landlords and gentlemen take all the lands and lyuelode wherevpon there poore tenants ſhoule liue, into their owne hands, and ſuffer not the poore husband-

men to haue so much ground as will finde them corne for the maintenance of their poore families, nor which is more, scarcely to keepe one cow, horse, or sheepe vpon, for their continuall releefe. Or if they haue any, they shall pay tenne times so much as it is worth, to their vtter vndoing for euer. But if landlords would consider that the earth is the Lords, and all that is therein, and that it is theirs, but only in title, interest and propertie (hauing their souereigntie, or chieffie thereof) and the poores in vse and possession, and if they would remember that the poore ought to liue vpon the earth as well as they, than would they not vse such tirannie, such exactions, such pooling, and pilling, and the like, as they doe without all compassion.

or hardly enough
to keep a cow on

Theod. There being such store of husbandmen, and the same so expert in their agriculture as your words import they be, it must needs follow, that there is great plentie of corne, and all kinde of other graine, and the same verie good cheape : is it not so ?

We've lots of
Corn,

¹*Amphil.* There is great store of corne, and all kind of graine, no ^{1² Sig. G 3, back]} nation vnder the sunne like vnto it ; but as I told you before, thorowe the infatiable greedines of a few couetous cormorants, who for their owne priuate commoditie, transport ouer seas whole mountaines of corne, it is made sometimes very scarce. Other-wise there would be gret store at al times. And whereas you say it is good cheape, it is nothing leſſe², as euerie daies successeſſe prooueth true.

but the
export of it
often makes it
scarce.

Theod. How can that be, that there being such store of corne, yet should be deare also.

Its dearness
comes from

Amphil. I will tell you. It commeth to paffe three manner of waies. First, for that landlords racke their rents so extreemely, and aduance their fines so vnreasonably, that the poore man is forced to sell euerie thing deere, otherwise he shoulde not be able to pay his landlord his due, whereas if he had his fearme good cheape, he might afforde to sell good cheape. The fecond cause is (as I haue said), for that the same is carried and conueighed ouer Seas. The third cause is, thorow a forte of ingraters, or forestallers, who intercept euerie thing before it come at the market, or else being come to the market, and hauing mo³ney at will, buy vp either all, or the most part, and carieng it into their celles, and garners at home, keepe it till time of the yeere that corne is scarce, and so consequentlie deere.

x. Rack-rents,

2. Export over
seas,

3. Ingraters or
Forestallers
buying it up,
[³ Sig. G.4.]
and keeping it
till it gets
scarce and dear.

² It's any thing but that. It's dear.

These hellish
Ingraters make
everything dear.

And when there is want of it, then they sell it deere, and when there is plentye, then they make it deerer by buying it vppe in whole heapes as they doe. Thus you see, by this meanes, these hellithe ingratiours, and forestallers make corne and all thinges else deere, all times of the yeere. Nowe iudge you what a horrible abuse is this, for one man to buy vppe all things, and that not for anie neede or want in himselfe, but to sell it againe, deerer then they bought it, thereby to inricher himselfe with the impouerishing of many a thoufande.

Theod. Is there not punishment for this horrible abuse, for me thinke great inconueniences doe followe it?

We have laws
against Fore-
stallers, but
they invent put-
offs to dodge
the Law.
[F Sig. G 4, back]

They buy only
for their fami-
lies; they grow
all their corn;

they get a man
to buy for
em, &c.

But these jolly
fellows

can't take-in
God. He'll ex-
pose em.
[F Sig. G 5]

Husbandmen,

Amphil. There be great penalties, and forfaitures ordained, as well for the repreffinge of this, as of any other outragious abuse; but they playe with this as with all other good lawes, they inuent quirckes and quiddities, shifftes, and put offes ynochough¹ to blinde the eies of the magistrates, and to deliuier themselues (trimly, trimly) from the danger and penaltie of the lawe. For they will say that they buy but for the necessarie prouision of their owne families, and not to sell againe. And then when they doe sell it againe, they will beare you in hande it was of their owne tillage. Or if this way will not serue the turne, then procure they another man to buy it with their owne mony vnder his owne name, and so to sell it againe when hee seeth tyme; but who hath the commoditie, iudge you. But if all these waies faile, then buie they it couertly, and sell it againe as couertly; and thus they buy and sell their owne foules for corruptible monie, which in the laft day shall beare witnesse against them, and consume them: yea, as Saint Iames faith: The monie which they have vniustly got with the polling and pilling of the poore, shall rife vp in iudgement against them, and the rust thereof shall eate and denoure their flesh as it were a canker. But let these iollie felowes (as subtil and as politike as they would seeme to be) take heed vnto themselues, and beware: for though they can blinde mens eies, and deceiue their iudgements, yet let them be sure that they can not deceiue the iudgement of the Lord, but he² that made the eies shall surely see, and he who knoweth the secrets of all harts, shall one day declare the same to their perpetuall confusio[n], except they repent.

Theod. What be these husbandmen? honest, plaine dealing and

simple persons, and such as in whom there is no abuse; or else fraudulent, deceitfull and craftie persons?

Amphil. They are for the most part verie simple and plaine men in outward appeerance, yea, such as if you sawe them, and heard them talke, you would thinke they had no gall, or that there were nothing in them in the world. But if you looke into their dailie exercisies, practisies, and deeds, you shall find them as craftie and subtil in their kind, as the devill is in his, if it be possible. For the simplest of them all, if he make a bargaine with another, he wil be sure to make it so as he himselfe may gaine by it. And it is well, too, if the other though neuer so wise, circumspect, or prouident, be not vtterly deceiued (or to speake in plainer termes, cosoned at their hands), such subtilitie, such policie, and such craftie conueiance, they practise vnder the garment of simplicitie. Yea truly, it is growne to be almost their profession to deceiue, defraud, and beguile their brethren, insomuch as they count him a wise man, a worldly ¹felow, and such a one as will liue in the world, that can not deceiue, and beguile men in bargaining. This is their² *Columbina simplicitas*, (Nay rather, *Vulpina, et serpentina astutia*) which Christ would haue al his children to practise in all things, all daies of their life. But so farre from this christian simplicitie are many, that their whole life (almost) is nothing else, than a continual practise of fraud, and deceit, as for example: You shall haue some that, fending corne to the market to be sould, they will put good corne in the top or mouth of the bag, to seeme faire to the eie, and in the bottome of the facke, very good also (that when it is powred forth of the same, it may yet seeme exceeding good stille,) but in the middest shall be neuer a good corne, but such as is mustie, sprouted, and naught. Whereof can be made neither good bread nor drinke, for mans bodie. I haue knowne otherosome, that hauing a barren cow, and being desirous to put hir away, haue taken a calfe from another melch cowe, and so folde the former barren cowe with hir adulterate calfe, for a melche cowe, whereas shee was nothing lesse.³ With infinite the lyke flightes, which for breuities sake I omit.

Theod. I perceiue then it is good for a man to be warie, that dealeth with these simple ⁴fooles?

² Orig. there.

³ Anything but that. See p. 45; p. 54, l. 2.

theo they look so simple,

are as crafty
as the Devil
himself.

It's almost their
business to cheat

[¹ Sig. G 5, back]

Nearly their
whole life is a
fraud.

They'll put
musty corn in
the middle of a
sack.

They'll sell a
barren cow with
another cow's
calf as if it were
hers.

[⁴ Sig. G 6]

48 II. I. *Sellers to be honest & tell Faults in Goods.*

Amphil. It were good so indeede, else he may chaunce to cough himselfe a dawe for his labour. For I tell you, the foxe, for all his crafte, may go to schoole to these felowes, to learne the rudiments of deceit and craft. Such skilfull Doctors are they herein. If they sell you a cow, an oxe, a horse, or a mare, they will set the price on him, I warrant you, and with-all will protest and take on woondersullie, that hee is but this olde, and that olde, this yoongue, and that yoongue. And which is woorst of all, though they knowe a hundred faultes by them, yet will they not reueale anye vnto him that buyeth the same, which is a playne, and a mainfest deceite before the LORDE, and one daye shall be answered for, I dare be their warrante.

Theod. Would you haue euerie man to declare to the buyers the faultes and imperfections, which they knowe to be in those thinges they sell? then shoule he sell but a little.

Amphil. Euery true christian ought to do so, or else, beffides that he doth not to others, as he would wish to be done to (for this is the chaine wherwith every christian is bound to another,) he also breketh the cords of charity, & committeth ¹most horrible cofonage, and wilful presumptuous deceit before God, which is a fault punishable in the iustice of God, with eternall death, in the lake that burneth with fire and brymestone for euer. And seing we ought to doe to others as we would wish to be done vnto vs, let the deceiuer aske of himselfe when he goeth about to deceiue, these questions: Would I be coofoned? Would I be vndone and spoiled? Would I count him an honest man, or a good christian, that would supplant me in bargaining? Oh no. No more ought I to doe to others, that which I would not should be done to my selfe. Besidies this, consider that the apostle saith, The Lord is the reuenger of all such as deceiue their brethren in bargaining. If they would fall into this or the like consideration, I doubt not, but fraude, deceit, lieng, dissimulation, coofonage, and guile, would be abandoned and put to flight in shorte time; which God grant.

Theod. Well, notwithstanding, I cannot see how we could liue without husbandmen anie maner of waie, could we?

Amphil. No truly. Neither king, prince, earle, duke, lord, knight, esquire, high nor low, rich nor poore, nor yet any potentate, power or principalitie vpon the earth (how great a mo²narch soeuer)

The Fox may go
to school to em.

They tell lies
about the animals
they want to sell.

Every seller
ought to tell the
buyer the faults
of the things he
sells.

[¹ Sig. G 6, back]

We should do to
others as we
wish they'd do
to us.

But we can't live
without husband-
men;

[² Sig. G 7]

II. I. *Chandlers' tricks, and their bad Candles.* 49

could liue or continue without the vse of husbandrie and husbandmen. And therefore they are not only to be beloued of vs, but also to be preferred and to be made much of amongst vs, without whose industrie and labour no man could liue long vpon the face of the earth. For this cause we read the use of husbandry to be commended vnto vs in sundry places of holy scripture ; and which is more, the kingdome of heauen many times to be compared and affimiled to the husbandman for diuers purpos(es) and respects. And when Adam our first parent was expulsid paradise, he was by God himselfe inioyned to manure, to dresse and till the ground ; whereby we may see both the antiquitie, auncientie, and excellencie of husbandrie, euen from the verie beginning of all things. And therefore doubtles is it to be had in reuerence and estimation of all men. But hereof inough.

their labour is
needful for our
life.

Adam was bid-
den by God to
till the ground.

Theod. Be there any Chandlers there as in other places ?

Chandlers

Amphil. Yea, that there are now, I warrant you, and more than deale iustly in euerie respect.

Theod. What do they sell for the most part ?

Amphil. Almost all things, as namelie butter, cheese, fagots, pots, pannes, candles, and a ^l thousand other trinkets besides.

sell cheese, pots,
pans, and other
trinkets.
[^l Sig. G 7, back.]

Theod. What be the abus(es) which they commit, I pray you ?

Amphil. Abus(es), quoth you ? They dare not commit anie, I trowe. But seeing you would so faine knowe, I will give you an inkling of them. First they buy that butter, cheese, and other things, which is naught, because they may haue it for a little monie, and then sell it for verie good : this, manie a poore prentise and other can tell to be true. Or if they buy that which is good, then they either sell it wonderfull deere, or else keepe it till it be past the best, and yet vtter it for as much and more than it cost them. Besides this, that they keepe their butter & cheese till it be mustie and mould, yea, till it smell that no man can eate it, they haue also their false waights & counterfet measures to deceiue the poore people withall. And notwithstanding that they buy sometimes 2. or 3. fagots for a penie, yet wil they not sel one, be it neuer so litle, vnder a penie, gaining aboue the one halfe in the other. And as for the stufte whereof they make their candles, I am ashamed to speake of it. For whereas they should make them of good liquor and sweet, they make them of all kind of kitchen stufte, & other stinking baggage, so that they shal waste &

They buy bad
goods cheap, and
sell em dear.

They have
false weights and
measures.

They make their
candles of stink-
ing baggage,

50 II. I. *Stubbes in the Barber's Shop, being trimd.*

[³ Sig. G 8]

and their wicks
of rope-ends.

consume ¹away like vnto ware against the fire, and yet shall never
burne cleere, nor glie good light, but run ouer, and about the candle-
sticke too shamefully. And as for the wikes within them, they are
of hurds, rope ends, & such other good stiffe. Besides all this, they
haue fleights to make the liquor of the candles alwaies to remaine soft,
to the end it may wafte & consume the faster, with legions of the
like diuises, God be mercifull vnto vs!

Barbers:

There are no
finer fellows
under the sun!

Theod. What say you of the barbers and trimmers of men? are
they so neate, and so fine fellowes as they are said to be?

Amphil. There are no finer fellowes vnder the funne, nor ex-
perter in their noble science of barbing than they be. And therefore
in the fulnes of their ouerflowing knowledge (oh ingenious heads,
and worthie to be dignified with the diademe of follie and vain
curiositie) they haue inuented such strange fashions and monstrous
maners of cuttings, trimmings, shauings and washings, that you would
wonder to see. They haue one maner of cut called the French cut,
another the Spanish cut, one the Dutch cut, another the Italian, one
the newe cut, another the old, one of the brauado fashion, another of
the meane fashion. One a gentlemans cut, another the common
cut, one ²cut of the court, an other of the country, with infinite the
like vanities, which I ouerpasse. They haue also other kinds of cuts
innumerable; and therefore when you come to be trimed, they will
askē you whether you will be cut to looke terrible to your enimie, or
amiable to your freend, grime & sterne in countenance, or pleasant
& demure (for they haue diuers kinds of cuts for all these purposes,
or else they lie.) Then, when they haue done al their feats, it is a
world to consider, how their mowchatowes muſt be preferued and
laid out, from one cheke to another, yea, almost from one eare to
another, and turned vp like two hornes towards the forehead. Besides
that, when they come to the cutting of the haire, what snipping &
snapping of the cycers is there, what tricking & toying, and al to
tawe out mony, you may be ſure. And when they come to washing,
oh how gingerly they behaue themſelues therein. For then ſhall your
mouth be boſſed with the lather, or fome that rifeth of the balles (for
they haue their sweete balles wherewithall they vfe to washe); your
eyes closed muſt be anointed therewith alſo. Then ſnap go the
fingers, ful brauely, god wot. Thus this tragedy ended, ³ comes me

Our Barbers
have all kinds of
cuts of beards.

[³ Sig. G 8, back]

They ask you
whether you'll
be trimd to look
fierce or pleasant.

Your Mous-
tachios are
twisted up like
horns; the scis-
sors go snap snap,

your face is
washt with sweet
balls;

snap go the
fingers;
[³ Sig. H 1]

warme clothes, to wipe and dry him withall ; next, the eares must be picked, and closed togither againe artificially forsooth. The haire of the nostrils cut away, and euery thing done in order comely to behold.

warm cloths are
brought,
your nostril-hairs
cut,

The last action in this tragedie is the paiment of monie. And least these cunning barbers might seeme vncpcionable in asking much for their paines, they are of such a shamefast modestie, as they will aske nothing at all, but standing to the curteſie and liberalitie of the giuer, they will receiue all that comes, how much soeuer it be, not giuing anie againe, I warrant you : for take a barber with that fault, and ſtrike off his head. No, no, ſuch fellowes are *Raræ aues in terris, nigrisque ſimili mi cygnis*, Rare birds vpon the earth, and as geafon as blacke fwans. You shall haue alſo your orient perfumes for your noſe, your fragrant waters for your face, wherewith you ſhall bee all to besprinkled : your muſicke againe, and pleasant harmonie, ſhall found in your eares, and all to tickle the ſame with vaine delight.

and then you're
to pay 'What
you please, Sir.'

And in the end your cloke ſhall be bruſhed, and 'God be with you Gentleman !'

You have frag-
rant waters, and
muſic;

your cloak
bruſh, and good-
bye !

Theod. All theſe curious conceits, in my iudgement are rather done for to allure and prouoke the minds of men to be bountifull and ¹liberall towards them, than for any good elſe, which they bring [¹ Sig. H 1, back] either to the bodie or health of man ?

Amphil. True it is that you ſay, and therefore you muſt needs think they are maifters of their ſcience that can inuent al theſe knacks to get money withall. But yet I muſt needs ſay (theſe niſties ſet apart), barbers are verie neceſſarie, for otherwife men ſhould grow verie ouglisom and deformed, and their haire would in proceſſe of time ouergrove their faces, rather like monſters, than comlie sober chriftians. And if it be ſaid that any man may cut off the haire one of another, I anſwer, they may ſo, but yet not in ſuch comelie and decent maner as theſe barbers exerciſed therein can doe, and beſides, they knowe that a decorum in euerie thing is to be obſerued. And therefore I cannot but maruell at the beastlineſſe of ſome ruffians (for they are no sober chriftians) that will haue their haire to growe ouer their faces like monſters, and ſauage people, nay rather like mad men than otherwife, hanging downe ouer their ſhoulders, as womenſ haire doth : which indeed is an ornament to them, being giuen them as a ſigne of ſubiection, but in man it is a shame and reproch, as

Barbers are
neceſſarie.
Without em men
ud look like
monſters.

I wonder at the
beastlineſſe of
ſome ruffians
letting their hair
grow ſo long.

52 II. I. *Surgeons and Physicians look only to money.*

[¹ Sig. H 2]

*Surgeons and
Physicians*

'll only work for
money.

Doctors 'll do

nothing for a
poor man with-
out money.

[² Sig. H 2, back]

As soon as that
fails, they give
you the nastiest
stuff they can.

We've many ill-
taught doctors.

the Apostle prooueth. And thus much of barbers and their ¹science.

Theod. Haue you surgeans, and physicians there, as in other places, and are they skilfull and expert in their mysterie; and not onelie skilfull, but also confisionable in their dealings, as well toward the poore as toward the rich?

Amphil. There are both surgeans and physicians, good store. And as they be manie, so are they verie vncconscionable in their dooinges, for, as for both the one and the other, so farre from godlineffe and good conscience in all things are they, as if a poore man that hath not monie to giue them at their pleasure, stande in need of their helpe, they will either not come at him, or if they doe, they will so handle him, as it were better for him to be hanged, than to sustaine the paines that they will put him to. But for the most part, neither of them both will come at him, but rather contemne him, and reiect him as a thing of naught, yea, as much will they doe for the diuell himselfe, as for a poore man, if hee haue not money. And againe, as long as moneye runneth, they will applye gentle and easie potions, medicines, and salues, bearing their patient in hand, that he shall recouer without ²all doubt, with what disease, maladie, or sore foever he be infected, wheras in truth they can do nothing lesse. But

Deficiente pecunia, Monie wanting, they applie bitter potions, nipping medicines, gnawing corrosiues, and pinching plaistures to greeue their patient withal, therby to straine out what liquor of life (that is, what monie or goods) they are able to giue. And thus they abuse their gifts, to the dishonor of God, the hurt of their felow brethren, and their owne damnation, except they repent.

Theod. Are surgeans and phisitians then necessarie in a common wealth, as you seeme to inferre?

Amphil. *Salomon* faith the Phisition (by the which worde he understandeth both the phisition and the surgean, bicause the one is coofin germaine to the other) is to be honored for necessitie. And if for necessitie, then must it needes follow, that the same is most necessarie in a common wealth. But as the good, learned, and discreet phisitions and surgeans, are necessarie, and may doe much good, so the vnlearned, and naughtie (as the world is to full of them) may and doe much hurt dailie, as experience teacheth.

II. I. Every Ignoramus is allowd to practise Physic. 53

Theod. You say truth. But are all indifferently suffered to practise the same noble misteries of phisicke and surgerie, without any [P Sig. H 3] choyse or exception at all?

Amphil. There is to great libertie permitted herein. For now a daies euerie man, tagge, and ragge, of what insufficiencie foeuer, is suffered to exercise the misterie of phisick, and surgerie, and to minister both the one, and the other, to the diseased, and infirmed persons; but to their woe, you may be sure. Yea, you shall haue some that know not a letter of the booke (so farre are they from being learned, or skilful in the toongs, as they ought to be, that shoulde practise these misteries) both men and women, yoong and old, that, presuming vpon experiance forsooth (for that is their greatest skill) will arrogate great knowledge to themselues, and more than the learnedst doctor vpon the earth will doe. And yet notwithstanding, can doe in manner nothing at all. But if they chance at any time to doe any good (as *forte luscus capiat leporem* somtyme by chance a blind man may catch a hare) it is by meere chance, and not by any knowledge of theirs. And yet shall this exploit of theirs be founed foorth with a trumpet, which indeede may hardly be blowne vp with an oten pipe, for any praise it deserueth. This bringeth the laudable sciences of phisick and surgerie, into hatred, obloquy, & contempt, ²maketh it of no estimation in the world, and vtterly discrediteth it amon[g]st men. For when as any sick, infirmed, or diseased, either miscarieth vnder the hands of his phisition or surgean, or else when the medicine or salue worketh not his effect, then fall they to accuse the science it selfe, and to reproch it altogether, whereas in truth the whole blame confisfeth in the ignorance of the practicioner himselfe. Great pitie it is therefore, that there is such libertie in permitting euery one that lust, to prophane and to abuse these venerable sciences of phisicke and surgerie as they doe. For euery man, though he know not the first principles, grounds or rudiments of his science, y^e lineaments, dimensions, or compositions of mans body, the poores, arteries, temperament, or constitution, no, nor yet so much as the naturall complexion, qualitie, or disposition of the same, will yet notwithstanding take vpon him the habite, the title, y^e name, and profession, of a phisition or surgean. This we see verified in a sort of vagarants, who run stragling (I wil not faie roging) ouer the countries,

[Any man, tag
and rag, can
practise both
physic and sur-
gery.]

If any person
makes a cure, he
puffs it every-
where.

[P Sig. H 3, back]
If any doctor
loses a patient,
then the Science
is a. us'd.

Any Ignorant

can set up as a
Surgeon or
Physician.
Vagrant Quacks
make a lot of
money.

54 II. i. *Doctors ought to be examind and licenset.*

[¹ Sig. H 4]

and beare men in hand of gret knowledg, when as there is nothing lesse in them. By which kind of theft, (for this coosoning shifte is no better) they rake in great somes of mony, which when they haue got, they leauie their ¹cures in the dust, I warrant you, and betake them to their heelles as to their best refuge. And thus be the noble sciences of phisiche and surgerie vtterly reproched, the world deluded, and manie a good man and woman brought to their endes, before their time.

. *Theod.* If phisiche be good, would you not haue euery man to practise it that will, without restraint?

Amphil. Phisiche is good, and yet would I not haue euerie ignorant doult that knoweth not the vse nor benefit thereof, to practise the same. For that maketh it to take so little effect, and so smally to be esteemed of, as it is now a daies; (for reformation wherof) I would wish that euery ignorant doult, & especially women, that haue as much knowledg in phisick or surgery as hath Iackeanapes, being but smatterers in the same noble sciences (nor yet al that), shoule be restrained from the publike vse therof, yet not from priuate exercise thereof either for their owne singuler benefit, or any other of their freends (prouided that they do it *gratis*) not making an occupation of it, but rather for desire to helpe, then for lucre of gaine. Than woulde I wyshe that the others who shoulde exercise the vse of Phisiche and Surgerie shoulde first bee Graduates in ²either of the vniversties; and being graduates, yet not to be admitted therefore, but first to be tried and examined, as well for their knowledge, discretion, and sufficiencie in their art, profession and calling, as also for their godlines, christian zeale, pure religion, compassion, and loue to their brethren; and being found sufficient for the foresaid respects, to be admitted and licensed, vnder hand and seale authentike, by those that be of authoritie. And if he abuse himselfe or his facultie, then out with him, let him be *Officiperda*, Iacke out of office, make him a *Quondam*, and let him go to plow and cart, rather than to robbe the poore (as manie of them doe) yea, to murther and kil them without reprehencion. And as I would wish none but godlie, learned, and such as feare God, to be admitted to the exercise and practise hereof, so I would wish, that either they might be allowed anual stipends, for their better succouring of the poore diseased, or else

I'd let no stupid
Dolt or Woman
practise medicine
or surgery except
gratis.

I'd have all doc-
tors Graduates,
[¹ Sig. H 4, back]
examind for
character as well
as learning,

and then licenset
to practise;
and if they did
wrong, out with
em!

I'd pay em

might be constrained to take leesse of their poor patients than they doe. good stipends to attend the poor.
For now they ruffle it out in filckes and veluets, with their men attending vpon them, whereas many a poore man (GOD wot) smarteth for it. Yea, so vnreasonable, and so vnconscionable are they, as some of them will not set one foot out of his owne doores, without ¹twentie shillings, fortie shillings, three pound, twentie nobles, ten pound, twentie pound, and some more, some lesse. And hauing this importable fee, If they minister anything to the partie diseased, than besides, must they haue twenty shillings, for that that stands them not in twentie pins; fortie shillings, twentie nobles, for that that cost them not twentie pence, & so forward. This is a great wickednes, God be mercifull vnto vs, and such as the Lord will one day reuenge, if they preuent not his iudgements by speedy repentance. Besids these abuses, there are othersome, that if they owe euill will to any, man or woman being fickle, or if they hope for any preferment by their deaths, wil not make any conscience of it, to giue them such medicines, such potions, and drinke, as will soone make a hand of them; and this shall be done inuisible in a clowde, Vnder the pretence of phisicke, forsooth; and if he die, why it was not the medicine that killed him (no it were *Blasphemia in sanctos ruminare*, blasphemie to thinke it of these holie fathers) but it was death, that cruell tyger, that spareth none. And to such corruption are they grown, that for mony I am perswaded they can make away with any whom they haue acceſſe vnto. Therefore I aduise every man to be careful to whom ²he committeth the cure of his bodie. They are likewife in league with the apothecaries, in whome there are great abuses also, as well in compounding and mixing of their elements & simples togither, as also in felling chalke for cheeſe, one thing for another, & the like, so as it is hard to get anything of them that is right pure and good of it ſelfe, but druggie baggage, and ſuch counterfait ſtuffe as is sterke naught. But of them inough.

Let vs ſpeake a worde or two of a certeine kinde of curious people, and vaineglorious, called astronomers, and astrologers, the corruptions and abuses of whom are inexplicable. This done, we will make a final ende at this time of ſpeaking any further conſerning the abuses, corruptions, and imperfections, of the temporaltie, till occation of more matter hereafter ſhall be offered.

[¹ Sig. H 5]

Now, their charges are tremendously high.

Doctors sometimes make away with patients.

[² Sig. H 5, back]

Apothecaries

sell druggie baggage.

Astronomers,
Astrologers,

Theod. These names of astronomers, astrologers, prognosticators, and the like, are so vnquoth and strange to my eares, that I knowe not what to make of them. Wherefore I pray you shewe me as neere as you can, the meaning of them, and what kinde of marchants the professors thereof be?

and Prognosticators are fantastical fellows.

[² Sig. H 6]

They affect to foretell things by the stars,

and go poking about into God's secrets

[² Sig. H 6, back]

Christ

Amphil. The astronomers, astrologers, prognosticators (and all others of the same societie, and brotherhooде, by what name or title soever they be called) are a certeine kinde of curious phantaſticall and vaineſlorious fellowes, who *seuerata dei temere remantes*, Searching the ſecrets of God rafhlie, which he would haue kept cloſe from vs, and onely knowne to himſelfe, take vpon them, & that vpon theſe grounds (forſooth), namely, the obſeruation of times & ſeafons, the aſpects & coniunctions of the ſigues and planets, with their occurrenſis, to preſage, to diuine, and prognofciate, what ſhall come or happen afterwards, as though they ſate in Gods lap, knew his ſecrets, & had the world and the diſpoſement thereof in their own hands. It is an olde ſaieng, and verie true, *Quæ ſupra nos, nihil ad nos*, Thoſe things that are aboue our reach, conerne vs not, and therefore we ought not to enter into the bowels & ſecrets of the Lord—(for as the wife man faith, *Qui ſcrutatur alſcondita dei, obruetur gloria eius*, hee that feacheth out the hidden things of G O D, ſhall bee ouerwhelmed with the glorye of the fame,—but to content our felues with ſo much as hee hath reuealed vnto us in his ſacred worde, committing the euent, the ſucceſſe, and diſpoſement of all things elſe to his ſacrede Maieftie, the G O D of all glorie. For to them that goe about, and labour ſo buſelye by ſpeculations, by aſtronome, ²astrologie, and the like curioſarts to iudge of things to come, and thinke they can tell all things by the fame (but *Dum parturiunt montes naſcetur ridiculus mus*, whilſt the mountauns doe trauell, a ſeely mouse will be brought forth) Christ our ſauour faith, *non ei vestrum noſſe tempora, & momenta temporum, quæ ipſe pater in ſua iphiſus conſlituit potestate*, It is not for you to knowe the times and ſeafons, which the Lord God hath reſerued to himſelfe. And how much our ſauour Christ diſliketh this vaine curioſtie, of aſtronomicall & aſtrologicall ſpeculations, we may gather by that vehement reprehencion or commination in the 16. of Mattheu, thundred out againſt the people of the Iewes, who were, as it ſeemeth, too muſch addiicted

to the same. Where he sharply rebuketh them, and calleth them dissembling hypocrites, in that they obserued and marked with such serious attention and diligence, the elemental signes & tokens in the firmament, being in the meane time, ignorant of greater things, namely of the signes and tokens of the sonne of G O D Christ Jesus, the true Meffias, and fauour of the world.

Theod. Vpon what grounds, certainties, rules, and principles doth this curious science confit?

Amphil. It standeth vpon nothing else, but meere coniectures, supposals, likelihoods, gheffes, probabilities, obseruations of times and seasons, coniunctions of signes, starres, and planets, with their aspects, and occurrents, and the like, & not vpon anie certeine ground, knowledge, or truth, either of the word of God, or of natural reason. But to argue the vntruth and the vncerteintie of this foolish curious science, we need not to go farre for examples and arguments. For the contrariety that euer hath beene in all ages amongst the verie doctors and maisters themselues, but most specially of late, doth approoue the same to be most fantasticall, curious, vaine, vncerten and meere prophane. For there being a maruellous strange coniunction (as they said) of two superiour planets, So manie as writ of the same, neither iumped togither in one truth, nor yet agreed togither, either of the day, houre, or moneth, when it should be: but in al things shewed themselues like themselues, that is, plaine contradictorie one to another. Insomuch as they writ in defence of their errors, and confutation of the contrarie, one againt another, shamefully to behold. By which more than presumptuous audacie, and rash boldnesse of these, they brought the world into a woonderfull perplexi^{tie} and cease, expecting either a woonderfull alteration of states and kingdomes (as these foolish starre tooters promised) or else a finall consummation and ouerthrowe of all things. Or if not so, yet the stranglest things should happen, that euer were heard or seene since the beginning of the world. Wheras, God be thanked, at the verie houre and moment when (as some of them set downe) these woonders and portents should haue happened, there was no alteration nor change of any thing seene or heard of, the element being as faire, as bright, as calme, and as pleasant, and euerie thing as silent, and in as perfect order and forme, as euer they were since the beginning of the world,

rebukes em,
and calls em
hypocrites.

[ⁱ Sig. H 7]
Their science is
founded only
on guesses and
star-gazing.

On April 28, 1583
(see *Holinshed*,
1587, iii. 1356), or
some other day
that they couldn't
agree on,

[ⁱ Sig. H 7, back]
the foolish star-
tooters foretold
fearful events,

and yet every-
thing passed off
quietly as usual.

58 ii. i. *Infinite fooleries, these Astrologers pretend to.*

[² Sig. H 8]

By all which appeereth the vanitie and vncerteintie of their curious science. I woonder where these fellowes fate, whether vpon the earth, or in the firmament of heauen, when they saw these coniunctions. Or with what eies they could see that, that no man else could see. But peraduenture they haue *Argus* eies, and can see all things, euen those things that be not. I maruell whether they haue dwelt in the region of the aire, and who told them the names, the scituacion, the houses, aspects, and locall places of the signes and planets, of the sunne, moone, and starres, with the number ¹thereof also, which indeed are innumerable. I woonder what spirite tolde them which planets were higher than other, and which lower than other, which be good and which be euill, which be moist and which be drie, which bee colde, and which be hote, which be gentle and affable, and which bee cruell and terrible, which giue good fortune, and which giue euill, which be good to take iourneies in hand, or to attempt any great thing, and which bee naught, which bee good for a man to take a wife in, that she may be amiable and gentle, and which be contrarie, which be dangerous to take diseases in, or to fall fiske, and which bee not, with infinite the like fooleries, which I ouerpasse. Now from whence they haue learned these things I cannot tell, but certeine I am, that out of the booke of G O D, they neuer fetched them, the same being in euerie point contrarie vnto them, and reproouing, yea, condemning to hell, their vaine curious searching of Gods secrets, and the succeſſe of things by ſuch fallible and vncerteine accidents.

Theod. Me thinke this is the next way to withdrawe men from G O D the Creator, to depende and hang vpon creatures, is it not?

[² Sig. H 8, back]
For if the Planets
give good and
evil,
and rule men,

² *Amphil.* It is the onely waie: For who, hearing that the creatures, as the fun, the moone, the starres, the signes & planets doe giue both good things and euill, bleffing and cursing, good succeſſe, and euill succeſſe, yea, life and death, at their pleasure (as these braineſick fooles hold they doe) and that they rule, gouerne, and dispose al things whatſoeuer, yea, both the bodies and ſoules of man (for ſo ſome shame not to ſay) who, hearing this, I ſay, would not fall from God, and worship the creatures that giue ſuch bleffings vnto man? What can be a neerer way to withdrawe the people, not onelie from God, but alſo to hale them to idolatrie, and wholy to depend vpon creatures as the heathen do to their eternall damnation for euer.

men 'll turn from
God, and worship
the stars.

II. I. God, and not the Stars, rules Men & their Fates. 59

But, say they, though we giue authoritie, great power, great rule and gouernement to the creatures, yet we giue vnto God the cheefest stroke and the cheefest rule in all things, all other creatures being but the instrumentall, or secundarie causes, or (that I may speake plainlie) as it were his deputies, substitutes, or instrumentes whereby he ruleth and worketh all things. Is this any thing else, than to saie with certeine heretikes, that though God made all things, yet he ruleth them not, nor hath no care ouer them, but hath committed the rule¹ and gouernement of them to his creatures. Then which, what [² Sig. I. i.] blasphemie can be greater? is not this a flatte deniall of the prouidence of God, which scripture so much setteth forth and commendeth vnto vs? Shall we thinke that God made all things, and now as one wearie of his worke, committeth the gouernemente of them to other creatures? Saith not our Sauiour Christ, *Pater et ego operamur*, my father worketh, and I worke? Meaning thereby, that as he wrought in creating all things, so he worketh still in ruling them by his power, gouerneing them by his wisdome, and preseruing them by hys prouidence, and will do to the end of the world. But when they haue proued that he hath committed the rule and gouernement of his creatures, to his creatures, then I will faye as they say. In the meane time I say & holde, that it derogateth greatly from the glorie and maiestie of God, to faye or affirme that creatures haue the gouernement of all things committed vnto them. For if there should be many kings, princes and rulers in any one realme or country, must not the dominion and rule of the chief prince or regent be lesser, than if he ruled and gouerned alone? Woe were vs, if wee were at the rule and gouernement of creatures; but blessed be our God, who, as he knoweth our² frailtie (hauing therefore compaffion of our infirmities) [² Sig. I. i. back] so he ruleth and gouerneth all things, whether in heauen, earth, hell, or else wheresoeuer, according to the good pleasure of his will. In the 1. and 2. chapters of Genefis, besides infinit the like places in holie scriptures, we read that the sun, the moone, the stars, with all creatures else, were created & made for the vse and commoditie of man, being made subiect to him, and he constitute lord ouer them; & yet notwithstanding, are they becom now his lords, and he their subiect, vassal bondislaue? This is preposterous geare, when Gods ordinance is turned topfie turuie, vpfide downe. It is time these phantafticall

To pretend that
Planets are God's
deputies, is blas-
phemous non-
sense too.

God works and
rules still, as he
did at the
Creation.

God made the
stars for the use
of man.
Who made them
his lords?

60 II. I. *The 12 Signs governing Men's Limbs.*

These fantastical
fellows turn God
into a Jack out
of office.

fellowes were looked to in time, that wil go about to disfthrone the mightie God Jehoua of his regall throne of maiestie and glorie, makin gan *Officerda* of him, a iacke out of office, & to pul him (as it were) *E cælis*, Out of the heauens, downe to the earth, giuing him no power nor authoritie at all.

Theod. Haue the signes and planets then no power nor authoritie at all vpon things on the earth?

Amphil. Yes, they haue their power, their operation, force, strength and effect in those things whereto G O D hath created them, as namely in the growing, increasing, cherishing, fostering, renewing, comforting & reuiuing of 'all natural things, And also they haue their influence & operation in mans bodie, for letting of bloud, receiuing of purgations & the like. But to say they worke these effects of their own proper force & strength, or that they rule or dispose the spirits & soules of man, is vtterly false, & at no hand true. And yet notwithstanding, so far infatuat are these busie heded astronomers, & curious serching astrologers, that they attribute euery part of mans body to one particular signe & planet, affirming that part of the bodie to be ruled by that signe, or planet. And therefore to Aries they haue assignd the gouernement of the head & face. To Tau[rus] the necke and throte. To Gem[ini] the shoulders, the armes & the hands. To Leo the hart and back. To Can[cer] the breft, stomake and lungs. To Lib[ra] the raines and loines. To Vir[go] the guts & bellie. To Scor[pio] the priuie parts & bladder. To Sag[ittarius] the thighes. To Capr[icorns] the knees. To Aqu[arius] the legs. To Pisc[es] the feet. And thus haue they, & doe, beare the world in hand that the whole bodie of man both *Interne* & *externe*, within & without, is ruled and gouerned by the xii. signes, by starres, and planets, & not by God only. For the confirmation of which fained vntruth, they pretend the xii. moneths in the yere to be ruled & gouerned by the xii. signes in the element, and the seuen daies in the weeke to be ruled by the seuen planets ²also. Besides this, they haue their particular houres, times and seasons, wherein they chiefly worke their effects, and haue greateft strength. So that by their reasons, no moneth in the yere, nor day in the weeke, no, nor houre in the day nor night, but it is ruled and gouerned by the influence and constel-

[¹ Sig. I. 2.]

The busy-headed
astronomers as-
sign every kind
of man to a par-
ticular Sign,

and every month
too.

The 7 Days they
put to the 7
Planets.

[² Sig. I. 2. back]

lation of the starres and planets, and nothing is effected or brought to passe, but what they will, and intend.

Theod. Are the signes and planets, liuing creatures and reasonable, or insensible creatures, and things without life?

Amphil. They are no liuing or reasonable creatures, it is without all controuerſie, but merely insensible, and without life. And being without life and reason, how is it poſſible that they ſhould bring life or death (as theſe fellowes hold) fickneſſe or health, proſperitie or aduerſitie, heate or cold, faire weather or foule, beautie or deformitie, long life or ſhort, or any thing elſe? And if they be not able to giue theſe things, how much leſſe able are they then, to gouerne, rule, and dispose all thingeſſ in heauen, earth, the aire, or elſe wherſoever, to ouerthowre monarchies, kingdoms, nations, countries, and people, and finally to work althiſgs after their owne deſire and will? Will they

¹haue dumbe and vnreasonable creatures to rule the reasonable? If ^{I² Sig. I. 3.]}

that were true, why ſhould God be praifeſed either for his mercie, or feared for his iuſtice and iudgement, and not rather the planets, signes,

and starres, which worke all in all in all creatures? If bleſſing come by the influence of starres and planets, then let men praife them, and not God, for the fame. And if curies proceed from the starres, let them be feared for them. Briefly, if life and death, and all things elſe, come by the force of the elementall creatures, and celeſtiall bodies, then let them be honoured with divine worship.

If these effects iſſued from creatures, then why ſhould the homicide, the murtherer, adulterer, or wicked perſon be puniſhed, wheras he might ſay, it was not I, it was

Planetarum iniuria. The force of the planets that compelled me to finne*? Or why ſhould the godlie man be praifeſed for dooing well,

wheras he is inforced thereto, by the starres and planets? In *Summa*, they ſhould be worshipt as Gods,

why ſhould not planets and starres be adored and worshipped as gods, if they coulde worke theſe effects? They that attribute thus much

to the starres, not onelie rob the maiestie of God of his honour, but But this robs God of his honour.

also ſtrengthen the hands of the heathen, pagans, infidels, and idolatrous people, to perſeuere in their cursed ido²latrie ſtill. Nay, do ^{I² Sig. I. 3. back]}

they not rather ſhake hands with them, that as they worship the

* Cp. Edmund in *Lear*, I. ii. 134-5: "Drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence."

62 II. I. *Absurdity of man's Fate depending on Stars.*

funne, the moone, the starres, fire, water, and other creatures, for their God, so doe these worship the same, though not for their chiefe Gods, yet for their second gods, whereby they commit most filthie idolatrie, and are giltie of most hainous transgression. Indeede, I confess they haue effects and operations, but yet are they not the efficient causes of any thing either good or bad. Otherwise than thus, that it pleaseth the maiestie of God to worke by them, as by his instruments, whatfoever is his good wyll and pleasure, and not after any other sort.

Theod. I haue heard of some of these astronomers that would take vpon them to tell a mans fortune, onely by their constellation: forsooth, is it possible, suppose you?

Amphil. No, at no hand. For if it were so, that all things were, and man himselfe, gouerned and ruled by the stars alone (as who is so forsaken of God to beleue it?) And that they knew the minds, the purposes, the intents, the inclination, the disposition & qualities of euery starre, then might it be (peraduenture) true, that they might tell the fortune, and desteny of any man. But otherwise they can tel as much as a horse. I would faine learne of these starre ¹gaisers, who teach that man is drawne to good or euill by the constellations, and influence of stars, whether all the people that were euer borne since the beginning of the world, or shal be borne to the ende of the same, were al borne vnder one planet or star? For they had all one fortune, all finned in *Adam*, & all were in the iustice of God condemned to euerlasting fire. I would know also whether all the Sodomites and Gomorreans being consumed with fire & brimstone from heauen were borne all vnder one starre & planet? For they had all one destinie, and all one end. Whether all the whole world in the daies of *Noah*, was borne vnder one and the same star, or planet, for they had all one destenie, being ouerwhelmed with an vniversall deluge. Whether the whole host of *Core, Dathan, and Abiram*, were borne all vnder one star or planet, who had al one iudgment, one destinie, and one kind of death. Whether all the host of *Pharaos* were borne vnder one and the same starre and planet, who all sustained one kinde of death, and had all one destinie. Whether *Esau*, and *Iacob* were not borne both in a moment, and both at one birth, and yet had they contrarie natures, qualities, dif-

I confess that
Stars have
effect; but yet
they're not
Efficient Causes.

Let these star-
gazers show me,
if they can,

[¹ Sig. I. 4.]

that all the sin-
ners in Sodom
and Gomorrah,
who had one
fate, were born
under one star;

why Esau and
Jacob, who were
born under one
star, had different
ends;

positions and ends. Finally I would learne of them, whither none that euer liued since the ¹first beginning of the worlde, nor any that [¹ Sig. L 4 back] shall be borne to the end of the same, hath not, or may not be borne in the same houre, and vnder the same planet & constellation, that Christ Iefus was borne in. If they say there haue not beeene any borne in the same houre that Christ Iefus was borne in, common reason, and daily experience would disprove them, for there is not one minute of an houre wherein there are not infinite children borne into the world. And if they say that there are that haue beeene borne in the same houre, and vnder the same starre and planet, than must it needs follow (if man should necessarily be ruled, gouerned, disposed & affected according to the naturall disposition, and inclination of the planets & stars) that he that hath bin, is, or shall be, borne in the same howre, and vnder the same planet or star that Iefus Christ was borne vnder, should bee as good & as perfect in euery respect, as Christ Iefus himselfe; and so should we haue had manie christs before this time. But God bleffe all his children from once thinking of any such impietie, and blasphemie. By all which reasons and arguments it apeareth manifestly that man is nothing lesse, than ruled, gouerned or destined, after the inclination, or influence of stars or planets, but onely by the living God, who doeth ²whatsoever pleaseth him in heauen & in earth. This being so, twise vnhappy be those parents that thinke any moneth, day or houre, unfortunate for their children to be borne in, or that some be more fortunate and happie than other-some. And thrise cursed be those wicked deuils, that taught them those lessons. What? Doe they thinke that the Lorde is a sleepe those houres; or being wake, hath no power to rule? Hath he not made all things pure and good? Then cannot the good creatures of God make vs euil, or incline vs to finne. But it is the malice of the deuill, the corruption of our nature, and the wickednes of our owne harts, that draweth vs to euill, and so to shamefull destinies, and infamous ends, and not the starres, or planets. Whereof if we were truely perswaded, we wold leaue of, when we come to any shamefull end, to saie: "Oh, I was borne to it, it was my destonie," and I cannot tell what: whereas in truth we were borne to no such ends. But rather to glorifie our heauenly father by integritie of life & godlines of conuersation, whilst we liue vpon the face of the earth. Certein

why the children
born when Christ
was, were not
like him.

Man is not
swayed by Stars,
but by the living
God.
[¹ Sig. I 5]

It's the Devil
and our own
wickedness, and
not planets, that
make us sin.
(Cr. Edmund in
Lear I. ii.)

64 II. I. Folly of the Zodiacial Signs influencing men.

The God sees
that some men
will come to a
bad end, he
doesn't fore-or-
dain them to it.
[¹ Sig. I 5, back]

Serve God, and

He'll preserve
you

Some say that
the 12 Signs of
the Zodiac and
the 7 Planets and
their Aspects fix
men's natures
and fates.
[² Sig. I 6]

But what a
drunken reason
they give for it !

Because a Bull
is a yoke-beast
here, therefore a
man borne under
him shall be a
bond-slave !

it is, that God by his prouidence, & prescience, doth foresee that such a man through his wickednes shall come to such an ende, yet did not the Lord foreordeine, or foreappoint him to the same, ¹but rather dehorteth him from comitting that wickednes, which may purchase such an end. Wherefore to conclude. Seing it is finne that bringeth man and woman to shamefull ends, and neither fate, destonie, birth-star, signe or planet, constellation, nor anything else whatsoeuer, let euerie one endevour himselfe to serue his G O D truelie, in singlenesse and purenesse of heart, and himselfe to liue well and vprightlie, Walking in the lawes, and commandements of the Lord; and I warrant him for euer comming to anie euill end or destinie. That God whom he hath serued, will keepe him as he kept *Sidrach, Misaac, and Abednago*, from the rage of the fire, *Susanna* from the stake, *Daniel* from y^e chawes of the greedie lions, & manie others that serued him in feare.

Theod. I haue heaf[r]d some that woulde take vpon them to tell a man whither he shoulde be poore or rich, a seruant or a lord, a theefe or a true man, cruell or gentle, and what kinde of trades he shoulde haue prosperous succeſſe in: how shoulde they doe this?

Amphil. I will tell you how they pretende to doe it. There are (as they faye) certeine signes in the element (but yet I maruell what Apollo tolde them so, when they were there, and sawe them, or how they knew the shape ²and proportion of them) as Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Pisces, with their planets, and aspects, as Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurie, Iupiter, Venus, and Saturne. Now say they, he that is borne vnder Aries, (which is a signe in the *Nusquam region*, Like to a ramme, or sheepe vpon earth) shall be a riche man and too too wealthie. And whie so ? Marke their droonken reason. Forsooth because the rame is a fruitfull beast vpon earth, and yeldeth to his master two or three fleeces a yeere. Againe, he that is borne vnder Taurus (which is a signe (say these liers) in the element like vnto a bull, vpon earth); now fir, he that is borne vnder him, shall be pore, & a bondflaue all his daies. And why so ? Mary, say they, because the bull on earth is a beast vsed to the yoke, and to much flauerie & drudgery. He that is borne vnder Leo (which is a signe quoth these iuglers like to a lion) shal be strong, courageous, & feared of

al men, & shal be lord & ruler ouer many, And why so? Because the lion is a stroung & mightie beast, & is lord & king ouer all other beasts. He that is borne vnder Scorpio, shal be a murtherer, a robber, a theefe, and a wicked person. Why so? Forsooth because the Scorpion is a serpent full of poyson & malice vpon earth. ¹He [Sig. I 6, back] that is borne vnder Gemini shall be rich, and haue manie children, because Gemini is a signe of two twinnes. He that is borne vnder Virgo shall be beloued of women, shall be amiable, faire, gentle, and I cannot tell what, because maids are so affected. He that is borne vnder Cancer, shall be crabbed and angrie, because the crab fish is so inclined. He that is borne vnder Libra, shall be fortunate in merchandize, in waights and measures, because Libra is a signe of a paire of ballance. He that is borne vnder Sagittarius, shal be a good shooter, because Sagittarius is a signe like to a shooter. He that is borne vnder Capricornus shall be a flouenly, ill fauoured, and vncleane fellowe, because the gote is a beast filthie, stinking and vncleane. He that is borne vnder Aquarius and Pisces shall be fortunate by water, because watermen haunt the waters, and fishes swim in the same. These be cupstantiall reasons and well seasoned arguments, and as strong to prooue their purpose, as a castell of paper to resist the enimie. Thus you may see they haue no other reasons, than to heape one lie vpon another. As first that these signes and planets in the heauens are like to earthly creatures, then that their natures, and qualities are knowne by the natures and qualities of ²earthly creatures. Iesu God, what cunning felowes are these, that can knowe the nature of heauenly bodies, and celestall creatures, by these terrestriall bodies and earthly creatures? These are profound fellowes indeed, and by all likelihood, haue dwelt long in the clouds, that are so perfect in every thing there, and can iudge of future accidents with such singular dexteritie. By this time I thinke they are ashamed of their profession, therefore I need to say no more of them, till further occasion be offered, beseeching the Lorde God to give them grace to search for the truth of the worde of God, letting all such curious searchings of Gods secrets alone to God, who onely knoweth all secrets whatsoeuer.

Theod. If you condemne astronomicie, and astrologie altogether, as you seeme to doe, then it followeth that you condemne prognosticators, and such as make almanacks for euerie yeere: doe you so?

He that's borne under Capricorn shall be uncleanly, because the goat's a stunk ing beast!

[¹Sig. I 7]

These Astrologer fellows must have lidd long in the clouds to know so much about heavenly bodies.

Prognosticators and Almanac-makers I condemn too,

Amphil. I neither condemne astronomie nor astrologie, nor yet the makers of prognostications, or almanacks for the yeere. But I condemne the abuse in them both, and wifh they were reduced to the same perfection that they ought, and to be vfed to the same endes and purpofes which they wereordeined for. ¹The funne, the moone, the starres, and the celeſtiall bodies whatſoever, created by the Lord not onelie to fructifie and increase the earth by their influence, but alſo to ſhine and giue light to man in this life, and to diuide the light from darkneſe, the day from the night, winter from ſommer, and to diſtinguiſh one ſeafon and time from another. Now how much may make or conduce to the knowledge hereof, ſo much I doubt not is verie tollerable, and may be vfed. But when we go about to enter into Gods ſecrets, and to diuine of things to come, by coniectures, and geſſes, then make we the ſame wicked and vnlawfull. Therefore prognosticators are herein much to be blamed, for that they take vpon them to foreſhew what things ſhall be plentie, and what ſcarſe, what deere, what good cheape. When ſhal be faire weather, when foule, and the like, whereas indeede the knowledge of theſe things are hid in the ſecrets of GOD, and are beyond their reach, therefore ought they not to meddle with them. But if they would keepe them within their compaffe, as namely to ſhew the times and ſeafons of the yere, feſtiuals, vigils, to diſtinguiſh winter from ſommer, ſpring from haruest, the change of the moone, the fall of euerie day, the ecclipses, epacts, dominical letter, golden num²ber, circle of the funne, leape yeere, and other the like neceſſarie points, then were their profeſſion laudable, and greatly for the commoditie of the commonwealtheſt. And thus much with their patience be it ſpoken briefly hereof.

Here ende the abufes of the
Temporalitie.

[¹ Sig. I 7, back.]
when they pretend to pry into God's ſecrets,

and foretell what 'll be plentie and what ſcarſe.

Let Almanac-makers keep to their proper busi-
ness,

[² Sig. I 8]

and then they'll be uſeful folk.



THE CORRPTIONS AND ABUSES OF THE SPIRITUALITIE.

Theodorus.

Auing now spoken sufficiently of the corruptions and abuses of the temporalitie, if I might be so bold, I would request you somewhat to say concerning the corruptions and abusess of the spiritualitie, or (as some call it) of the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. For I am fully perswaded, that the one being so corrupt, the other can hardly bee without blemish.

As to the cor-
ruptions of the
Ecclesiastical
Hierarchy,

¹Amphil. I am verie loth to enter into that field, the view where-
of offereth such store of matter to intreat of, as if I shoulde enter
the same, I shoulde rather not knowe where to end, then where to
begin. Besides, you knowe the olde prouerbe, *Non bonum est ludere
cum sanctis*, It is not good to meddle with these holie ones, for feare
of thunderbolts, to infue. But for that, he is not onely a false prophet,
and a traitor to the truth, that teacheth falfe doctrine, but as well he
that knoweth the truth, and either for feare of death, or desire of
life, wil not expresse the same to the worlde. And for that, not onely
the author of any euill or mischiefe is giltie of offence before God,
But also he that might by² discouerie thereof preuent the same, and
yet either will not, or for feare of death dares not. And for that as
the olde prouerbe saith, *Qui tacet, consentire videtur*, he that concealeth
the truth, feemeth to consent to errors, for these and the like causes,
I will laye downe vnto you some such corruptions and abusess, as
seeme to be inormous, and stande in neede of reformation, omitting
in the meane time to speake perticularly of all (for that they be
innumerable) vntill I see how these fewe will be brouked of them.

[¹ Sig. I 8, back]

let the meddler
with them look
out for thunder-
bolts.

But I'll tell you
some of our
worst Abuses in
the Church.

68 II. 2. *All Churches are markt off into Parishes.*

[¹ Sig. K. 1.]

For it is a point of good physicke, you knowe, to see how the former
meate receiued into the stomacke, will be digested, and concocted,
before we receiue anye more into the same.

Theod. You say very well. Giue me leaue then (by your
patience) to aske you such questions as I thinke conuenient for
my further instruction, that by your good meanes, I knowing the
truth, may praife God in you, and also haue iust occasion to giue
you thanks for the same.

Amphil. Aske what you thinke good, in Gods name, and I will doe
the best I can, to resolute you in anything that you shall demand.

All our churches
and congrega-
tions

Theod. Then this shall be my first demand. Be the churches,
congregations, & assemblies there, distinckted into particulars, as into
parishes and precincts, one exempt from another, or are they dispersed
here and there abroad, without any order, exemption, or limitation of
place at all?

are divided into
parishes,

Amphil. Euerie particular church, congregation, assemblie, or con-
uenticle, is diuided one from another, and distinckted into parishes and
precincts, which feuerall precincts and parishes are so circumgired
and limited about with bounds and marks, as euerie one is knowne
of what parish he is, and vnder whose charge he liueth. So that
euerie shepheard knoweth ²his flocke, euerie pastor his sheepe. And
againe, euerie flocke knoweth his shepheard, and euerie sheepe his
pastor, verie orderlie and well, in my simple iudgement.

[² Sig. K. 1. back]
so that every
flock knows its
pastor.

Theod. Doe you allow then of this partition of churches, and of
one particular congregation from another?

In early days,

assemblies were
always separate.

Amphil. Yea trulie. It is not amisse, but a verie good order, for
thereby euerie pastor doth knowe his owne flocke, euery shepheard his
owne sheepe, which without this diuision could not be. Befides that,
we read that euen in the apostles daies (who writ to particular
churches themselues, as to the Rom. Corint. Thes. Phil, &c.) in the
daies of Christ, & in the times of the prophets before Christ, churches,
assemblies, and congregations were euer distinckted one from another, &
diuided into feueral flockes, companies, and charges. So that although
they had not the name of this word ‘parish’ amongst them, yet had
the thing ment thereby, in effect.

Theod. Then it followeth by your reason, that there are infinite
churches in *Dnalgne*; and I haue learned out of the book of God

that there is but one true church, and faithful spouse of Christ vpon the earth. How reconcile you these two places?

Amphil. Verie well. For although there be ¹ infinite particular churches, congregations, and assemblies in the world, yet doe they all make but one true church of God, which being diuided in time and place, is notwithstanding one church before God, being members of the mystical body of Christ Iesus, & fellow members one of another, so as they can neuer be diuided, neither from themselues, nor from their head, Christ.

Theod. Who doe you constitute the head of the vniuersall church of Christ vpon earth? Christ Iesus, the pope, or the prince?

Amphil. Christ Iesus, whose the bodie is, must needs be, & is the onely true head of the vniuersall church. Then next vnder him euerie christian prince in his kingdom. And as for the pope, he is head ouer the malignant church, the church of the deuil, and not of Christ Iesus. No, he is so far from being head ouer the vniuersal church of Christ, that he is no true member of the same, but rather the childe of perdition, the first borne of satan, a diuell incarnate, and that man of sin (euen Antichrist himselfe) that must be destroied with the breath of Gods mouth.

Theod. By whom be these particular churches and congregations gouerned & ruled?

Amphil. By bishops, pastors, and other inferiour officers.

Theod. Do you shut out the prince then from gouerning the church?

²*Amphil.* No, God forbid. For take awaye *Brachium seculare*, [Sig. K. 2. back] The lawfull power, and gouernement of the temporal magistrate from the regiment of the church, and ouerthrow the church altogether. And yet notwithstanding the necessitie hereof, the dooting anabaptists and braineficke papists haue most deuiliſhly denied the same. The anabaptists denie (most absurdly) the authoritie of the magistrate altogether. The papists feing themſelues conuinced by the manifest worde of G O D, denye not their authority absolutely; but that their authority extendeth to the gouernement of the church, forsooth they vtterly denie, hereby exempting themſelues, and plucking away their neckes from vnder the yooke of christian obedience due vnto

[¹ Sig. K. 2.]
But these separate churches all make up One true Church,

whose Head is Christ; under Him each King in his kingdom.

(The Pope's the head of the Devil's Church,

and under them Bishops, Pastors, &c.,
and temporal Magistrates.

The Anabaptists deny the temporal power altogether; the Papists deny its extending to Church Government.

70 II. 2. *A Sovereign's Rights and Duties in his Church.*

magistrates¹, contrarie to the expresse word of our fauour Christ, and his apostles, who faith *Omnis anima subdita sit potestatis supereminentibus!* Let every soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. And therefore they are to be obeyed as the ministers of God of all whatsoeuer.

But every King
is supreme head
over the Church
in his realm.
[² Sig. K. 3.]

Theod. Well than I gather thus much, that euerie king, prince, or potentate, is supreame head next vnder God, ouer the church of G O D dispersed through his kingdomes, and dominions : is not this true ?

The Pope is a
mere greasy
priest, like other
old shavelings
are.

Amphil. Verie true. And therefore that antichrist of Rome, hath plaide the traitor a long while, both to Christ Iesus and all christian kings, in arrogating and usurping to be supreame head ouer all the world. Whereas indeed he, being a greasie priest, & fimered prelate, hath no more authority than other oiled shavelings haue, nor so much neither, and yet that authoritie is but ouer the malignant church of antichrist, and not of Christ Iesus. I beseech the Lord therefore to breake of that power, to grind in peces that stumblng blocke of offence, and to wipe off the heads of that monstrous hidra, so as neuer any mo may growe thereof againe. *

Theod. Seeing you say that euerie prince is supreame head ouer the church of God within his dominions, what authoritie therfore affign you to the prince to execute in the church.

A King has to
see good Pastors
elected, proper
rites establisht,
and Church cen-
sures executed.

[³ Sig. K. 3. back]

Amphil. It is the office and dutie of a prince, not onely to see elected, sent forth, & called, good, able, & sufficient pastours, for the instruction of the church, but also to see that good orders, constitutions & rites be establisched, and duely performed, that the worde be preached, the sacraments truely ministred, excommunication, discipline and ecclesiastical censures orderly ³executed to the honor of God, and benefit of his church. But if it be said that these things are to bee executed of the ecclesiastical persons onely, I answere, true it is ; but if the ecclesiastical magistrate be negligent, secure, slouthfull, and careleſſe about the execution hereof (as who feeth not some be) than ought the prince to shew his authoritie in commanding and inioining them to doe their office. Besides this, it is the office of the prince to see all kind of finne, as well in the church men themſelues, as in all others of the church, ſeuereley punished.

The King should
see sin punisht

¹ Orig. magistrates.

II. 2. *Of the King, Papal Antichrist, and Bishops.* 71

And though I grant the prince to haue the soueraigntie and primacie ouer the church of G O D, within his dominions, yet my meaning is not, that it is lawfull for the prince to preach the word, to minister the sacramentes, or to execute the sentence of excommunication, and other ecclesiastical discipline and censures of the church, but (as before) to see them done, of them to whom it apperteineth. For faith the apostle, *nemo sumat sibi honorem, nisi qui legittime vocatus fuerit, vt fuit Aaron.* And againe, *vnuus quisque in ea vocatione, qua vocatus est, maneat apud deum?* But in times past the papists bare the worlde in hande, that no temporall power whatsoeuer could, nor ought not, to ¹meddle wyth the clergie, and therefore made they vassals of most chrisitian Princes. Yea, that pernicious antichrist of Rome, in those daies of ignorance hath not beene ashamed to make Kings, Queenes, Emperours, Dukes, Lords, and all other, how honorable or noble soever, his lackeis, his pages, his horsekeepers, and compelled them to hold his stirups, to leade his horse, and to prostrate themselves before him, whilest he trod vpon their neckes. But God be praised, this great antichrist is discouered to all the world, and his shame so laid open, as euery childe iustlie laugheth him to scorne.

Theod. You said before, that the churches there were gouerned by bishops, and pastors: how by them?

Amphil. The bishops are graue, ancient, and fatherlie men, of great grauitie, learning, and iudgement (for the most part) constituted by the Prince ouer a whole country or prouince, which they call their dioceses. These graue fathers hauing authoritie aboue all other of the ministerie, in their dioceses, do substitute vnder them in euerie particular church a minister, or ministers according to the necessitie of the same. And thus doeth euery bishoppe in hys owne dioces thorow out the ²whole realme. So that no church, how small soever, but it hath the

¹ Sig. K. 4, back]

The Bishops are
grave and learned
men, set over
Dioceses.

truth of Gods word, and of his sacraments, truly deliuered vnto it.

Theod. Are those preaching prelates, that the bishops do place in euerie congregation, or else reading ministers?

Amphil. It were to be wished that all were preaching prelates, and not reading ministers only, if it could be brought to passe, but though all be not preachers, yet the most part be, God be praised therefore.

All our ministers
don't preach,
some read only.

Theod. Be any, readers onlie, and not preachers: that is a great

72 II. 2. *Some Ministers are mere Readers, not Preachers.*

abuse. For I am perswaded that he that cannot preach, ought not to supplie a place in the church of God to read onlie : how say you?

But Readers

nought not to be
Pastors.

[² Sig. K 5]

They are not
Christ's Vice-
gerents,

only dumb dogs.

But bare Reading
is better than
nothing.

[² Sig. K 5, back]

If you can't get
at a kernel at
first, don't throw
away the whole
nut.

Amphil. It is no good reason to say, because all ought to be preachers, that therefore readers are not necessarie. But indeed I am of this iudgement with you, that who so can but read onelie, and neither is able to interpret, preach, expound, nor explane the scriptures, nor yet to refell and conuince the aduersarie, nor to deliuere the true sense and meaning of the scriptures, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the paftor thereof. For God commandeth that the paftors be learned, saing : *Labia sacerdotum cuſtodiānt veritatem, and edificant populi verbum dei ex ore eorum,* Let the lips of the priests preferue knowledge, and let the people learne the truth out of their mouthes. And therefore thofe that haue not this dexteritie in handling the worde of God, they are not fent of God, neither are they Chrifts vicegerents or paftors to instruct his flocke. To fuch, the Lord faith : They rule, but not by me ; they run, but I fent them not ; they crie, thus faith the Lord, whereas hee neuer spake it. These are thofe idoll ſhepheards, and dumbe dogs, of whom ſpeaketh the prophet, that are not able to barke againſt finne. And therefore I beſeech the Lord to remoue them, and place able and ſufficient paftors ouer his church, that G O D may be glorified, and the church edified in the truthe.

Theod. Bare reading, I muſt needs ſay, is bare feeding : but what then ? Better it is to haue bare feeding than none at all.

Amphil. Verie true. And therefore are not they more ſcrupulous than they ought, more curious than needes, and more precise than wiſe, that bicaufe they cannot haue preaching in euerie church, doe therefore contemne reading as not necessarie ? This is as though a man ſhould diſpife meane fare, because he cannot come by better, whereas I thinke it is ²better to haue meane fare than none at all, or as though a man, because he cannot come by the carnell at the firſt, will therefore caſt awaie both the nut and the carnell. It were good (as faith the aþoſtle) that all could propheſie, that is, that all could preach and expound the truthe, but bicaufe that al haue not the gift, is therefore reading naught ? And therefore a ſort of nouatiens lately ſprung vp, haue greatly faulted herein, in that they hold that no reading minifters only ought to be permitted in the church of God, as though

(as I say) because a man can not haue daintie fare, therefore it is good to haue none at all. But to be plaine, as I will not defende a dumbe reading ministerie only, so I will not condemne it for necessitie sake, when otherwise euery place cannot be sufficienly furnished at the first with good and sufficient men as it ought.

Keep your Reading Ministers till you can get Preaching ones.

Theod. But it is thought that there are now able men in the universities and elsewhere to furnish euery particular church with a preaching minister?

Amphil. Truely I thinke there are so, if they were sought for & preferred: but alas those that are learned indeed, they are not sought for nor promoted, but the vnlearned for the most part, somtimes by frendship, sometime by mony¹ (for they pay wel for their orders, I heare say) and somtimes by gifts, (I dare not say bribes) are intruded. This maketh many a good schoolar to languish, and discourageth not a fewe from goyng to their booke. Whereby learning greatlie decaith, and barbarisme, I feare me, will ouerflow the realme, if ipeedie remedie be not had herein.

We've enough learned men, but, alas they don't get Preferment.

[¹ Sig. K 6]

Theod. As farre as I can gather by your speeches, there is both a reading and a preaching ministerie: whether doe you prefer before the other?

Amphil. I preferre the preaching ministerie before a reading ministerie only: and yet the reading ministerie, if the other can not be had, is not therefore euill, or not necessarie.

Theod. But tell me this. If there might a preaching ministerie be gotten, ought not the reading ministerie to giue place to the same?

Amphil. Yea, doubtlesse. And therefore the bishops ought to seeke for the learned sort, and as it were to sue and make instance to them, and finding them worthy, as well for their life as doctrine, to call them lawfully according to the prescript of Gods word, & so to sende them forth into the Lords haruest. And where the foresaide dumbe ministerie is, to displace the same, and place the other. By this meanes² the word of God should flourish, ignorance (mauger the head of satan) be abandoned, the church edified, and manie a one encouraged to go to their booke, whereas now they practise nothing lesse, and all by reason that by their learning they haue no promotion nor preferment at all.

Bishops ought to seek out learned Ministers.

[² Sig. K 6, back]

74 II. 2. *Preachers may travel. New-fangled Brownists.*

Preaching
Ministers
preach mainly
in their own
parishes,

but sometimes
out of them,
and rightly so,

[^t Sig. K 7]
notwithstanding
the Brownists,

for the Apostles
went from place
to place
preaching.

Evils of
Pluralities.

[^t Sig. K 7, back]

Theod. Do these preaching ministers preach onely in their owne cures, flocks and charges, or else indifferently abroad else where?

Amphil. They preach for the most part in their owne charges and cures whereouer the holie Ghost hath made them ouerseers, and for which they shall render a dreadfull account at the day of iudgement, if they doe not their dutie diligently, as God hath commanded. But though they preach most commonly in their owne cures, yet doe they sometimes helpe their felowe brethren to breake the bread of life to their charges also. Wherein me thinke they do not amisse. For if a watch man appointed by a whole citie, or towne to giue warning when the enimie commeth, seeing an other citye or towne to be in danger, giveth sufficient warning to his owne citie, and goeth and warneth the other citie also, and so by this meanes deliuere them both, I say, that in so doing, hee doth well, and according to chariti. And yet ¹ notwithstanding, diuers new phangled felows sprong vp of late, as the Brownists, and there adherents, haue spoken verie blasphemouslie hereof, teaching in their railing pamphletes, that those who are lecturers or preach els wher than in their owne cures are accursed before god. Than the which, what can be more absurdlie, or vntruely spoken? For if they grant (as they cannot deny) that the word of God is good, then cannot the declaration of that which is good in one place, be hurtfull in another. And read we not that the apostles themselues went from place to place, preaching the word to euerie congregation? Christ Iesus did the same, & also taught vs, that he came not to preach to one citie onely, but to many?

Theod. Doe the reading ministers onely continue and read altogether in their owne charges, or not?

Amphil. The reading ministers, after they be hired of the parishes (for they are mercenaries) they read commonly in their owne charges, and cures, and except (which is a horrible abuse) that they haue two or three cures to serue, all vpon one day, and peraduenture two or three myles distant, one from another. Which maketh them to gallop it ouer as fast as they can, and to chop it vp with all possible expediti^{on}, though none vnderstand them, and as fewe be edified by them.

Theod. Be these reading ministers well prouided for, so as they want nothing, or not?

II. 2. *Bad Pay and Pluralism of Reading Ministers.* 75

Amphil. No truly. For if the other preaching ministers be not well prouided for (as in truth they be not) then how can the other be well maintained? And therfore they haue, some of them ten pound a yeere (which is the most), some eight pound, some sixe pound, some five pound, some foure pound, some fortie shillings; yea, and table themselues also of the same. And sometimes failing of this too, they runne roging like vagarents vp & downe the countries like maisterlesse men, to feeke their maintenance. Whereby some fall to one mischiefe, some to another, to the great flander of the Golpell of Iesus Christ, and scandall of the godlie. And yet part of these reading misters be too well prouided for, for some of them haue two or three, yea foure or five benefices apeece, being resident but at one of them at once, and peraduenture at neuer a one, but roift it out elsewhere, purchasing a dispensation for their discontinuance, and then may no man say: *Domine, cur ita facis?* Sir, why doe you so? For hee hath¹ plenarie power and authoritie granted him so to doe.

Reading
Ministers' pay
rungs from £10
to £2 a year,
and keep
themselves.

Some have 3
or 4 benefices
apeece,

[¹ Sig. K 8]

Theod. That is an horrible abuse, that one man should haue two or three, or halfe a dozen benefices apeece as some haue: may anie man haue so manie liuings at one time, by the lawe of God, and good conscience?

Amphil. As it is not lawfull for anie man to haue or enioie two wiues at once, so is it not lawfull for any man, how excellent foever, to haue mo benefices, mo flockes, cures or charges in his handes, than one at once. Nay, I am fullie perswaded that it is more tollerable (and yet it is a damnable thing) for a man to haue two wiues or mo, than for a man to have two benefices at once, or mo. For by possibilitie a man might discharge the dutie of a good husband to two or three wiues (yet to haue mo than one is the breach of Gods commandements), but no man, though he were as learned as Saint Paule, or the apostles themselues to whome were given supernaturall and extraordinarie giftes and graces, is able sufficientlie to discharge his dutie in the instruction of one church, or congregation, much lesse of three or foure, or halfe a dozen, as some haue. And as one father cannot bee manie fathers, one pastor² manie pastours, nor one man diuerse men, so one sheepeheard or pastour cannot, nor ought not, to haue diuers charges, and flockes at once. Is it possible for any shepheard though he were neuer so cunning a man, to keepe two or

which is worse
than having 2
or 3 wives.

[² Sig. K 8, back]
One Pastor
cannot take
charge of

more flocks,
and churches
than one.

three flocks or mo at once, and to feed them wel and in due seafon, dooing the dutie of a good shepheard in euerie respect, they being distant from him, ten, twentie, fortie, fixtie, an hundred, two hundred, or three hundred miles? Much lesse is there any man able to discharge the dutie of a good pastor ouer so manie flocks, churches, and congregations so farre distant in place, wheras the simplest flocke that is, requireth a whole, and perfect man, & not a peece of a man. Therfore I aduise al benefice mongers, *that haue mo charges then one,* to take heede to themselues, and to leauve them in time, for the blood of al those within their cures, or charges, that die ghoftlie for want of the truth of Gods word preached vnto them, shall be powred vpon their¹ heads, at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

If he tries to,
he must be
non-resident
in one parish.

[² Sig. L. 1.]

This takes
away the
Word preacht,
which is the
Life.

Ministers'
Substitutes
are mainly like
Hogherds.

Theod. If they haue so many benefices a peece, and some so farre distant from another, then it is not possible that they can be resident vpon them all at once. But the matter is in dispute, whether they may not as well be ab²sent, or present: what is your iudgment of that?

Amphil. To doubt whether the pastor ought to be resident with his flocke, is to doubt whether the soule should be in the bodie, the eie in the head, or the watchman in his tower. For this I am fully periuaded of, that as the soule is the life of the bodie, and the eie the light of the same, so the word of God preached is the life, and light, as well to the bodie as to the soule of man. And as necessarie as the one is to the bodie, so (and much more) necessarie is the other both to soule and bodie. Now certein it is, these things cannot be applied without the presence of the preacher or pastor; and therefore is his absence from his flocke a dangerous and a perilous thing, and as it were a taking away of their life and light from them, which commeth by the preaching of Gods word vnto them.

Theod. But they say, though they be not present by themselues, yet be they present by their substitutes and deputies: is not that a sufficient discharge for them before God?

Amphil. I grant they are present by their deputies and substitutes, but if a man shoulde looke into a great sort of them, he should finde them such as are fitter to feed hogs, than christian soules. For as for

¹ Orig. their their.

some of them, are they ¹not such as can scarcely read true english ? [¹ Sig. L. 1 back] And for their zeale to Gods worde and true religion, are they not such as can scarce tell what it meaneth ? The truth of Gods word they cannot easily preach nor expound. The aduersarie they cannot refell : barke against sinne they dare not, because their liues are licentious. They will read you their seruice faire and cleanly (as the doting papists did their blasphemous masses out of their portefesses), and when they haue done, they will to all kinde of wanton pastimes and delights, with come that come will, and that vpon sabbath day, festiuall day, or other ; no day is amisse to them. And all the weeke after, yea all the yeere (if I said all the yeeres of their life, I lied not) they will not flicke to keepe companie at the alehouse from morning till night, tipling and swilling till the signe be in Capricornus. Infomuch as if you would know where the best cup of drinke is, go to these malt woormes, and I warrant you you shall not misse of your purpose. By these mercenaries their deputies, and the like, I grant they are present in all their flocks, but so as it were better or as good they were absent, for any good they doe, but rather hurt by their euill example of life. The residence of these their deputies is no discharge for them ²before the tribunall seate of God : for notwithstanding the same, let them be sure to answeare for the bloud of euerie one of their sheepe, that miscarrieth through their default, or their deputies. Their deputies shall not excuse them at the day of iudgement, I dare be their warrant. Therefore I wish them to take heed to it betime, leaft afterward it be too late.

Theod. But I heare say, that what is wanting either in their deputiess, or in themselues for not being daily resident, they supply either by preaching their quarter sermons themselues, or else (if they be not able) by procuring of others to do it for them. Is not that well ?

Amphil. It is as though a man euerie quarter of a yeere once, shuld take his plow, & go draw a furrow in a field, & yet notwithstanding should looke for increase of the same : were not he a foolish husbandman that wold do thus ? And euen so he is no leſſe vnwise, that plowing but one furrow, that is, preaching but one poore sermon in a quarter of a yeere (& perchance but one in a whole yeere, nay in 7. yeeres) will notwithstanding looke for gret increſe of the same. Now the cause why this ground bringeth not forth fruit is, for that it

*Tho they can
read the Service,
yet after it,*

*and on week-
days, they'll
swill all day at
the Alehouse.*

*Pluralists may
preach once a
quarter, but
that's no more
good*

*than if a man
plowd one furrow
every quarter.*

is not plowed, furrowed, & tilled al togither as it ought to be. So the cause wherefore the pore churches doe not bring forth fruit¹ is, for that they are not furrowed, manured, and tilled, as they ought, and bicause the word of God is not preached vnto them, and as it were braied, punned, interpreted, and expounded, *that* it, sinking down into the good ground of their harts, might bring forth fruit to eternal life. If the strongest mans body that liueth vpon the earth should be nourished with nothing for a whole quarter of a yeeres space, but onely with two or three drops of aqua vite, aqua angelica, or the like, euery day, and at euerie quarters end should be fed with all manner of dainties, I am perswaded that his bodie notwithstanding would soone be weake inough. Nay, do you thinke it were possible to liue one quarter of a yeere? Euen so falleth out in this case. For although our soules (which liue by the word of God, as our bodies doe by meate) be daily fedde with hearring the word read as it were with aqua vite, or sweet necter, and at euerie quarters ende, haue a most excellent & sumptuous banquet to pray vpon, yet may they macerate and pyne away notwithstanding, for lacke of the continuance of the same. And therfore the worde of God is to be preached night and day, in time, and out of time, in season and out of seaso[n], and that without ceasing, or intermission. And if that saieng of the prophet be² true (as without all controuersie it is most true) that he is accursed, *Qui fecerit opus domini negligenter*, That doth the worke of the Lord negligently, or fraudulently, then must it needs be, that those who hauing cure of soules, and doe seldome, or neuer preach, are within the compasse of this curse. Let them take heede to it. The apostle Paule said of himselfe, *Vae mihi nisi euangelizauero*, Woe be to me if I preach not the gospel; and doe they thinke that the same wo is not proper to them if they prech not? Haue they a greater priuilege than the blessed apostle saint Paule had? No, no, these vaine excuses will not serue them; therfore, as they tender the saluation of their owne soules, and many others, I wish them to take heede, and to shew themselues painfull laborers in the Lords haruest.

Theod. As far as I remember, by the lawes of *Dnalgne* there is a restraint, that none shall haue no more benefices at once than one: how is it then, that they can holde so manie a peece, without danger of the law?

[¹ Sig. L. 2. back]
Our churches
din't bring forth
fruit because
they're not tilled
with preaching.

God's Word
should be
preach night
and day with-
out ceasing.

[² Sig. L. 3.]

Woe to Minis-
ters who won't
preach it!

I'ho there's a
law against
Pluralism,

II. 2. *Dodges to avoid the Law against Pluralities.* 79

Amphil. They make the lawes (as it were) shipmens hoofen, or as a nose of waxe, turning and wresting them at their pleasure, to anie thing they lust. But bicause they will auoide the lawes, they purchase a dispensation, a li'cence, a commission, a pluralitie, a qualification, and I cannot tell what else, by vertue whereof they may hold totquots so manie, how manie soeuer, and that with as good a conscience as *Iudas* received the mony for the which he sold Christ Iesus the Sauiour of the world. Or if this way will not serue, then get they to be chaplines to honorable & noble personages, by prerogatiue whereof they may holde I cannot tell how manie benefices, yea, as manie as they can get. But I maruell whether they thinke that these licenses shall go for good paiment at the daie of judgement. I thinke not. For sure I am that no license of man can dispense with vs, to doe that thing which is against Gods worde (as these totquots is) and therfore vnlawful. They may blind the foolish world with pretended dispensations, and qualifications, but the Lorde will bring them to account for it in his good time: G O D grant they may looke to it!

Theod. In whome doth the patronage, right, and gifture of these ecclesiastical promotions and benefices confisst? in the churches themselfes, or in whom else?

Amphil. Indeede you saie well. For who shoulde haue the patronage, the right, the interest, and gifture of the benefices, but the ²churches themselfes, whose the benefices are by right, and to whome, *Proprio iure*, They doe apperteine? For doe not the benefices confisst either in tithes, or contributions, or both? Nowe, who giueth both the one and the other? Doe not the Churches? Then by good reason ought they to haue the gifture and bestowing of them, and the right and interest thereof ought to remaine in the power of the church, and not in anie other priuate man whatsoeuer.

Theod. Why? Then I perceiue you would not haue anie priuate or singuler man of what degree soeuer, to haue the patronage, the right, or gifture of anie ecclesiastical living, but the churches themselfes: is not that your meaning?

Amphil. Yes truely, that is my meaning, and so I am of opinion it ought to be.

Theod. Why so, I beseech you?

it's avoided by
buying a
dispensation,
[² Sig. L. 3,back]

getting a
chaplaincy to a
Nobleman, &c.

But God'll be
down on these
folk.

The Patronage
of Benefices
ought to be in
the Churches'
hands.
[² Sig. L. 4.]

Every parish
Church ought
to have the
patronage of its
own Living.

80 II. 2. *Every Congregation should own its Patronage.*

*It wouldn't
abuse it as pri-
vate Patrons do.*

[¹ Sig. L. 4 back]

Amphil. Because one man may easily be corrupted, and drawne to bestowe hys benefice eyther for fauour, affection, or monie, vppon such as bee vnworthie; the whole Church will not so. Againe, the whole liuing is nothing else but pure almes, or deuocion, or both, the Gentleman or other that pretendeth the gifture thereof, ¹giueth not the whole liuing himselfe, *ergo* hee ought not to haue in his owne power, the only gifture of the same. Thirdly, the whole church will not giue the same for simonie; one priuate man may be induced to doe it. Fourthlie, the church will keepe no part of the liuing backe from the pastor, if he doe his dutie, nor imploie it to ther owne vse; the singularitie of one man may easilie be abused: nay, the most patrones keepe the fatteſt morsels to themſelues, and giue ſcarcely the crums to their pastors. But if the benefice be woorth two hundred pound, they will ſcarcely giue their pastor foure ſcore. If it be woorth an hundred pound, they will hardly giue fortie pound. If woorth forty pound, it is well if they giue ten pound, imploeing the better halfe to their owne priuate gaine. Now if this be not ſacrilege, and a robbing of the poore churches of their ſubſtance, as also defrauding of the Lords minister of his dutie and right, then I knowe not what ſacrilege, and fraude meaneth. Yea there are ſome, that hauing ground in another parish than where they dwell, againſt the time that their ſheepe, kine, and other cattell ſhould bring foorth increase, will drive them thither, ſo that the fruit falling in the other parish, he ſhall not need to pay tithes for the ſame to his owne pastor ²where he dwelleth. And againſt the time that the other pastor of that parish where his cattell fell, ſhall demand his tithes thereof, they will haue fetched home their cattell, ſo that by these finifter kinde of meanes, they will neither pay in the one parish, nor in the other. But if the one commence ſute againſt him, he anſwereth, they fell not in his parish: if the other doe the ſame, he pleadeth that he is not of his parish, nor oweſt him ought. But indeed they wil pay for their ground in the other parish a little herbage (as they call it), a thing of nothing, to ſtop his mouth withall. So that hereby the poore paſtors are detained from their right, and almost beggered in moſt places that I haue come in.

*Private Patrons
often cheat their
Pastors of half
their income.*

*And they move
their cattle and
ſheep ſo as to
avoid paying
tithes on em.*

[¹ Sig. L. 5]

Theod. How came temporall men by the right of their patronages, and how fell they into their clowches, can you tell?

Amphil. I will tell you, as farre as euer I could conjecture, how they fel into their hands. In the beginning, when Antichrist the pope exercised his vsurped authoritie, and challenged the title of supreme head ouer the vniuersall church of Christ vpon the face of the earth, to whomsoeuer would either erect churches, temples, and oratories (as the then world was giuen to blinde superstition, as to instaurate ab^lbeies, prieries, nunries, with other sumptuous edefices, and houses of religion, thinking the same a worke meritorious, and to gilte, croses, images, and the like fooleries) or else giue ground for the same to be built vpon, his vnholie holines did giue the patronage and pretended right of the same church, and benefice belonging to the same. Othersome thinke (to whome I willinglie subscribe) that the Churches (consisting of simple and ignorant men for the most part) abusing the same benefices, and bestowing them vpon vnmeete persons, the princes haue taken them out of their handes, and giuen the right patronage and possession of the same to the temporalitie, to the ende they might bestowe them better. But as they were taken from the churches for some caufes, so ought they to be remooued and giuen againe to the Churches for greater causes. For nowe are they bought and soulede for simonie, even as an oxe or a cow is bought and sold for mony.

Theod. Are there no lawes for the restrainte of simonie, being for horrible and detestable vice in the church of God?

Amphil. Yes, that there are. As he that is patrone taking monie for his benefice, to loose the patronage of the same, and the ²ecclesiastical person, that giueth it, to loose the same benefice, the monie giuen or promised to be giuen, and to remaine incapable of anie other ecclesiastical promotion afterwarde for euer. But doe you thinke they are fooles? Haue they no shift to defeate the lawe? Yes, I warrant you. For though they giue two hundred, or three hundred pound for a benefice, yet it shall be done so cloosely, as no dogges shall barke at it. But bicause at the time of their initiation, institution, induction and admission, they are sworne whether they came by it by simonie or no, whether they gaue anie monie for it or no, therefore, to auoide the guilte of periurie, they, the pastors themselues, will not giue anie monie, but their friendes shall doe it for them; and than may they sweare (with as good a conscience as euer Iudas betrayed Christ) that they gaue not a penny, but came

Laymen get
their Church
Patronage by
the Pope having

given it to
all men who'd
build churches
or give ground
for'em;
[¹ Sig. L 5, back]

and by the King
having taken the
patronage from
congregations,
and given it to
individuals.

We have laws
against Simony,

but they're
easily evaded.

Simony is
avoided by
pastors getting
friends to pay
money for them.

Or they buy a
worthless thing
for £100.

[^f Sig. L 6, back]

Private
Patronages
should be
abolished.

Poor Pastors
haven't money
to buy books.

[^f Sig. L 71]

Pagans take
better care of
their Priests.

by it freely, as of gifte. Or if this waie fayle them, than must they giue the patrones a hundred pounde, or two hundred pounds vpon some bargayne, that is not woorth a hundred pence, and then maye they sweare, if neede be, that they came by the benefice frankelye, and freelye, and that they gaue the money vppon such and such a bargaine,¹ without some of these practis, or without such a dish of apples as Master Latimer talketh of, with thirty angels in euery apple, thogh he be never so learned a man, I warrant him he gets nothing. But if he can get a graffe of this tree loden with such golden apples, it will serue him better then all Saint Paules learning. For these and the like abuses infinite, if the patronages were taken away from them that now enjoy them, nay, that make hauocke of them, and either to rest in the right of the Prince (as they ought) or else in the right of the churches, who will not be corrupted, it were a great deale better than nowe they bee. For now the poore pastours are so handled at the hands of their patrones, that they neyther haue mony to buy them bookees withall, nor, which is lesse, not to main-taine themselfes vppon, though but meanelye, but are manye times constrained either to wander abroad to seeke their liuings, or els to take vp their Inne in an alehouse, or in some od corner or other, to the great discredit of the gospell of Christ, and offence of the godlie. This argueth flatly that we loue not Christ Iesus, who make so little of his messengers, and ambassadours. He that despifeth you, despifeth me, and he that receaueth and maketh much of you, he receiueth ²me, and maketh much of me, saith Christ. The heathen gentils, and pagans, prouide better for their idolatrous priests, then we doe for the true preachers of the gospell, and disclosers of the secrets of God. For when the Egyptians were sore pooled of Pharao, the priests, by his commandement, were excepted, and permitted to haue all necessarie maintenance whatsoeuer. But we are of another mind, for we thinke whatsoeuer we get of them is won, it is our own good, whereas in truth, what we withdrawe from them (prouided that they be diligent preachers of the gospell) we withdraw it from God, and ferrie it to the deuil. But hereof more shal be spoken (Christ willing) hereafter, when we come to this question, whether it be lawful for preachers and ministers of the Gospell, to receiue wages and stipends for preaching of the worde.

Theod. By what law may a minister of the Gospell make claime to tithes, and other profits, emoluments, duties, and commodities, belonging to him, by y^e law of God, or of man?

Amphil. God, in the law of Moses, gaue speciall commandement that tithes, and other oblations, commodities and profits should be giuen to the priests, to the end that they might attend vpon the diuine seruice of God and not ¹busie themselues in worldly affaires, which [¹ Sig. L 7, back] ordinance or fanchion being meere ceremonial, is now fully abrogate by Christ (for in him the truth, al ceremonies, shadowes, types & figures ceased, & toke their end) And therfore cannot a preacher of the Gospel claime his tithes by the lawe of Moses, but by the positiuе laws of Christian princes which are to be obeied in all things (not directly against true godlineffe) vpon paine of damnation.

Theod. Are tithes then due to be paid by the positiuе lawe of man, and not by the law of God?

Amphil. Yea truly, by the positiuе lawe of man: which godlie constitution is now no leſſe to be obeied vnder the Gospel (being commanded by a christian prince) than the diuine institution was to be obeied vnder the law. And although tithes bee due by the positiuе lawes of man, yet are the same grounded vpon the word of God, as commanded as well by God as by man. And therefore he that breaketh this ordinance (being an excellent policie) violateth the commandements of God, and breketh the constitution of his liege prince to his damnation, except he repent.

Theod. Muſt euerie one pay his tithes truely to euery paſtor, whether he be ought or ²naught, learned or vnlearned, without any [² Sig. L 8] exception; or may he deteine it with good conscience from him that is an vnfit and vnable minister?

Amphil. If he be a good paſtor, and diligent in his calling, and withal able to discharge the dutie of a faithful ſhepheard ouer his flock, then ought he to haue al tithes paid him whatſoeuer with the better; and if any ſhould withhold the leſt mite from him, he finneth againſt the maiefie of God moſt greeuously. And although he be a wicked man and not able to discharge his dutie, though but in ſmall measure, yet ought euerie man to pay him his due faithfully and truly. For in denieng him his dutie, they might feeme to withstande authoritie, which they ought not to doe. In the meane time giuing

Ministers can
claim Tithes

by the positive
law of Christian
kings,

grounded on the
word of God.

Even tho a
Minister's a
wicked man, his
tithes ſhould be
paid him,

84 ii. 2. *Ministers may preach to other Flocks gratis.*

themselfes to praier, and suing to them that haue the authoritie for his displacing, and placing of another that is more able in some measure to discharge the dutie of a faithfull pastor. Notwithstanding I know some are of opinion that if any man giue either tithes, or anie dutie else, to their pastor being an vnfit and an vnable person, he is partaker with him of his finne, he communicateth with other mens offences, and he maintaineth him in his idlenesse, sloth, ignorance,¹ and securitie, and therefore offendeth greeuously. But I am of opinion that euery man ought to pay their dutie (for else he might feeme, as I said, to resist the power) & if he be not able to discharge his dutie, to pray for his remoueing, and to make instance to them that are in authoritie appointed for the redreffe of such inormities, for his displacing, and so not to attempt anything without good and lawfull authoritie grounded vpon the word for the same.

[¹ Sig. L 8, back]

but his
parishioners
should try to get
him removed

Theod. May a pastor that hath a charge and a flocke assignd him to watch ouer (hauing a maintanable liuing allowed him of his flock) preach in other places for monie?

An endowd
Minister
may not

Amphil. Hee may sometimes, obteining licence for some reasonable cause of his owne flocke, preach the word of God abroad in other places, but then he ought to doe it *gratis*, contenting himselfe with the liuing allowed him at home of his owne parish. Notwithstanding, if the other churches where he shall have preached, will voluntarily impart any thing to the supplie of his necessities, in respect of his painstaking, he may thankfully receiue the same, but he may not compell, nor constraine them to giue it him whether they will or not, against their wils, as manie impudently doe.

[² Sig. M. 1.]

force men to
pay him for
preaching in
other places.

Theod. Then I perceiue if it be not law²full for a pastor that hath a flocke, and a stipend appointed him, to receiue monie vpon constraint of strangers for preaching the worde abroad in other places, then is it not lawfull for him to take monie in his cure for preaching funerall sermons, marriage sermons, christening sermons, and the like, as many do. What say you to this?

Ministers may
not take fees
for sermons

Amphil. There are manie woorthie of great blame in this respect. For though they receiue fortie pound, a hundred pound, or two hundred pound a yeere, of some one parish, yet will they hardly preach once a moneth, nay happily not once in a quarter of a yeere, and sometimes not once a twelue moneth, for the same. And if a

II. 2. *Preachers not to take fees for Funeral Sermons.* 85

man request them to preach at a burial, a wedding, or a christening, they will not doe it vnder an angell, or a noble at the least. And therefore the papists and aduersaries to the Gospel call our Gospel, 'a polling Gospel,' our sermons 'roiall sermons, angell sermons, and noble sermons.' You call, say they, our blessed maife 'a polling maife'; but, say they, your preachings are more polling. For we say they would haue sold a maife for a grote; you will not sell a sermon vnder a roiall, or a noble. And thus these fellowes are a flander to the Gospel, and robbers of their fellowe brethren. If I should hire a ¹man for fortie pound, an hundred pound, or more, or leſſe, to teach my children nurture or knowledge, if he for the execution therof should aske me more for the same than we agreed for, were not this man a naughtie, exacting, and fraudulent felowe? Nay, if I compound with him to teach them in the best maner he is able for so much, and he doth it not, and yet receiue my monie, haue not I good lawe against him? If he should say vnto me, I will not doe it except you giue me more, were not this a very vnreafonable man? For, hauing his monie that was couenant, is hee not bound both by lawe and conscience to teach them to the vttermoſt of his power? Or if he ſhall not doe it, and yet take my monie, is not he a theefe and robber? Is this true in a priuate man, & not in an ecclesiasticall person? Is he not hired to that end & purpose to preach the word of God to his flocke? And hath hee not wages for the same? Shall he now denie to preach the same word except he haue more monie? Or is he not bound in conscience to preach the ſame night and day without ceaſing? And if he doe not, is he not a deceiuer, a theefe, & a robber? The paſtor therefore, hauing taken vpon him the cure & charge of his flocke, and hauing his ſtipend appointed for the ſame, is bound to preach the worde of ²God to all his flocke indiffer- ently whether it be at buriall, wedding, christening (yea then espeſially) or at any other time whenſoeue, without taking or requiring of any more monie, than the ſtipend he was hired for. For if he take any more, it is plaine theft before God, and one day ſhall be anſwered for: let them be ſure of it.

Theod. You condemne not funerall sermons then, ſo that they be good, doe you?

Amphil. No, God forbid. Why ſhould not godlie ſermons be as

at Burials,
Weddings, &c.

Those that do
are a ſlander to
the Gospel.

[¹Sig. M. 1. back]

They get their
salary, and yet
won't preach
without more
pay.

[²Sig. M. 2.]

86 ii. 2. Funeral Sermons Good. Ministers should be paid.

I think godly
Sermons at
Funerals are
very needful,
and do great
good.

[¹Sig. M. 2. back]

wholsome (and as necessarie) at the burials of christians, when wee haue such liuely spectacles before our eies, of our mortality, miserie, and end, as they be at all other times? Yea truely at that present I thinke godlie sermons verie necessarie to put the people in remembrance of their mortalitie, of their great miserie, and frailtie, of their fatall end, of the immortalitie of the soule, of the generall resurrection at the last day, and of the ioie, felicitie, and beatitude of the life to come, with the like godlie instructions, that they may the better prepare themselues to the same when God shall call them hence to himselfe. And although of late some phantaſticall spirites haue taught that the vſe of them is naught, in that they ¹ſtand in place of popiſh diriges, and I cannot tell what, yet cannot I be eaſilie drawne to affent vnto them, for that I ſee them in that reſpect a great deale more curious than godlie wife.

Theod. Is it lawfull, thinke you, for minifters, and preachers of the Gofpell, to receiue ſtipends, and wages for their preaching?

Minifters
ought to have
Stipends, ſo as
to be free from
worldly business,
and keep their
families.

Amphil. Why not? Otherwife how ſhould they bee able to keepe themſelues free from worldly occupations, and trauels of this life (as they ought) to applie their ſtudies for the diſcharge of their duties, to maintaine themſelues, their family, and houſhold; or how ſhould they keepe hospitalitie for the releefe of the poore ² all which they are bound to doe both by Gods lawe, and good conſcience. Therefore take away liuings and wages from the preachers, and ouerthrowe preaching altogether, the ordinarie meane to ſaluation in Chrift. This cauſed the aþoþle to enter diſputation of this point, where he prooeweth by iniuincible arguments, that a preacher or minifter of the Gofpell of Chrift Iefus, may (*Salua conſcientia*, With a good conſcience) receiue wages and ſtipends for his peines ſustained in the affaires of the Gofpell, and that for the cauſes abouefaid. Therefore faith this aþoþle:

Boui ²trituranti non ligabis os, Thou ſhalt not muſtle the mouth of the oxe that treadeth foorth the corne. Whereby is ment, that he that laboreth and taketh paines in any good exercise, ought not to be denied of his meed for his paines. Againe he faith: *Dignus eft operarius mercede sua*, The workman is woorthie of his reward. And ſtill iñiſing in the fame argument, hee faith: *Qui euangelium p̄d̄cant, ex euangelio viuant*, They that preach the Gofpell, let them liue vpon the Gofpell. And yet further prosecuting the fame more at

[²Sig. M. 3.]

St. Paul says
that Minifters
who preach the
Gospel ſhould
live by it.

II. 2. *Benefist Clergy not to take Money of other Flocks.* 87

large, he saith: *Quis militat, etc.* ‘Who goeth on warfare at any time of his owne charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit? Who feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flock?’ By al which reasons and arguments it appeareth, that he who preacheth the Gospel ought to liue of the Gospell. But as euerie pastor that hath a peculiar flocke assignd him, may, with the testimonie of a good conscience, receiue wages and maintenance of his flocke, for his paines taken amongst them: so may he not, nor ought not, to take wages or salarye of any other flocke adioining, if so be it, that either vpon request, or his owne voluntarie good will, he preach the word of God amongst them. To them that are thus prouided for, Christ our ¹saviour saith: *Gratis accepistiis, gratis date,* Freely you haue receiued, freely giue againe. But if any haue not a speciall flocke or charge assignd him, then may he with good conscience receiue the beneuelencie, the friendly contributions and rewards, of the churches to whom he hath preached. And this is probable, both by the word of God, and the examples of the apostles themselues.

But benefist
Ministers may
not take extra
pay.

[¹ Sig. M. 3. back]

Theod. What say you of preachers, and lecturers, that haue no peculiar flockes, nor charges appointed them; are they necessarie, and may they receiue wages, with a good conscience, of the flockes and charges where they preach the word of God?

Amphil. First you aske me whether preachers and lecturers that haue no peculiar flockes nor charges of their owne to attend vpon, be necessarie. Whereto I answere. That confidering the state & condition of the church at this day, they are most necessarie. But if it were so, that euerie church and congregation had his preacher (as euery one ought to preach, else is he not sent by the Lord) then were they not so necessarie; but confidering that most churches are planted and fraught with single reading ministers, they are verie behouefull to helpe to supplie the defect of the others, that ²through the good industrie as well of the one, as of the other, the churches of G O D may bee instructed and nourished with the worde of G O D to eternall life. Then you aske mee whether these lecturers and preachers may receiue wages of the churches to whom they preach, with a good conscience, whereto I answere, that they may. But yet I am perswaded, that it were much better for them to haue particular flocks of their owne, to the end that they, receiuing sufficient maintenance of them, might

Unbenefist
preachers are
now necessary,

as most
Churches have
only Readers.

[² Sig. M. 4.]

Unbenefist
clergy may
take pay for
Preaching.

88 II. 2. *Ministers to be content with poor Livings.*

(if they were at anie time disposed to bestowe any spirituall graces abroad) doe it *Gratis*, frankly and freely, without any charges to the poore churches of Iesus Christ.

Theod. But what if the pastors liuing be not maintaineable nor sufficient for him to liue vpon, may hee not take wages of other flocks abroad?

But benefist
cres may not,
even if their
Livings are
very poor.

[¹ Sig. M 4 back]

They must be
content with em,

and wait till
the Lord opens
men's hearts to
give them more.

[² leaf M 5]
The present
Vagrant
Ministers,

Amphil. I am perswaded no. For if his liuing be too little, then ought the church to mend it; but if the church, either for want of zeale will not, or through extreame pouertie cannot, increase his liuing, then ought the pastor to content himselfe with that little which God hath sent him, following the example of the apostle, who biddeth the children of G O D ¹ to be content with their wages, bee it little or be it much: for if they haue meate, drinke, and cloth, it is inough, and as much as nature requireth. We brought nothing (faith he) into this world, neither shall we carrie any thing out. Againe, those that will be rich, fall into diuers temptations, and snares of the diuell, which drowne men in perdition and destruction. Therefore if it be sufficient to yelde him meate, drinke, cloth, and other necessaries, he is bound to content himselfe with the same. Which if he doe (for the zeale he beareth to his flocke), I doubt not but the L o r d will open the harts of his flock towards him, and both make them able and willing to support his necessities. For if hee deliuier vnto them spirituall things, doubtlesse the Lord will moue them to giue vnto him temporall things. And therfore ought he to perseuere; and in his good time, without all peraduenture, the Lord will looke vpon him, as he hath promised.

Theod. Doe you allow of that vagrant ministerie, which is in manie countries, but most specially in *Dnalgne* sprung up of late, to the discredite of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and offence of the brethren?

Amphil. Allow of it, quoth you? No, God forbid! But I rather deplore it with all my hart, ²knowing that it is most directly against the word of God, the example of the primitiue age and all good reformed churches thorough the world. Is it not a pitifull case that two hundred, three hundred, five hundred, a thousand, five thousand, yea possible ten thousand, shall be called into the ministerie, in one countrie, not a quarter of them knowing where to haue any liuing or

charge? And what do they then? Runne stragling and rouing ouer countries, from towne to towne, from citie to citie, from shire to shire, and from one place to another, till they haue spent al that euer they haue, and then the most of them either become beggers, or else attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes to liue by, to the great dis- honour of God, and slander of the word.

Theod. Me thinke this is a great abuse, that so manie, or any at all, should be called into the ministerie, not hauing flocks and charges prouided for them before.

Amphil. It is a great abuse indeed. For if pastor come of *Pasco*, to feed, if he be not a shepheard that hath no flock, and if he be not a feeder, that giueth no sustinance, nor a father that hath no childe, then are they no shepheards, nor no watchmen sent from the Lord, that haue neither flocks, nor charges to watch ouer. For he that is made a shepheard (or a minister) that hath no particular flocke readie to receiue him, is so far from being a lawfull shepheard, by reason of his former admission, that he is rather made a pastor by the church that hircth him to be their watchman and guide, than of him that first called him into that function. And therefore woulde I wish that bishops and others to whome it doth (*Ex officio*) apperteine to call, and admit pastors, and teachers in the church of G O D, to bee verie carefull heerein, and not rashly to lay their handes vpon any, before they haue had sufficient triall, as well of their life and doctrine, as also of the flock and charge where they shal be resident, that they go not like maisterlesse hounds, vp and downe the countries, to the flander of the Gospell.

Theod. Why? Then I perceiue you would haue none called into the ministerie, before there be a place void for him: is not that your meaning?

Amphil. That is my meaning indeed.

Theod. But are you able to prooue your assumption out of the word of God, or else I will giue but smal credit to you in such matters of controuerfie as this is?

Amphil. I haue not, neither doe I meane to speake anie thing vnto you touching these matters, but what I am able (I trust) to prooue by the worde of G O D. And yet I grant *Errare possit* (for *Hominis est labi, & decipi*, Man may bee deceipted and fall) but

roaming all
over the country,
I condemne.

Bishops
should stop
these men
running about
like masterless
dogs.

No one should
be ordained till
a place is
ready for him.

Bible examples
prove this.
[leaf M 6]

90 II. 2. *No one to be ordaind till he has a Cure.*

Hereticus effe nolo, Erre I may, but heretike I will not be. No, so foone as I shall be conuinced by the manifest worde of God, of any of my former positions or assertions, I will willingly subscribe to the truth. But being persuaded as I am, giue me leaue, I beseech you (vnder correction) to speake what I thinke. But now to the purpose. In the first chapter of the A&tes of the apostles recorded by the Evangelist Saint *Luke*, wee read that *Matthias* succeding *Iudas* the traitour in the administration of the apostleship, was not chosen nor elected (notwithstanding that the apostles by the reuelation of the Spirite of G O D, knew that he should fall from the same in the end) vntill the place was voide, and emptie. In the fixt chapter of the A&tes of the apostles wee reade also of feuen deacons, which were chosen for the dailie ministring to the poore; but when, I pray you? Not before the church (destitute of their seruice) had need of them, nor before there ¹were places readie to receiue them, wherein they might exercise their function, and calling. Then if the apostles would not choose not so much as deacons, which is an office in the church of God farre inferiour to the office of the paftor, or preacher, before places were void and readie to receiue them, much leſſe would they, or did they choose or call any paftor into the church of God, before the church stood in need of him, and before there be a place readie to receiue him. Befides that, we read not thorough the whole euangelicall historie, that euer the apostles called any to be paftors and preachers of the word, before ſuch time as there were places void for them. Common reaſon, me thinke, and daily experience, ſhould teach us this truth ſufficiently, if we were not wilfully blinded, that when any church or congregation is deftitute of a paftor, it were better to place there one able person, than to make two or three hundred or mo vnable fellowes, and they, for want of liuing, to runne ſtrangling the countries ouer, without any liuing or maintenance at all, being glad of any thing. For as the old ſaieng is: Hungrie dogs eat fluttifh puddings.

Theod. What order would you have obſerued in this?

¹* leaf M 7] *Amphil.* Me thinke this were a verie good order: That euerie church or congregation being deftitute of a paftor, ſhould present to the bishops, and others to whom it dooth apperteine, one or two, three or foure able persons, or mo, or leſſe, as they conueniently can,

Matthias
wasn't elected

till Judas's place
was empty.

The Apostles
wouldn't choose
Deacons until

[¹ leaf M 6, back]
places were
ready for em.

Common sense
says, better
wait and get one
able man than
have 200 unfit
ones ſtruggling
about after
places.

[² leaf M 7]
Any congrega-
tion wanting
a Pastor, ſhould
propone 2 or 3
tried men to
the Bishop,

II. 2. *How Ministers should be appointed to Churches.* 91

whose liues and conuersations they haue had sufficient triall of, whose soundnesse in religion, integritie of life, and godly zeale to the truth they are not ignorant of. Then the bishops and others to whom it doth apperteine, to examine and trie them thoroughly for their sufficiencie in learning, soundnesse in doctrine, and dexteritie in teaching, and finding them furnished with sufficient gifts for such an honorable calling, to admit them, to lay their hands vpon them, and to send them foorth (the chiefeſt of them) to that congregation or church ſo deftitute. Which order, if it were ſtrictly obſerued and kept (as it ought to be) then ſhould not ſo manie run abroad in the countries to ſeeke liuings, then ſhould not churches bee peſtered with iſufficient minifters. Then ſhould not the bishops be ſo deceiued in manie as they be. And no maruell. For how ſhould the bishop choose but be deceiued in him, whom he neuer ſawe before, whose conuerſation he knoweth not, whose diſpoſition hee is ignorant of, and ¹whose quaſties and properties in generaſl, he ſuſpecteth not? ^[leaf M 7, back] Whereas if this order were eftablifhed, that euerie church deftitute of a paſtor ſhould preſent certeine able men, whose conuerſation and integritie of life in euerie reſpect they perfeclty knowe (for the whole church is not likely to erre in iudging of their conuerſations, who haue been either al togither, or for the moft part conuerſant among them) then (as I ſay,) ſhould not the bishop be deceiued in any, nor yet any church ſcandalized with the wicked liues of their paſtors (or rather depaſtors) as they be. For now it is though ſufficient for the certeintie of his conuerſation, if he either haue letters dimiſſorie from one bishop to another (whereas they little or nothing knowe the conuerſation of the man) or elſe letters commendatorie from any gentleman, or other, elſpecially if they be of any reputation. If he can get theſe things, he is likely to ſpeeđe, I warrant him. Which thing is ſcarce well, in my iudgement. For you knowe one priuate man or two, or three, or foure may, peraduenture either write vpon affection, or elſe bee corrupted with bribeſ or giftſ, whereas the whole church cannot, nor would not. Therefore is the other the ſurer way.

² *Theod.* How prooue you that the churches that are deftitute of a paſtor, ought to preſent him whom they would haue admitted, to the bishop, and not the bishop to intrude vpon the church whom he will?

and he ſhould
ordain the best
for that Church.

Now, a Bishop
gets but ſmall
proof of a
candidate's
fitness.

^[leaf M 8]
Bishops ought
not to intrude
their minifters
on churches,

92 II. 2. *Bishops ought not to appoint whom they like.*

for the Apostles

bade the Church
present suc-
cessors to Judas
Iscariot.

They also bade
the Church
choose Deacons.

[¹ leaf M 8, back]
So now each
Church should
choose its
Pastor.

If it doesn't, it
won't like him.

[² Sig. N. 1.]

Amphil. In the first chapter of the Actes of the apostles before cited, we read, that after the defection of Iudas the traitour, the apostle *Peter* knowing it necessarie that one shoulde be chosen in his place, to giue testimonie and witnesse of the resurrection and ascension of Christ Iesuſ, commanded the church to present one or two, or mo, as they thought good, that hee with his fellowe brethren might confirme and allow them. And therewpon, saith the text, they chose two, to wit, *Matthias*, and *Ioseph*, surnamed *Bersulas*. And the church hauing presented them, they were elected, confirmed and allowed of the apostles and elders. Also in the forefaide fixt chapter of the Actes of the apostles, when the deacons (whose office was to make collections for the poore, and to see the same bestowed vpon them without fraud or deceit) were to be chosen, the text faith, that the apostles desired the church to choose foorth feuen men from amongst them, of honest report, & ful of the holie Ghoſt, which they might appoint to that busynesse. ¹By all which reaſons appereth, that the church ought to present him, or them, whom they would haue to be admitted, and not that the bishop ought to present, to allow, or to intrude him vpon the church at his pleasure, against the will thereof.

Theod. Why would you not haue pastors to be thrust vpon the churches, whether the churches will or not?

Amphil. Bicause it is manifest that no church will so willingly receiue, nor yet so louingly imbrace, him that is intruded vpon them against their wils, as they will doe him that they like of, chooſe, and allow of themſelues. And if the churches beare not a ſingular loue, fauour, good will, and affection to their pastor, it is vnoþiſſible that they ſhould heare him, or leарne of him with profit to their foulſ. And if they heare him not *Auide & fitienter* (as we ſay) Greedily and thirſtily thereby to profit, then ſhal they periſh euerlaſtingly, in that the word of God is the ordinarie meane appointed by the diuine maieſtie. And therefore in conclusion, if there be not a mutual amitie, loue, and affection betwixt the pastor and his flocke, and if that the one loue not the other, as themſelues, it is not to be looked for that either the one ſhall teach, or the other receiue, any thing to their foulſ ²health, but rather the cleane contrarie.

Theod. I pray you what is your iudgement in this? What if a

II. 2. When a Minister may turn Layman again. 93

man be once lawfully called into the ministerie, may he euer vpon
anie occasion whatsoeuer, leaue off the same function, and applie him-
selfe to secular affaires?

As to a Minister giving up his office,

Amphil. There is a twofold calling. The one a diuine calling
immediately from God, the other a humane calling immediately from
and by man. Now he that hath the first diuine calling (his con-
science suggeſting the ſame vnto him, and the ſpirit of God certifieng
his ſpirit of the certeintie thereof) being furnished with gifts and
graces neceſſarie for ſuch a high function and office (as God calleth
none, but he indueth them firſt with gifts, and graces neceſſarie for
their calling) and afterwards is lawfully called of man according to the
preſcript of Gods word, hauing a flocke appointed him wherupon to
attend, this man may not, nor ought not at any hand to giue ouer his
calling, but to perſeuere in the ſame to the end, for that he hath both
the diuine and humane callings, being furnished with all gifts and
graces neceſſarie (in ſome meaſure) for the diſcharge of his high
function and calling. Yet notwithstanding, in time of extreame
perſecution, when Gods truth is perſecuted, and his glorie defalced, if [Sig. N. 1. back]
he haue not wherewithall to maintaine his estate otherwife, he may
for the time giue himſelfe to manuall occupations, and corporall
exercises in the affaires of the worlde, as we ſee the apoftles themſelues
did, who, after Chrift Iefus was crucified, gaue themſelues to their old
occupations of fishing, making of nets, tents, pauilions, and the like.
But vpon the other fide, if a man haue not this diuine calling, his
conscience bearing him witneſſe thereof, nor yet the graces, gifts, and
ornaments of the minde, fit for his calling (which, whomeuer hath
not, it is a manifest argument that the Lorde hath not ſent him, for
thoſe that hee ſendeth, hee furniſheth with all kinde of graces and
giftes neceſſarie for their callings) this man, though he be called by
humane calling neuer ſo precisely, yet he may, nay, hee ought, to
leaue his function, as vnwoorthie to occupie a roome in the church of
God, repreſenting (as an idoll doth) that thing which hee is not.
Befides, hee that is compelled and inforced either by friendes (as
manie are), or by pouertie (as not a few bee), or for anie other respect
elſe, to take that high function vpon him, without the teſtimonie of a
good conſcience, being not furnished with gifts, and graces fit for
ſuch a calling (which argueth diiectly that God hath not called him) [Sig. N. 2.]

if he's call'd by
God's Spirit,

and then by man,
and is given
a flock, he must
continue a Min-
ister to the end.

But if he's not
call'd by God,
and hasn't fit
gifts for his
work, he

should at once
give up his
office.

Men forſt by
friends or
poverty into the
Ministry, and
being unfit,

[Sig. N. 2.]

94 II. 2. *Unfit Ministers ought to give up their charges.*

ought to leave
their callings.

hee, I say, is so farre from being bounde neuer to leaue his function and calling, that hee ought not one minute of an houre to continue in the same, though he bee called by man a thoufande times. Therefore he that is a minister, and hath charge of soules committed vnto him, let him if hee bee not furnished with such gifts as his high calling requireth, in the name of G O D make no doubt of it to giue ouer his function vnto others that are able for their giftes to discharge the same, in the meane time giuing himselfe to godlie exercisces of life, as God may be glorified, his conscience disburthened, and the commonwealth profited.

Theod. But I haue heard of some that, confidering the naughtinesse of their calling, and their owne insufficiencie to discharge the same, haue therefore left off their function, giuing themselues to secular exercisces, and in the ende haue beene inforced to resume their former function vpon them againe, and that whether they would or not. How thinke you of this?

Amphil. I thinke truely that they who compelled them to take ^[1st Sig. N. 2. back] againe that function which they were not able to discharge, and ¹therefore left it, haue greeuously offendid therein. This is as if I, knowing a simple ignorant foole presumptuously to haue taken vpon him a great and waightie charge, yea, such a charge as all the wisedome in the world is not able thoroughly to performe, and when he, in taking a view of his owne insufficiencie, shuld be moued to leaue his charge to others better able to execute the same than hee, I should notwithstanding not onely counsell, but also compell him to refigne againe his former great charge, which I knowe he is neither woorthie, nor yet able, euer to accomplish. Thinke you not that he that compelleth him to take againe that office or calling which before he had leaft for his inabilitie, shall not answere for the same? yes truely, you may be sure of it. In conclusion, he that is sufficently furnished with such gifts as are necessarie for his calling, & withal is found able to discharge in some sort his duty, ought not to leaue his function (for to such a on that so doth, Christ saith 'hee that laieth hande vpon the plough, and looketh backe, is not fit for the kingdome of God'). But againe, he that hath not these gifts, and graces sufficient for his calling, to the discharge of his dutie, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the pastor thereof, much lesse ought he, ^[2nd Sig. N. 3.] when

No unfit Pastors
should be
re-appointed.

he hath (for his inabilitie) lefft the same, to be constra[i]ned to resume againe his former function and calling, which he is not able to discharge. But hereof inough.

Theod. Then I perceiue that any minister or ecclesiasticall person that hath not gifts sufficient to discharge his duty, may with good conscience leave their functions, and give themselfes to liue by their labors, as other temporall men doe: may they not?

Amphil. Yes, with a better conscience than to retaine them, being not able to discharge them in any small measure. For with what conscience can he receiue temporall things of his flocke, and is not able to give them spirituall? With what face can a shepheheard receiue of his sheepe, the milke, the wooll, and fleece, and yet will not, or cannot give to the same either meate or drinke sufficiently? With what conscience can he receiue fortie pound, a hundred pound, or two hundred pound, a yeere, of his poore flocke, and is not able to breake to them the breade of life, in such forme and maner as he ought? Nay, how can he euer haue quiet conscience that knowing that the blood of all those that die ghoftlie for want of instruction shal be powred vpon his head at the day of iudgment, and be demanded at his handes, will yet notwithstanding reteane the same [Sig. N. 3. back] charge and function to himselfe still, not being able to discharge the lefft iote of the same? Therefore would I wish euery man of what office, function, or calling soeuer he be, if he be not able to discharge his dutie in the same, to give it ouer, and not for greedinesse of a little mucke or dung of the earth, (For monie is no better) to cast away their soules, which Iefus Christ hath bought with his most precious blood.

Theod. Is it lawfull for a pastor or minister that hath a flocke to departe from the same, In the time of plague, pestilence, or the like, for feare of infection?

Amphil. Is he a good shepheheard that, when he feeth the wolues comming, will take him to his heelles and runne away? Or is he a sure freend that, when a man hath most neede of his helpe, will then get him packing, not shewing any frendship towardes him at all? I thinke not? And truly no more is he a good pastor, or minister, (but rather a depastor, and minister) that in time of any plague, pestilence or sicknes whatsoeuer, will conuey himselfe away

They'd better work for their bread.

How can a Pastor fairly take pay for what he can't give?

Let unfit men resign at once.

A minister is no Pastor, but a Depastor, who 'll run away for fear of infection.

96 ii. 2. *No good Pastor will run away in Plague time.*

[¹ Sig. N. 4.]

Such runaways,
to save their
bodies, will
hazard a
thousand souls.

[² Sig. N. 4 back]

But God will
follow and
strike them.

Cannot God
protect his
servants now
from death?

from his flocke, for feare of infection, at the houre of death, when the poore people haue most need of comfort aboue all other times, then is he their pastor that shoulde feede ¹them, the furthest from them. When they stande vpon the edge, as it were, of saluation or damnation, then permits he the wolfe to haue the rule ouer them. Our Sauiour Christ saith *Bonus pastor animulam dat pro ouibus*, A good shepheard giueth his life for his sheepe, but these felowes are so far from giuing their liues for their sheepe, that they seeke to saue their owne liues with the destruction of their whole flocke. This is the loue that they beare vnto their flocke, this is the care they haue ouer their soules health, which Christ Iesus bought so deere with the price of his blood. Out vpon those shepheards that for feare of incurring of corporall death (which is to the Godly an entraunce into parpetuall glorie) will hazard manie a thoufande to die a corporall and a spirituall death both, yea, a death of damnation both of body & soule for euer. Do they thinke that their blod shall not be asked at their handes at y^e gret day of the Lord. Do they thinke that their flieng away from their flock, is a mean to preferue their liues y^e longer vpon earth? Is not God able to strike them as well in the fields, as in the city, as well in the country as in the towne, in one place, as well as in another? Is not his power euerwhere? Is not his messenger death in al places? Saith he not in the booke of Deuteronom. that if we doe ²not those things which he hath commanded vs in his sacred word, cursed shall wee bee at home, and cursed in the fields. And saith he not further, that the plague and pestilence, the botch, bile, blaine, or else what deadly infection foever, shall followe vs, and lay hold vpon vs, in what place foever we be, and shall never depart from vs, till it haue quite consumed vs from the face of the earth? And doe these fugitiues that ouerrun their flocks in time of infection, thinke that they shall escape the heauie wrath and vengeance of God for their tergiuersation and backsliding from their duties? Doe they thinke that God cannot saue them from corporal death but with the breach of their duties towards God? Is not the Lord as well able to defend them from any deadly infection, if it be his good pleasure, as he was to defend *Sidrach, Misaach, and Abednego* from the flaming fire? *Daniell* from the mouth of the lions, *Ionas* from the iawes of the mightie whale, with manie others that trusted

in him? Doe they thinke that his arme is shortened, or his power weakened? Is he not able to deliuere his children, that in doing of their duties depend vpon his prouidence? And to bee plaine with them, me think that in flieng away from their flockes, they shew themselfes to thinke¹ that either God is not almighty, or else not [^{leaf N 5}] mercifull, or neither. For if they beleueed that he were almighty, and that hee were able to faue them, then they would neuer run awaie from their flocke, but depending vpon his prouidence, beleue that he is as well able to deliuere them in one place as in another, if it bee his good pleasure. And if they beleueed that he were mercifull, then would they rest vpon the same, not doubting, but as he is almighty, and omnipotent, and therefore can doe al things, so he is most mercifull, and therfore wil preferue al those that put their trust in him. If a temporall magistrate that exerciseth but a ciuil office in the commonwealth, shuld go away from his charge for feare of infection or plague, wheras his present abode might do more good than his absence, he greatly offendeth; how much more then offendeth he, that being a paftor or feeder of soules, flieth away from his charge, wheras his presence might doe a thousand times more good than his absence? And if it please the Lord to take them away to himselfe, are they not most happie? Enter they not into eternall glorie? And haue they not an end of all miseries and paines in this life, and the perfect fruition of perpetuall ioy in the heauens? Are they not blessed, if when the Lord shal call them, he find² them so well occupied as in feeding, & breaking the bread of life to, the pore members of Christ Iefus for whose sakes he shed his hart blood?

Theod. But they say, we ought not to tempt God, which thing they must needs doe if they shoulde tarrie when they see death before their face. And they say further, that it is written that we must keepe the whole from the sicke, and the sicke from the whole. Befids, saie they, *Natura dedit, potestatem tuendi vitam omni animanti*, Nature hath giuen power of defending of life to euerie liuing creature. Againe, euery thing fleeth from his contrarie, but death is contrarie to nature, for it came through the corruption of nature, therfore we flee from the same by the instinct of nature. These and the like fond reasons they alledge for their excuse in flieng from their flocks and charges: what say you to them?

He will preserve
all those who
trust in him.

And if he takes
them to himself,
happy are they.

[^{leaf N 5, back}

Cowardly
Pastors' excuses
for fleeing from
infection.

These refuted:

God has bidden
his Pastors to
feed his Sheep.
[¹ leaf N 6]

Men with no
duty to stay in
danger may
go from it.

But Ministers

[¹ leaf N 6, back]

are specially
bound to be at
the deathbeds of
their flocks.

Many who've
led a wicked life

Amphil. I can saie little to them. But onelie this, that none of all these reasons doe priuiledge them to discontinue from their flockes and charges. And whereas they saie, that their staieng were a tempting of God, it is verie vntrue, it is rather a reuerent obedience to this tripled commandement, *Pasce oves meas, pasce oves meas, pasce oves meas*, Feede my sheepe, feede my sheepe, feede my sheepe. But indeede if it were so that a priuate man who hath no ¹kind of function nor office, neither ecclesiasticall nor temporall, seeing himselfe if he stae stil in great danger of death, & might auoid the danger by flieng, & so by the grace of God prolong his life, and yet will not, this man, if he tarrieth, tempteth the Lord, and is a murtherer of himselfe before God. And to such it is said, ‘thou shalt keepe the whole from the fiske, & the fiske from the whole.’ This is the meaning & fence of these words, and not that they do priuiledge any man for not doing of his dutie. But notwithstanding all that can be said in confutacion of this great & extreeme contempt of their duties, I haue knowne and doe know some ministres (nay, wolues in sheepe's clothing) in *Dnalgne* that in time of any plague, pestilence or infection, thogh there hath bin no gret danger at all, that haue bin so far from continuing amongst their flock, *that if any one of them were fiske, although of neuer so common or vsuall disease, yet fearing to be infected with the contagion thereof, they haue absented themselues altogether, from visitng the fiske according as they ought, & as dutie doth bind them.* Yea, some of them (suppose you of mercenaries, & hirelings, but not of good pastors) are so nice, so fine & so feareful of death forsooth, *that in no case they cannot abide to visit the fiske, neither by day nor ²by night.* But in my iudgement it is as incident to their office and dutie, to visite, to comfort, to instruct, and relieue the fiske, at the houre of death, as it is for them to preach the word of God to their flocke al the daies of their life. And peraduenture they may doe more good in one howre at the last gaspe, then they haue done all the daies of their life before. For he that in his life time hath had in small estimation the blessed worde of God, but following his owne humors in hope to liue long, hath lead a very wicked and impenitent life, nowe through the consideration and fight of death, which he seeth before his eies, togither with godly exhortations, admonitions, and consolations, out of the word of

II. 2. *Sinners converted on Deathbeds. Ministers elected.* 99

God, may easilie be withdrawne from his former wicked life, and dieng in the faith of Iefus Christ, with true repentance for his finnes to-fore committed, liue for euer in ioye both of body & soule, whereas, if exhortations had not bin, he might (happily) haue died irrepentant or vtterly desperate to his euerlafting destruction for euer. Yea, it is commonly seene, that those who could neuer be wonne to Christ Iefus, all the daies of their life before, yet at the last howre they are soone recovered. Therefore ought not the pastors to neglechte their duties therein, but ¹warely and carefully to watche [leaf N 7] ouer their flocks night and day without ceasing, that when the great shephard of the sheepe commeth, he may rewarde them with the immercessible crowne of eternall glory. And thus much be it spoken hereof.

Theod. In whome doth the election of the minister or pastor consist? in the church onely, or in the bishops?

Amphil. I tolde you before (as I remember) that the church might examine the life, the conuersation, and disposition of him, or them, whome they would haue to be their pastor, and finding the same good, to present him, or them, to the bishops or elders to whome it apperteineth, to examine for his sufficiencie in knowledge, and dexteritie in teaching and handling the word of God; and finding him a man furnished with gifts and graces necessary for such a high vocation, to call him lawfullie according to the word of God, and so to fende him foorth into the Lords haruest, as a faithfull laborer therein.

Theod. But some are of opinion that the churches themselues of their owne absolute and plenarie power ought to choose their pastor, and not bishops.

Amphil. The churches haue no further ²power in the election of [leaf N 7, back] their pastor, than as I haue told you, that is, to iudge of his conuersation & integritie of life, referring the whole action besides to the bishops and elders. For if the churches should elect their minister or pastor of themselues absolutely, besides that it would breed confusion (for some would choose one, some another, some this, and some that, neuer contenting themselues with any) the church should doe that also, which were directly contrarie to the word of God. For certeine it is, the church hath no absolute power by the word of God

may easily be drawn to repent on their dying beds.

The Election of Pastors.

Their lives should be lookt into by the Church; then the men should be presented to the Bishop.

Churches should not elect their Ministers without the Bishop's approval.

100 II. 2. *No sole right in a Church to appoint its Pastor.*

Bishops represent the Apostles.

[² leaf N 8]

But a Church should have a voice in its Pastor's call.

Seigniorie or Eldership in every Church is not needful now.

[² leaf N 8, back]

A Seigniorie in every Congregation, as in the Apostles' time,

to elect their pastor, to choose him, to cal him orderly in such forme as is appointed in the word, obseruing all kinde of rites, ceremonies, & orders belonging thereto. Neither was it euer seene that any church did euer practise the same. For in the dais of the apostles, did the churches any more than choose foorth certeine persons of a tried conuersation, & presented them to the apostles? And did not the apostles then, (whom our bishops now in this action do represent) lay their hands vpon them, approue them (after triall had of their sufficiencie in knowledge) and sent them foorth into the Lords vineyard? The churches laid not their hands vpon them, or as some call it, consecrated them not, nor vsed not any other ceremoniall rite in the ¹election of them, as the apostles did. But as I grant that the church for som cause, and in som respects, is not to be excluded from a consultatiue voyce (as before) or from being made priuie at al to the election of their pastor, so I denie that the church may absolutely of his owne plenarie power cal their pastor, all ceremonies and rites thereto belonging obserued, for that is to be done and executed of the bishops & elders, and not of the churches confisiting of lay men, and for the most part rude, and vnlearned.

Theod. What say you to a seigniorie or eldership? were it not good for the state of the church at this day that y^e fame were establisched in euery congregation, as it was in *the apostles daies*.

Amphil. The feueral estates and conditions of the apostolicall churches, and of ours (al circumstances duly considered) are diuers and much different one from another, and therefore, though a seigniorie or eldership then in euerie particular church were necessarie, yet now vnder christian princes it is not so needfull. The churches then wanted christian princes and magistrates to gouerne the same, and therefore had need of some others to rule in the church. But God be thanked, we haue most christian kings, princes, and gouernors, to rule and gouerne the church, & therfore ²we stand in leſſe need of the other. And yet notwithstanding, I grant that a seigniorie in euery congregation were to be wifhed, if it could be brought to passe, yet cannot I perceiue, but that it would rather bring confusio[n], than reformation, considering the state of the church at this day. For in the apostles times when seigniories were ordeined, we read not of any shires, dioces, or precincts, where bishops and ecclesiasticall magistrates

II. 2. *Elders not needed. Churchwardens as Deacons.* 101

might exercise their authoritie and gouernement, as now they doe, and therefore, there being neither bishops, ecclesiasticall nor ciuill magistrates (as we haue now), it was necessarie that the feignories shuld be ordeined. But now we, hauing al these things, stand not in such necessitie of them, as the churches in the apostles daies did. Befides, the institution of elders was but meere ceremoniall, and temporall, and therefore not to continue alwaies, neither ought the necessitie thereof to binde all churches. Neither doe I think that all churches are bound for euer to one forme of externall gouernement, but that euery church may alter, and change the same, according to the time and present state therof, as they shal see the same to make for the glorie of God, and the comon peace of the church.

is not needed now.

Every Church
may alter its
form of external
gouvernement from
time to time.

¹ *Theod.* What say you to deacons? Is their office necessarie or [¹ Sig. O. 1.] not in the church of God at this day?

Amphil. Their office (which was to make collections for the poore, to gather the benevolences, and contributions of euerie one that were disposed to giue, and to see the same bestowed vpon the poore and needie members of the church) is very necessarie, and without doubt ought to be continued for euer. But yet is not the church tied to their names onely, but to their office. Which office is executed by honest substanciall men (called Churchwardens or the like) chosen by the consent of the whole congregation to the same end and purpose, who daily gathering the friendlye benevolencies of the churches, bestow, or see the same bestowed vpon the poore and indigent of the same church, which was the greatest part of the deacons duties in the apostles daies. So that albeit wee haue not the name, we yet hold their office in substance and effect.

The office of
Deacon is still
very necessary.

Now it is fill'd
by Church-
wardens, who
daily gather
alms and give
em to the poor.

Theod. What is your iudgement, ought there to be any bishops in the churches of christians?

Amphil. To doubt whether there ought to be bishops in the churches of christians, is to doubt of the truth it selfe. For is there not ²mention made of their names, dignities, functions, and callings, [¹ Sig. O. 1. back] almost in euery chapter of the new testament, in all the epistles of *Paule*, of *Peter*, of *Iohn*, of *Iude*, and of all the rest? Befides that, did not the apostles themselues constitute and ordeine bishops and elders; and doe they not woonderfully commende the excellencie of their calling, inferring that those that rule well, are worthye of double

The Apostles
ordain'd Bishops.

The state of the Church
couldn't be kept up without em.

[¹ Sig. O. 2.]

They don't
claim superiority
to other Pastors
as to their
calling, but only
as to the dignity
that the prince
has given em.

[³ Sig. O. 2. back]

There must be
superiority in
dignity.

Familiarity
breeds contempt.

honour? Whereby appeereth that bishops are not onlye needfull in the churches of christians, but also most needfull, as without whome I can scarcely see how the state of the church could well bee maintained. And therefore those that contend that they are not necessarie in a Christian Common wealth, shewe them selues either wilfull, waiwarde, or maliciouslye blinde, and striuing to catch their owne shadowes, they labour all in vaine, giuing manifest demonstration of their more than extreame follie to all the world.

Theod. Well. Let it bee granted (as it cannot bee denied) that they are mooste necessarie, yet in this I would verie gladlye bee absoluued, whether they maye lawfullye vendicate or challenge to themselues superioritie, and primacie aboue their fellowe ¹brethren of the ministerie or no? for some holde that there ought to be equalitie in the ministerie, and no superioritie at all: how say you?

Amphil. They doe not vendicate or challenge anie superioritie or primacie to themselues ouer their brethren in respect of their common callings and functions (for therein the poorest pastor or shepheard that is, is coequall with them, they themselues will not denie) but in respect of dignitie, authoritie, and honour, which the prince and church doth bestowe vpon them. So that the superioritie that they haue ouer their brethren, resteth in dignitie, authoritie, and honour, which it hath pleased the prince to dignifie them withall aboue their felowe brethren, and not in calling, function, or office, for therein they are all coequall togither. But if any curious heads should demand why the prince shoulde aduance any of the cleargie to such high dignitie, authoritie, and primacie aboue his brethren, I answer as it is in the Gospell: ‘Is thine eie euill, bicause the prince is good?’ May not the prince give his gifts, his dignities, and promotions to whom he will? And if the prince of his roiall clemencie be minded to bestowe vpon his subiect any dignity or promotion, is it christian obedience² ³to refuse the same? Nay, is it not extreeme ingratitude towards his prince? Befides, who seeth not, that if there should be no superioritie (I meane in dignitie, & authoritie only) the same honorable office or calling would growe into contempt? For is it not an old saieng, and a true, *Familiaritas, sive æqualitas parit contemptum*, Familiaritie, or coequallitie doth euer bring contempt. And

² Orig. abedience.

therefore take awaye authoritie and honor from the magistrates either temporall or spirituall, and ouerthrowe the same altogether. If authoritie should not be dignified, as well with glorie and eternall pompe the better to grace the same, & to shew forth the maiestie thereof, would it not soone grow to be despised, vilipended, and naught set by? And therefore the more to innoble and set foorth the excellencie of this honorable calling of a bishop, hath the prince & the churches thought it good to bestow such authoritie, dignitie, and honor vpon them, and not for anie other cause whatsoeuer. And therefore, seeing it is the pleasure of the prince to bestowe such dignitie, authoritie, and honor vpon them, me thinke, any sober christians should easely tolerate the same.

Sober Christians
should tolerate
Bishops.

Theod. Yea, but they saie, that there ought to be no superioritie in the ministerie, ¹ bringing in the example of the apostles themselues, [¹ Sig. O. 3.] amongst whom was no superiority, inequalitie, or principallitie at all?

Amphil. Indede amongst the apostles there was no superioritie, I grant, neither in office, calling, authoritie, nor otherwise, but al were equall in ech respecte, one to another. But what than? The apostles were sent to preach to the churches, and not to gouerne (and therefore they choose elders to rule the same) but our bishops are as well to gouerne and to rule the churches in some respects, as to preach the worde. And therfore, though there were no superioritie amongst the apostles, yet maye there be amongst our bishops in respect of gouer[n]ment, dignitie and authoritie. And wheras they saie there ought to be no superioritie in the minifterie at all, I answeare, no more there is in respect of euerie ones function, forme of calling, and office to preach the word and minister the sacraments. But in respect of gouernement, authoritie, dignitie, and honor, there is superioritie, and I am perswaded so ought to be. In which opinion, vntill they haue disprooued it, I meane, Christ willing, to perseste.

Bishops have
to rule as well
as preach.

Theod. But they adde further, and say that it strengtheneth the hands of the aduersaries, ² the papists. For, saie they, the papists may [² Sig. O. 3. back] as well affirme that christian emperours, kings and potentates, and euen the churches of God themselues, haue giuen to the pope that authoritie, that dignitie, and honor which he hath or claimeth aboue his fellowe brethren, as well as the bishop may say so. Besides, it confirmeth the opinion of soueraigntie ouer all the churches in the

The Papist
argument
that the

104 II. 2. *Bishops and the Archdevil Pope contrasted.*

Pope has his power from Kings, &c., as Bishops do.

world. For, say they, may not the pope saie that he receiued plenarie power to be head ouer all the world, from christian kings, emperours, and potentates, as well as the bishops may say, we receiued this power to be superior to our brethren from christian kings and princes. Now whether these reas ons be a like, I would gladly know.

But, i. Papists say that

the Pope gets his power from God.
Not true.

[¹ Sig. O. 4.]
The Pope didn't get his superiority from God,

but from the Devil, whose Lieutenant-General he is.

Prince may lawfully give Prerogative in his own land.

[² Sig. 4. back]

May a Bishop be called 'My Lord,' &c.?

Amphil. They be verie vnlike, and so vnlike as there is no equalitie, comparison, or semblance betwixt them. For, first of all, let them note, that the pope nor any of his complices and adherents doe not holde, nor pretende to holde, (no, they dare as well eate off their fingers as to say so, for then were there stafe in a wofull case) that their archdiuell, their god, the pope, I should say, doth receiue his power either of authoritie, superioritie, primacie, soueraigntie, or head ouer all the world, from any earthly creature, but immediately from God ¹himselfe. But whereas hee sayth that hee receiued his power of superioritie ouer all the worlde from no earthie creature, but from God himselfe, it is manifest that he receyued it neyther from God (for his vsurped power is contrarie to God, and to his worde in euerie respekte) nor from anie christian man, but from the Deuill himselfe, whose vicegerent or Liefetenant generall in his kingedome of impietie he shewes himselfe to be. Than let them note, that although hee pretended to holde his vsurped authoritie from man (as hee doth not,) yet is there no man howe mightie an Emperour, King, Prince, or Potentate soeuer, that is able *proprio iure* to giue him authoritie ouer all the worlde, without great and manifeste iniurye done to all other Princes, as to giue the soueraigntie, or chieftie of their Landes from them, to a straunger. But a Prince may lawfullye bestowe and geue to his subiectes anie prerogatiue, title, authoritie, office, function, gouernment, or superioritie of anie thing within his owne dominions and kingdomes, but no further he maye not. And therefore this reason of theirs holdeth not, that the Pope maye as well arrogate the one to himselfe, as the Byshops may the other to themselues.

Theod. Seeing now it cannot be denied, but that bishops are most necessarie, and that they may also lawfully hold superioritie ouer their brethren (in respect of gouernement, regiment or authoritie) being giuen them of the prince, what say you then to this? Whether may a bishop be called by the name of an archbishop, metropolitane, primate, or by the name of 'my Lord bishop, my Lords grace, the

right honourable,' and the like, or not? For, me thinke, these titles and names are rather peculiar to the temporalitie than to them, & do fauour of vainglorie, and worldly pompe, rather than of any thing else. And which is more, me thinke they are against the expresse word of God. Wherefore I couet greatly to heare your iudgement thereof?

Amphil. These names and titles may seeme to fauour of vaine-glorie indeed, if they shoulde arrogate to themselues *Iure diuino*, as they doe not. But if you wil consider by whom they were giuen them, and how they doe require them, you will not thinke it much amisse, nor farre discrepant from the sincerite of the Gospell. First therefore note that they were giuen them by christian princes to dignifie, to innoble, to decore, and to set foorth the dignitie, the excellencie, and worthines of their callings. Secondly let them note [^ leaf O 5] that they require them as due vnto them by the donation and gifture of men, and not *Iure diuino*, and therefore being giuen them for the causes aforesaid by christian kings and princes, they may in that respect hold them still without any offence to the diuine goodnesse, or his faithfull spouse vpon the earth. But if they shuld claime them as due vnto them by the lawe of God, as they doe not, then shoulde they offend. For our fauour Christ, seeing his disciples and apostles ambiciously to affect the same vaineglorious titles and names, set before them the example of the heathen kings, thereby the rather to withdrawe them from their vaine humour, saien: *Reges gentium dominantur eis*, &c. The kings of the gentils beare rule ouer them, and those that exercise authoritie ouer them, be called gratioues Lords, but *Vos autem non sic*, You shall not be so. In the which words he vtterly denieth them (and in them, all others to the worlds end, that in the same office and function of life shoulde succeed them) the titles of Lords, graces, or the like. The apostle also biddeth them to beware that they challenge not those vaine titles to themselues by the lawe of God, when he saith (speaking to bishops and pastors) Be not Lords ouer your flocks, &c. By ²these and manie other the like places [^ Sig. O 5, back] of holie writt, it is cleare that they cannot arrogate these names or titles to themselues by y^e word of God; neyther doe they, but (as I haue said) by the donation, the beneuolence, and gifture of christian Princes, for the reuerent estimation they bare and ought to beare to

Yes, tho' these titles look vaineglorious. God doesn't give 'em, but the Prince does.

If Bishops claim these titles by God's law, they do wrong.

Christ 'nd have none of this.

These titles of 'Bishop,' &c., are not given by God's Word, but only by Christian Princes,

their high function and calling, in that they are his Liefetenants, his vicegerents in his Church, his messengers, his Ambassadors, the disclosers and proclaimers of his secrete, and his Aungels (for so are they called in the scriptures) & therfore, in respecte of the excellencie hereof, these names were giuen and attributed vnto them.

And truely to speake my simple iudgement, I see not but that these names doe dignifie their callinges, shewe forth the maiestie thereof, and doe moue the Churches to haue the same high calling in more reverence, & honor, than otherwise they would, if they were called by bare & naked names onelie. But notwithstanding either this

that hath beene faide, or anie thinge els that can be said herein, there are some waiward spirits lately reuiued, who hold the same names to be meere Antichristian, blasphemous and wicked, and suche as at anie hande a Minister of the Gospell ought not to bee called by. But whereas they holde them to bee Antichristian, I holde them to be Christian names, and geuen by Christian Princes to the innobling and garnishing of their offices, functions, and callinges, which doubtlesse is a glorie to God, denie it who will, or who can. And therefore in

conclucion I say, that Byshops, though not by the lawe of God, yet by the positivie law, donation, and gifture of Christian Princes, maye lawfully assume the faide titles and names to them, for the causes before cited. And therefore these names and titles beeing meere indifferent, and not derogating from the glorie of God, but rather making for the same, they are not, of anye wise, sober, or faythfull Christian, neyther to bee inueighed against, nor yet to bee in anye respecte dislyked beeing vsed as before. And thus much of the names and titles of Byshops.

Theod. Maye Byshops exercise temporall authoritie together with Ecclesiasticall; and maye they bee Iustices of peace, Iustices of Quorum, Iustices of Assises, Ewer, Determiner, and the lyke; or maye they, as Capytall Judges, geue definytive sentence of lyfe and death vpon malefactors and others, that by the iudicall lawe of man haue deserued to dye?

[^F Sig. O 6, back]

A man can only
fulfill one calling.

² *Amphil.* There is neither of the callings temporall, nor ecclesiasticall, but it requireth a whole and perfect man, to execute the same. And if there were never founde any one man yet so perfect, as could throughly and absolutelie performe his office in either of

and they dignify
their holders
callings.

They are not
Anti-christian
but Christian,

[^P Sig. O 6]

and Bishops may
lawfully assume
them.

the callings temporall or ecclesiasticall, much lesse can there euer one man be found, that is able to discharg them both. It is hard therefore that these two callings should concurre in one man. This is as though a man hauing an importable burthen alreadie vpon his backe, should yet haue an other almost as burthenous vrged vppon him. And therefore as it were absurde to see a temporall magistrate mount into the pulpit, preach the worde, and minister the sacraments, so absurde it is to see an ecclesiasticall magistrate exercise the authoritie temporall, and to giue sentence condemnatorie of life, & death, vpon any criminous person, which properlie belongeth to the temporall power. Befids, it is a great discredit to the temporall magistrate, because it may be thought that they are not wise nor politique inough to execute their office, nor discharge their duties without the aide and assistance of the other. And which is more, it hindereth them from the diischarge of their duties in their owne calling, for ¹it is written, no man can serue two masters but either he must betraie the one or the other. When the woman taken in adultery was apprehended, and brought vnto Christ, he refused to giue judgement of hir; and yet it was a matter in effect ecclesiasticall, & appertained to an ecclesiasticall iudge. Then what ought they to do in matters meere ciuil? Againe, our savior² Christ, when the yong man requested him to deuide the inheritance betwixt his brother, & him, refused the same, saing, *Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos?* Who made me a iudge or a deuider betwixt you? Whereby appeareth how farre ecclesiasticall persons ought to bee from hauing to doe with temporal matters. But whereas they say the bishops of *Dnalgne* do exercise temporall authoritie, and doe it as judges capitall, giuing sentence condemnatorie of life and death, it is verie vntrue otherwise than thus, to be present at the same, & to haue a consultatiue exhortatiue, or consentatiue voice onely. Which vse me thinkes is verie good and laudable in my iudgement. For whereas the temporal magistrates not vnderstanding in euerie point the dedepth of Gods lawe, if they shoulde doe anie thing either against the same, or the lawe of a good conscience, they might informe them thereof, that ³all things might bee done to the glorie of God, the conforte of the poore members of Christe Iesus, and the benefit of the common welth.

No ecclesiastical
other

should exercise
temporal
authoritie, like
condemning men
to death.

[¹ Sig. O 7]
No man can
serve 2 Masters.

Christ refuzd to
be a Judge.

And English
Bishops have
only a consula-
tative voice in
giving temporal
judgments.

[² savior do *Orig.*]

[³ Sig. O 7, back]

Theod. What fashion of apparell doe the pastors and Ministers weare vsually in their common affaires?

Pastors dress
like other folk,

and generally
in black.

But some are
very fond of new
Fashions,

and wear silks,
&c.,
[¹ Sig. O 8]

satin doublets,
&c.

This is a foul
blemish in them.

Christ wore but
one poor coat,

[² Sig. O 8, back]

Amphil. The same fashion that others doe, for the most parte, but yet decente, and comlie, obseruing in euerie point a *decorum*. But as others weare their attire, some of this colour, some of that, some of this thinge, some of that, so they commonly weare all their apparell, at least the exterior part, of blacke colour, which, as you know, is a good, graue, sad, and auncient colour. And yet notwithstanding herein some of them (I speake not of all) are muche to bee blamed, in that they cannot content themselves with common, and vsuall fashions, but they must chop and chaunge euerie day with the worlde. Yea, some of them are as fonde in excogitating, deuising, and inuenting of new fashions euerie day, & in wearing the same, as the veriest Royster of them all. And as they are faultie in this respect, so are they herein to be blamed, in that they cannot contente themselves with cloth, though neuer so excellent, but they must weare filkes, veluets, satans, damaskes, gromrams, taffeties, and the like. I speake not agaynst ¹those that are in authoritie, for wearing of these thinges (for they both maie, and in some respectes ought to weare them for the dignifying of their offices and callings, which otherwise mighte growe into contempte), but against those that bee meane pastours and Ministers, that flaunt it out in their saten doblets, taffetie doblets, filke hosen, garded gownes, cloakes, and the like. Alas, how shoulde they rebuke pryd, and exceffe in others, who are as faultye therein as the rest? Therefore sayde Cato verye well, *Quae culpare soles, ea tu ne feceris ipse*: for, sayeth he, *Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum*. Which is, those things which thou blamest in others, see that thou thy selfe bee not guiltye in the same, for it is a foule blemish and a great shame and discredit, what that euyll which thou reprouest in an other, is apparent in thy selfe. For in so doing, a man reprehendeth as well himselfe as others, is a hinderance to the course of the Gospell, and what he buildeth with one hand, he pulleth down with the other. Christ Iesus, the great pastor of the sheepe, was himself contented to go daily in one poore coat, beeing knit, or wouen all ouer without seeme, as the maner of y^e Palifinians is to this day. This me think was but a simple cote ²in the eie of the world, and yet Christ Iesus thought it pretious inough. Samuel was accustomed to

walke in an old gowne girded to him with a thong. *Elias* and *Elizeus* in a mantell, Iohn the baptist in camels haire, with a girdle of a skin about his loines. The apostle Paule with a poore cloake, and the like; wherby appeareth, how farre a minister of the Gosspell ought to be from pride, and worldly vanitie, obseruing the rules of christian sobrietie, as well in apparell, as in al things else, knowing that he is as a citie set vpon an hill, and as a candle set vpon a candlesticke to giue light, and shiue to al the whole church of God. Therfore faith Christ: *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, &c.* Let your light so shiue before men, that they, seeing your good works, may glorifie your father which is in heauen: which God grant we may all doe.

Theod. Haue they no other kind of apparell different from the common sorte of men?

Amphil. Yes, marie, haue they. They haue other attire more proper, and peculiar vnto them (in respect of their functions and offices) as cap, tippet, surplesse, and the like. These they weare, not commonly, or altogether, but in especial when they are occupied in, or about, the execution of their offices and callings, to ¹this end and ²[*Sig. P. 1.*] purpose, that there may be a difference betwixte them and the common sorte of people, and that the one maie be distingue from the other by this outward note or marke.

Theodo. Is it of necessitie than required, that the Pastors and Ministers of the worde, shoulde be distingued from other people, by anie feuerall kind of attire?

Amphil. It is not required as of necessitie, but thought meete and conuenient to be used for a decencie, and comlines, in the Church of God. But notwithstanding the chiefest thyng wherby a pastor or minister ought to be known from the common & vulgare sorte of people is, the preaching of the word of God, the administration of the sacraments, the execution of ecclesiastical discipline, and other censures of the Church, and withall his integritle of lyfe, and soundnesse of conuerstation in euerie respekte. These are the true notes and markes wherby a Minister of the Gosspell ought to bee knownen and distingued from the other common sorte of people. And yet though these bee the chiefest notes whereby they are distingue from others of the temporalitie and laitie, yet are they not the onelie notes,

and Paul a poor cloak.

Let the Ministers be sober in dress.

But, when officiating, they wear Cap, Tippet, Surplice, &c.

But their chief distinction should be in Preaching and Holy Life,

110 II. 2. *Ministers may well have a distinct dress.*

[¹ Sig. P. 1 , back] or markes, for they are knownen and discerned from others also, by exterior habite, and attire, as namely by cappe, tippet, sur^lpleffe, and such like: That as the first doth distinguish them from others, whilst they are exercised about the same, (for who is so doltishe, that seeing a man preache, minister the sacraments, & execute other ecclesiastical censures of the church, that will not iudge him to bee a Minister of the Gospell) so the other notes of apparell (the surplesse except) may make a difference, and distinguishe them from others of the laitie abroad. To this end, that the reurence which is due to a good pastor, or minister of the Gospell may be giuen vnto them. For as the Apostle saith, those elders that rule well, are worthie of double honour.

As to those who object to a different dress for Pastors,

and try to justify their opinion by the Bible,

[² Sig. P. 2.]

I can't agree with em.

I think a different dress justifiable.

Theod. But I haue heard great disputation and reasoning pro & contra, to and fro, that the pastors and ministers of the Gospell, ought not to be disfenered from the common sorte of people, by anie distin^te kinde of apparell, but rather by sounding the Lordes voice on high, by ministring the sacramentes, and the like: what say you to the same?

Amphil. Indeede there are some, I confess, that are of that opinion, and they bring in the example of Saule, enquiring of Samuell for the feers house, inferring that the Prophet was not distin^te from other common people in his attire, for than Saule shold easelie ²haue knownen him by the same. And the example of the damosell that spake to Peter, inferring that whereas the mayde sayde, *Thy speech bewrayeth thee*, if he had bene distin^te from others in attire, or outwarde apparell, shee would than haue sayd, *Thy apparel sheweth thee to bee such a fellowe*. These, with the like examples, they pretende to prooue that pastors and Ministers are not to bee discerned and knownen from the lay people, by anye kinde of apparell. But as I will not saie that they are to bee knownen and discerned from others by apparell or habite onelye, (but rather by the lifting vp of their voices like Trumpets, as saith the Prophet,) so I wyll not denye the same to bee no note or marke at all to knowe a Paftour or Minister of the Gospell by, from others of the temporaltie, and laitie. And truelye for my parte, I see no great inconuenience, if they bee by a certaine kinde of decente habite (commaunded by a Christian Prince) known and discerned from others. Yet some more curious than wise,

II. 2. *Ministers may wear Surplices, &c.* 111

before they would weare anie distinct kind of apparell from others, they haue rather chosien to render vp both liuinges, goods, families, and all, leauing their flockes to the mouth of the wolues.

¹*Theod.* Is it lawfull for a minister of the Gospell to weare a surplice, a tippet or forked cappe, and the like kind of attire?

p Sig. P. 2. back
If Tippets, fork:
Caps, &c.,

Amphil. As they are commaunded by the Pope, the great Anti-christ of the worlde, they ought not to weare them; but as they be commaunded, and inioyned by a Christian Prince, they maie weare them without scruple of conscience. But if they shold repose any religion, holineffe or sanctimonie in them, as the doting Papifts doe, than doe they greeuouslie offend; but wearing them as things meere indifferent (although it be controuersiall whether they bee things indifferente or not), I see no cause why they maie not vse them.

are ordered by
a Christian
Prince,

I think Min-
isters may wear
them,

Theod. From whence came these garments, can you tell? from Rome, or from whence els?

Amphil. The most hold that they came first from Rome, the poison of all the world; & most likelie they did so; but some other searching the same more narrowlie, do hold that they came, not from Rome, but rather from Grecia, which from the beginning, for the most part, hath euer been contrarie to the Church of Rome. But from whence soever they came it skilleth not much, for beeing mere indifferent, they maie be worn or not worne without offence, according to the pleasure of the Prince, as things which of them²selues bee not euill, nor cannot hurte, excepte they be abused.

even tho they
first came from
Rome.

Theod. Notwithstanding they holde this for a *maxime*, that in as much as they came first from the Papifts, and haue of them bene idolatrouslie abused, that therefore they are not, nor ought not to bee, vsed of anie true pastors, or Ministers of the Gospell. Is this their *assumption* true, or not?

Amphil. It is no good reason to say such a thing came from the Papifts, ergo it is naught. For we read that the Deuils confessed Iefus Christ to be the sonne of God: doth it follow therefore that the same profession is naughte, because a wicked creature vttered the same? All things are therefore to bee examined, whether the abuse consist in the things themselfes, or in others that abuse them. Which being found out, let the abuses be remoued, and the things remaine still. A wicked man maye speake good wordes, doe good

Use of a good
thing by Papists,
doesn't make
the good thing
bad.

If a good thing
is abused,

112 II. 2. *Clear away abuses from good things abuzed.*

works before the world, (but because they want the oile of faith to couple them withall, they are not good workes before the Lord) and maie ordaine a good thing which maie serue to good ends, and purposes.

take away the
Abuse, and let
the Good Thing
stay.

[[¶] Sig. P. 3. back]

If everything
that idolatrous
Papists have usd
is to be done
away with,

the Bible and
most other good
things I'll have
to go.

[[¶] Sig. P. 4.]

These Garments
are a mere
matter of
Indifference:
do as you like
about em.

Put up with
Garments: a
man's no better
or worse for em.

And because the same hath afterward beeene abusid, shall the thing it selfe therefore be quite taken away? No, take away the abuse, let the thinges ¹remaine still, as it maye very well without anie offence, except to them, *quibus omnia dantur scandalo*, to whom all thinges are offence. And further, if these preficians would haue all things remoued out of the Church which haue beeene abusid to Idolatrie, than must they pull downe Churches (for what hath bene abusid more to Idolatrie and superstition?) pulpits, belles, and what not. Than must they take away the vse of bread and wine, not onely from the church, but also from the vse of man in this life, because y^e same was abusid to most shamefull idolatrie in beeing dedicate to *Ceres*, and *Bacchus*, twoo finking Idols of the Gentiles. Than must they take away not onely the Epistles, and Gospels, but also the whole volume of the holy scriptures, because the Papistes abusid them to idolatrie. By all which reasons, with infinite the like, it manifestly appeareth, that manie things which haue beeene instituted by Idolaters, or by them abusid to Idolatrie, may be applied to good vses, and may serue to good ends, y^e abuses being taken away. Yet wold I not that any thing that hath been idolatrouly abusid by the papists, should be reteined in the churches of Christians, if by any meanes they might be remoued, and better put in place.

Theod. Is the wearing of these garments ²a thing meere indifferent, or not? for some hold it is, some hold it is not?

Amphil. It is a thing without all controuerfy mere indifferent; for, whatsoeuer gods word neither exprefly commandeth, neither directly forbiddeth, nor which bindeþ not y^e conscience of a christian man, is a thing mere indifferent to be vsed, or not to be vsed, as the present state of y^e church, & time requireth. But it is certen that the wearing of this kind of attire is not exprefly commanded in the word of God, nor directly forbid by the same, & therfore is mere indifferent, and may be vsed, or not vsed, without burthen of conscience, as y^e present state of time shall require. And therfore seeing they be things indifferent, I wold wish every wise christian to tollerate y^e same, being certen that he is neither better nor worſe, for wearing or not wearing of them.

II. 2. *Princes to be obeyd as to Garments, &c.* 113

Theod. Being things, as you say, mere indifferent, may any man lawfully refuse y^e wearng of them against the commandement of his prince, whom, next vnder God, he ought to obey?

Amphil. Euery man is bound in conscience before God to obey his prince in all things, yea in things directly contrary to true godlines hee is bound to shew his obedience (but not to commit y^e euil) namely to submit himselfe life, lands, liuings or els whatsoeuer he hath, to y^e wil of his¹ Princes, rather than to disobeie. If this obedience than be due to Princes in matters contrarie to true godlineſſe, what obedience than is due to them in matters of small waight, of small importaunce, and meere trifles as these garments be, judge you? He that disobeieth the commaundement of his Prince, disobeieth the commaundement of God; and therfore, would God all Ecclesiasticall persons that stande so muche vpon these small pointes, that they breake the common vnitie, & band of charitie in the church of God, would nowe at the last quallifie themselues, shewe obedience to Princes lawes, and fall to preaching of Christ Iefus truelie, that his kingdome might dailie bee increased, their consciences discharged, and the Church edified, which Christ Iefus hath bought with the shedding of his precious hart bloud.

Theod. Maie a paſtor, or a Minister of the Gospell, forsake his flocke, and refuse his charge, for the wearing of a surplesſe, a cappe, tippet, or the like, as manie haue done of late daies, who being inforced to weare these garmentes, haue giuen up their liuings, and forsaken all?

Amphil. Thoſe that for the wearing of these garments, being but the inuentions, the traditions, the rites, the ceremonies, the ordinances & conſtitutions of man, will leauē their flockes,² and giue ouer their charges, not caring what become of the ſame, doe shew themſelues to be no true ſhepheards, but ſuch as Christ ſpeaketh of, that when they ſee the Wolfe coming, will flie away, leauing their flocke to the slaughter of the greedie wolfe. They giue euident demonstration alſo, that they are not ſuch as the holie Ghoſt hath made ouerſeers ouer their flocke, but rather ſuch, as being poſſeffed with the ſpirite of pride and ambition, haue intruded themſelues, to the deſtruclion of their flocke. If they were ſuch good ſhepheards as they ought to be, and ſo louing to their flocke, they would rather giue their life for

Any Pastor
who leaves his
Flock because
he won't wear
a Surplice, &c.,
[2 Sig. P 5]

shows that he's
no good
Shepherd.

114 II. 2. *Surplices may be worn if the Prince bids.*

their sheepe, if neede required, than to runne from them, leauing them to the bloodie teeth of the mercilesse wolues. Is hee a good shepheard that watcheth dailie vpon his flocke, or hee that runnes from them for euerie light trifle? I thinke we would count him a verie negligent shepheard. And shall wee thinke him a diligent, or a good pastor, and one that would giue his life for his sheepe, as a good pastor should doe, that for such trifles wil estrang himselfe from his flocke for euer? Therefore I beseech God to giue them grace to looke to their charges, and to let other trifles alone, being no part of our saluation or damnation.

If these Garments be a good Christian Prince, should give his Life for his Sheep, when he'll leave em for trifles like Garments?

[¹ Sig. P 5, back]

Theod. But they faie they refuse the wealring of these garments, because they are offendive to the godlie, a scandall to the weake brethren, a hinderaunce to manie in comming to the Gospel, & an induration to the papists hardning their hearts, in hope that their trumperie will once come in again, to their singuler comfort.

Amphil. It is an old saying, Better a bad excuse, than none at all. And truly it seemeth they are driuen to the wall, and sore grauelled, that will flie to these simple shiffts. But whatsoeuer they say or affirme, certain it is, that offendive to the godly they cannot be, who haue already learned to distinguish betwixt the things abused, and the abuses themselfes. And who know also how to vise things mere indifferent, to good ends and purposes. And therfore this question thus I shut vp in few words, that the wearing of these garmentes beeing commaunded by a Christian Prince, is not offendive, or scandalous to anie good Christians; and to the other, it mattereth not what it be. For they are such as the Lorde hath cast off into a reprobate fence, and preiudicate opinion, abusing all things, euen the truth it selfe, to their owne destruction for euer, excepte they repent, which I praye God they maye doe, if it bee his blessed will.

[² Sig. P 6]

Theod. I pray you why doe they weare white in their surplesses, rather than any other colour? and why a forked cappe rather than a rounde one? for the Papistes (if they were the authors of these garmentes) haue their misteries, their figures, & their representations in all things. Wherfore I desire to know your iudgment herein.

The Papists say that White signifies Holines;

Amphil. You say the truth, for the Papistes haue their misteries in all things after their maner. Therfore thus they say, that white doth signify holines, innocency, & al kind of integrity, putting them in

mind what they ought to be in this life, and representeth vnto them the beatitude, the felicitie, and happines of the life to come. And thys they prooue *ab exemplis apparitionum*, from the example of apparitions and visions, in that aungels, and celestial creatures haue euer appeared in the same colour of white. Therefore forsooth they must weare white apparell. The cornered cappe, say these misterious fellows, doth signifie, and represent the whole monarchy of the world, East, West, North, & South, the gouernment whereof standeth vpon them, as the cappe doth vppon their heades. The gowne, saye they, doth signifie the plenary power which they haue to doe all things. And therefore none but the Pope, or hee¹ with whome hee dispenceth, maie weare the same euerie where, bicause none haue *plenariam potestatem*, plenarie power, in euerie place, but (Beelzebub) the Pope. Yet the Ministers, saith he, maie weare them in their Churches, & in their owne iurisdictions, because therein they haue full power from him. Thus foollishlie do they deceiue themselues with vaine shewes, shadows, and imaginations, forged in the mint of their owne braines, to the destruction of manie. But who is he, that because these sotishe Papistes haue and doe greenouislie abuse these thinges, will therefore haue them cleane remoued? If all thinges that haue beeene abused, should be remooued because of the abuse, than should we haue nothing left to the supply of our necessities, neither meat, drinke, nor cloth for our bodies, neyther yet (which is more) y^e word of God, the spirituall food of our soules, nor any thing els almost. For what thing is there in y^c whole vniversall world, that eyther by one Hereticke or other hath not beeene abused? Let vs therfore take the abusess away, and the things maie well remaine still. For may not we christians vse these thinges which the wicked Papists haue abused, to good ends, vses, and purposes? I see no reason to the contrarie. And therefore in conclusion I beseech the Lorde that wee² may all agree togither in one truth, and not to deuide our selues one from another for trifles, making schismes, ruptures, breaches, and factions in the church of God, where we ought to nourish peace, vnitie, concord, brotherly loue, amitie, and frendship, one amongst another. And seeing we do all agree togither, and iump in one truth, hauing al one God our father, one Lord Iesus Christ our sauour, one holy spirit of adoption, one price of redemption, one faith, one

the Cornerd
Cap the Mon-
archy of the
World,

and the
Gown the Pope's
plenary power:
I Sig. P 6, back]

all this is
gammon.

But because
Papists have
abus'd these
things,

as well as the
Word of God,

aren't we to
uze em?
Surely we are.

I² Sig. P 7]
Do let us Re-
formers all
agree, and not
make rows.

We've all one
God and
Saviour,

116 II. 2. *Don't quarrel about the Bone, or Shell.*

let us then
agree about
outward
rites, &c.

We've got the
Kernel. Don't
let's wrangle
over the Shell.

[P Sig. P 7, back]

Let us fast and
pray, and be-
seech God to
keep our Queen
Elizabeth as the
apple of His
eye; and grant
us Eternal Life
in Heaven, thro
Christ's Death.

hope, one baptisme, and one and the same inheritance in the kingdome of heauen, Let vs therefore agree togither in these externall shadowes, ceremonies and rites. For is it not a shame to agree about the marrow, and to striue about the bone? to contend about the karnell, & to vary about the shell? to agree in the truth, and to brabble for the shadow? Let vs consider that this contention of ours among our felues, doth hinder the course of the Gospell from taking such deepe roote in the heartes of the hearers, as otherwise it would doe. And thus for this time, brother *Theodorus*, we will breake off our talke concerning this matter, vntill yt please God that we may meeete againe. Which if it please God we doe, I promise you in another woorke to discourse of the same more at large. In

the mean time let vs giue our felues, ¹to fasting, and prayer, most humbly beseeching his excellent maiesty to blesse our noble Queen, and to keepe hir grace as the apple of his eie from all hir foes, to maintaine his word and gospell amongst vs, to plant vnity and concord within our walles, to increase our faith, to graunt vs true and vnfained repentaunce for our sins, and in the end eternall life in the kingdome of heauen, thorow y^e precious death, passion, bloodshedding, and obedience of Christe Iesus our Lord, and onely sauour, to whom, with the father and the holy ghost, one true, and immortal God, be al honor, praise, power, empire, and dominion throughout all congregations for euermore. And thus, brother *Theodorus*, I bid you farewell in the Lord, till I do see you againe.

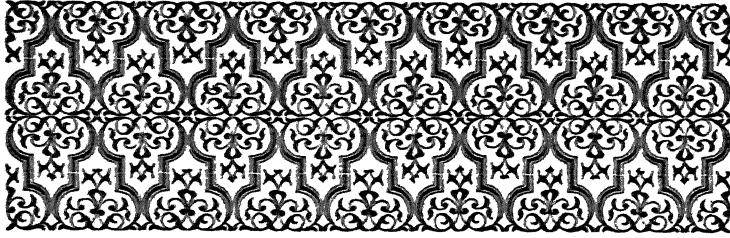
Theodo. And I you also good brother *Amphilogus*,
beseeching the Lord that if we meeete not
vpon earth, we maye meeete yet in the
kingdome of heauen, there to rest
in perfect felicitie
for euer.

Amphil. The Lord grant it
for his mercies sake.

Amen.

May you and I
meet again, if
not on Earth,
yet to rest for
ever in Heaven!

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